CRACKING
THE
COLOR
LINE

non-violent direct action methods of eliminating racial discrimination

Pick up
at:

LA4
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9:30
8103
MATERIAL
Aaron
Stern
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W. 29th

I like what CORE is doing. The techniques so graphically described in "Cracking The Color Line" should be widely studied by all who work to achieve a just and democratic America. You—the people who carry on CORE action—realize the difficulty of achieving full integration and use brains and imagination as well as good-will, self-discipline and persistence.

I especially like the non-violent CORE approach. I cannot see how means can be separated from ends, how the process can be judged in one light, and the goal in another.

We can and must win the mind of the prejudiced person. Force doesn't change minds. Anger reinforces fears. And that is why it is so terribly urgent to work out the techniques of changing people's minds, of allaying their fears about integration.

CORE puts before people's eyes a new way of acting. You say and you show that feelings about segregation are silly, that customs can change without disaster following, and that this is the time to change them. And you proceed to demonstrate. Here is a method of achieving social change which we all may use.

Martin L. King Jr.

—Martin Luther King, Jr.

DINNER AT STONER'S

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THREE CORE MEMBERS were refused lunch at Stoner's, a white-tablecloth restaurant in the heart of Chicago's Loop in October 1942. Mr. Stoner met the three as they came through the swinging doors and said he could not give them a seat—he did not serve colored. He seemed annoyed when the three asked him why he had this policy. When he stated that he could do as he liked in his own restaurant, they sat down on a sofa near the door to await service.

They waited for forty-five minutes in vain.

They asked for seats at tables on several occasions. Mr. Stoner refused to make an appointment to discuss the question with CORE committees. Attempts were made by letter and phone. Finally CORE decided to send committees to see him without appointment. Two white women ate lunch there one noon, and had a brief talk with Mr. Stoner. He claimed he would lose all his white trade if colored people came to his restaurant. He said that 90% of his trade came from women and they would not want to eat beside Negroes. He said that if members of the two races ate in the same restaurant, it would lead to interracial marriage and he was opposed to this.

Another interracial CORE committee visited Mr. Stoner in his office one morning before the restaurant opened for business. This committee talked with him for fully half an hour, but without satisfaction. He claimed that other restaurants of his class did not serve Negroes.

PERSUASION

Following these attempts to negotiate, small interracial groups visited the restaurant on many occasions to try to get service. At first Mr. Stoner refused to allow the hostesses even to seat the groups at the tables.

As time passed, some of the small test groups would be seated after a considerable wait, only to be served meat with egg shells scattered on it, or a plate of food salted so heavily that it could not be eaten, or a sandwich composed of tomato and lettuce cores picked out of the garbage in the kitchen (so the group was told by Negro bus girls who witnessed the making of the sandwiches).

For one entire week in December 1942, CORE passed out leaflets to the patrons of Stoner's both at noon and in the evening, calling their attention to the policy of discrimination and asking them to protest as they paid their bills.

The facts of the case were publicized among many groups in Chicago and again and again the question was asked of CORE: "Why pick on Mr. Stoner? Don't other restaurants discriminate as well?" As a result of this prodding, CORE investigated the policies of all eating places within an area of sixteen square blocks of the Loop. In not a single case was outright discrimination practiced. A leaflet entitled "*50 Loop Restaurants Which Do Not Discriminate*" was published by CORE as a result of this investigation, and it received wide circulation among both Negro and white groups.

Following the survey, CORE felt entire-

Restaurant
STONER'S RESTAURANT

ly justified in taking action against Stoner's, for no other place was known to be so flagrant in its violation of the civil rights law of Illinois. Mr. Stoner was informed of the results of the survey. When a few further attempts were made to receive service in Stoner's without success, it was decided that a sit-in should be tried. CORE realized that it would be difficult to stage a successful sit-in at Stoner's, for this restaurant could seat at least 200 persons. Nevertheless, the sit-in was planned and executed in June 1943.

ACTION

Approximately sixty-five persons participated—sixteen of whom were Negroes. All participants were pledged to non-violence. The whites had agreed to remain in their seats (all night if necessary) until the Negroes were seated and given good service. The action took place in late afternoon and early evening of a Saturday. Between 4:30 and 5:10 most of the white participants went by twos, threes and fours into the restaurant. They were, of course, seated without difficulty by the hostesses. At 5:15 the first of two interracial groups consisting of six Negroes and two whites walked through the revolving doors of the restaurant. This group was ignored when the spokesman asked for seats. So the group stood quietly at the front of the restaurant, waiting to be seated and watching while others who had come in after them were seated by the hostesses. Finally, after a wait of only half an hour, one of the hostesses approached the group and asked them to follow her. A special table, large enough for all, had been set in a prominent place. Immediate service was given these persons. The only regrettable event marking the seating of this first interracial group was that Mr. Stoner without provocation kicked one of the white persons in the leg.

The seating of the first group was the signal for the second group to enter. Nine Negroes and one white made up this unit. They were not seated by the hostesses, but rather were threatened by Mr. Stoner. For an hour and a half this group of ten persons stood at the front of the restaurant. During that time the police were called on three occasions. The police were, however, quite friendly to the CORE members. They wanted to know what was going on and were told—there was nothing they could do, for the interracial group was far from causing a disturbance. The third time the police were called, they told Mr. Stoner not to call them again or they would arrest him.

The attention of everyone in the restaurant was, of course, attracted to the interracial group. CORE members who were seated explained the situation to other patrons. Much sympathy was aroused. Even some of the white employees expressed sympathy, including one of the hostesses who whispered into the ear of a sitdowner: "Keep it up—we're all with you." The Negro bus girls were excited about the non-violent action. They said to several CORE members that they planned to quit their jobs immediately if the interracial group were not served. Only two persons (a middle-aged couple) were observed walking out of the restaurant without eating. It was evident that most of the patrons supported the action.

It began to look as though the second group might have to stand all night. But unexpectedly the deadlock was broken. An elderly woman, not connected with CORE, walked up to one of the Negro girls who was standing and asked if she would sit down at the table with her. Of course, the CORE member accepted. Then several of the seated white CORE members followed the lead of this woman. In a very few minutes only two of the ten persons in the second interracial group were still standing. One of the hostesses advanced toward them and asked them to follow her. She seated them at a table for two near the center of the restaurant. Then a very unexpected, spontaneous demonstration took place—a wild applause broke out. Practically everyone in the restaurant took part in this sustained acclamation. It was a fitting climax to a well-executed non-violent demonstration for racial justice.

FOLLOW-THROUGH

Although good food was served to all the persons who participated in this action, Stoner's was not yet entirely clear of discrimination. On two occasions, Negroes received service, but only after carrying on a conversation with Mr. Stoner, explaining why they wanted to eat there. On another occasion two girls, one white and one colored, were seated but were not served for the hour in which they remained in their seats. But finally the policy of the restaurant changed completely, according to all reports. Over three years after the sit-in, in the fall of 1946, interracial groups visiting the restaurant indicated that they had no trouble.

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

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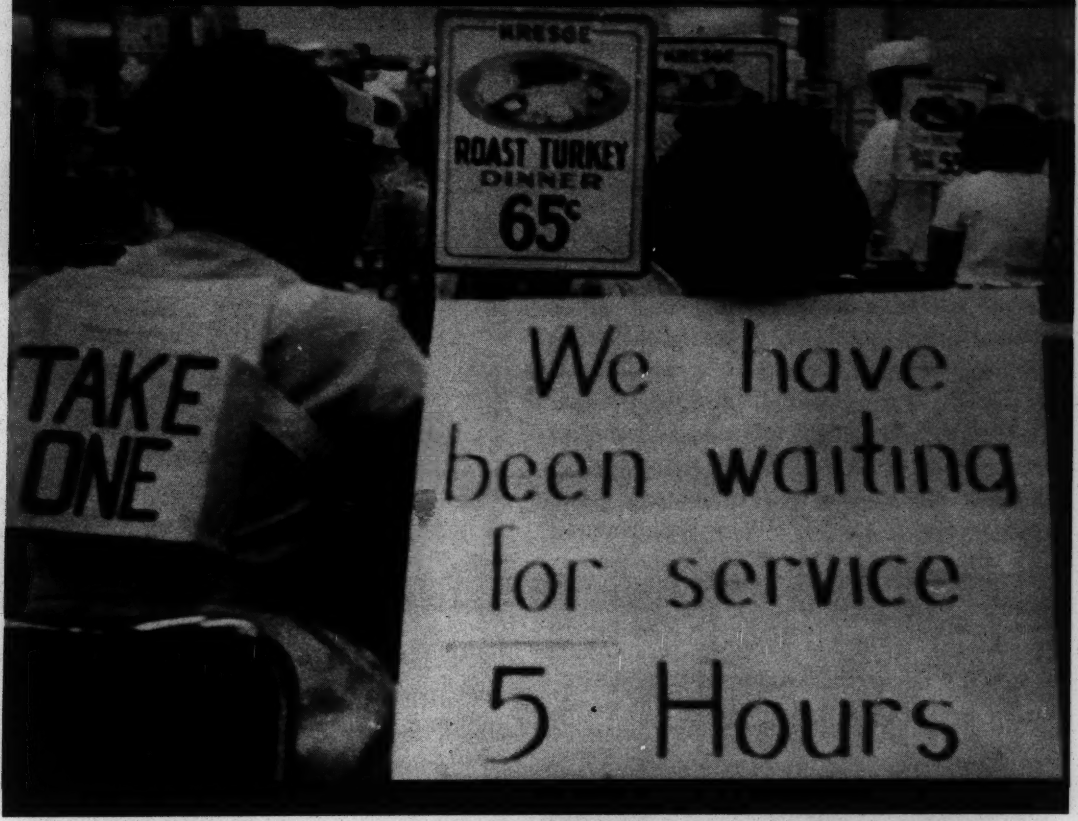


THE TWO CITIES ARE ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI AND BALTIMORE, MARYLAND. The tale tells how CORE techniques changed citywide patterns of restaurant discrimination.

When St. Louis CORE started its campaign in 1949, and Baltimore CORE in 1953, no eating place in the two cities with the exception of those in the railroad station and those in Negro ghetto areas, served Negroes. When St. Louis CORE concluded its campaign in 1953 and Baltimore CORE in 1954, all downtown dime stores in the two cities served everybody, regardless of color, at their lunch counters.

Once the dime stores' policy was changed, CORE found it less difficult to get drug stores, cafeterias and department store restaurants to end discrimination—the jimcrow pattern had been broken.

ST. LOUIS

St. Louis CORE's dime store campaign ended in the spring of 1953 when McCrory's district manager ordered the local manager to serve Negroes. In appealing to McCrory's national office, Billie Ames of St. Louis CORE reviewed the campaign thus:

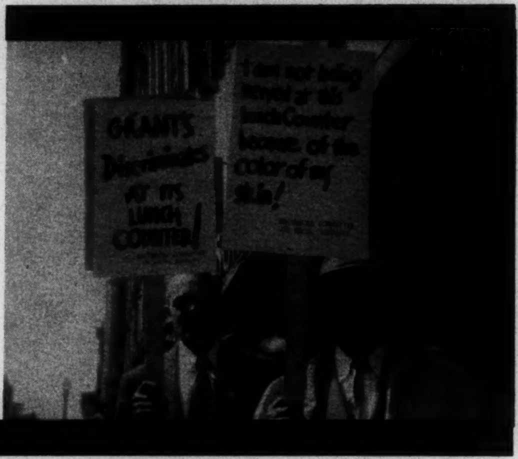
"Three and a half years ago, CORE began talking with the managers of all four downtown dime stores. In some instances we felt our talks were unsuccessful and CORE resorted to peaceful direct action such as picket lines and sit-in demonstrations to bring the matter to the attention of the public.

"Shortly thereafter an agreement was made with Mr. Dwyer, who was then local manager of McCrory's, to allow one or two Negroes a week to be served at white counters to test customer reaction. Very soon the other dime stores in the downtown area started similar experiments. The experiments continued for many months and showed that most white people are completely indifferent as to who is sitting at the counter.

YOUR COOPERATION CAN HELP US END DISCRIMINATION
WHAT WE ASK IS SIMPLE— IMPARTIAL SERVICE FOR ALL
CORE PROTESTS JIM CROW RESTAURANT SERVICE

"Since conducting the experiments, three dime stores—Kresge's, Neisner's and Woolworth's—have changed their policies and are now serving everybody. Before Mr. Dwyer left the employ of McCrory's, he stated several times that McCrory's would start serving Negroes when the other dime stores did. We hoped this would be true even though your store now has a new manager."

While it was not true when Billie Ames made this statement, it became true soon thereafter, bringing the dime store campaign to a successful conclusion.


GRANT'S Discriminates AT ITS LUNCH COUNTER!

CAMPAIGN HIGHLIGHTS

CORE's plan of experiment testing, in which the dime stores started by "trying on" non-discrimination before "wearing" it, succeeded in proving the stereotyped fears of management to be unfounded—fears of business losses, riots, etc. In some instances management agreed for CORE to send only one group to their lunch counter a week; in other instances, as frequently as one group a day. The fact that there were no adverse reactions from other customers was real proof to the management.

At the halfway mark of the campaign, in the summer of 1951, CORE participants faced a number of violent assaults by members of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party. Members of this group sneered "Let's get the Kike," when they beat Marvin Rich (now Community Relations Director of CORE) over the head as he left a CORE project at the Forum Cafeteria. But the CORE members responded non-violently and by summer's end, the attacks ceased.

During a sit-in on August 11 at Kresge's, three Christian Nationalists were permitted to distribute racist leaflets inside the store. CORE got a snapshot of one of them in friendly conversation with the assistant manager.

On this occasion, Willie Mae Humphrey, Negro CORE member, sat at the counter with a sign on her back saying: "We have been waiting for service ____ hours and ____ minutes." Another group member changed the time on the sign as each quarter hour passed. In the next seat was Billie Ames with a little box of CORE leaflets on her back inscribed with the words: "Take one." Customers took 800 of them.

DEPARTMENT STORES

About a year after the end of the dime store campaign, following 18 months of sit-ins and leaflet distributions by CORE, Stix, Baer & Fuller, a big department store, opened its downstairs lunch counter to everybody. The group had initiated its campaign there five years previous even before starting on the dime stores. Famous-Barr, another big department store where CORE had been using the same experiment testing plan as in the dime stores, soon followed suit and opened its lunch counter.

Extending the new pattern from downtown into the suburbs, by the fall of 1954, CORE succeeded in changing the lunch counter policies at all three dime stores in suburban Wellston.

By the fall of 1958, Famous-Barr extended its non-discriminatory lunch counter policy to the table restaurants—not only at the main store but at branches in outlying shopping centers.

Several months previous, in an attempt to persuade Stix, Baer & Fuller to extend its lunch counter non-discrimination, 10 CORE members stood in line for two hours seeking service at the tearoom—and it became a sort of alumni day.

Although several years had elapsed since the group's 18-month campaign to open the lunch counter, several of the store personnel and particularly the detectives, recognized CORE members, greeted them, asked after their families, how many children they had, etc.

The store personnel could not help but be impressed by CORE and its nonviolence. They had not forgotten over the years. Their friendliness reflected the attitude of many in St. Louis toward CORE's campaign. The "show-me" state of Missouri had been shown.

BALTIMORE

In Baltimore in 1954 an award which carries considerable prestige, that of the Sidney Hollander Fund, was voted to CORE "for service rendered in helping to make the lunch counters in the five-and-dime stores available for use by Negroes as well as whites." The year-long campaign of Baltimore CORE was also hailed editorially by the Baltimore Afro-American and Pittsburgh Courier, two leading Negro papers. As in St. Louis, the Baltimore campaign ended the city-wide jimcrow eating pattern.

Early in 1953 shortly after its formation, Baltimore CORE launched its lunch counter campaign, which in addition to the downtown section included the vicinity of Morgan State College. After several leaflet distributions, Woolworth's and Kresge's changed their lunch counter policies. Then, came Shulte-United. McCrory's followed suit a few months after its policy change in St. Louis, having received orders from its main office in New York. The local manager, with whom Baltimore CORE had been in contact, called to inform them of the change.

The lone holdout was Grant's—and this required a major campaign. In the late fall, Baltimore CORE initiated a program of weekly sit-ins. On December 12, 38 people took part. When the white members of the group were served, they passed their food to Negro members. The employes thereupon roughly yanked plates, cups and silver off the counter, but the group continued to sit there.

In support of the Baltimore campaign, New York CORE started picketing and distributing leaflets in front of Grant's store located in the center of Harlem, the city's biggest Negro section.

FINAL ROUND

On April 27 New York CORE picketed the annual stockholders meeting while the author of this book, representing a minority stockholder, raised the Baltimore discrimination issue on the floor. Until then the head office had maintained a hands-off policy, contending that the question could be settled only locally in Baltimore. But at this meeting, the chairman, Lewis C. Lustenberger, first vice president of the company, promised that the head office would intercede. Nine days later the Baltimore group received a letter from Lustenberger announcing that thereafter eating facilities at Grant's Baltimore store would be open to all, regardless of color.

Thus the Baltimore CORE dime store campaign ended successfully. A favorable factor was that during the campaign, restaurant discrimination in nearby Washington, D. C. ended following the Supreme Court decision in the Thompson case (June 2, 1953). A large part of the action groundwork for that decision had been made by CORE during its annual summer workshops in Washington.

Immediately following the end of the dime store campaign, Baltimore CORE, working closely with other community groups, started negotiations with Read Drug & Chemical Co., operator of 37 local drug stores with lunch counters. After eight months of negotiation, Arthur Nattans, Sr., company president, announced that thereafter everybody would be served regardless of color at all 37 stores. In December 1956, the group started its first action campaign at a white tablecloth restaurant—Wilson's. While the campaign was not immediately successful, within two years the restaurant changed policy.

THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS WHITE

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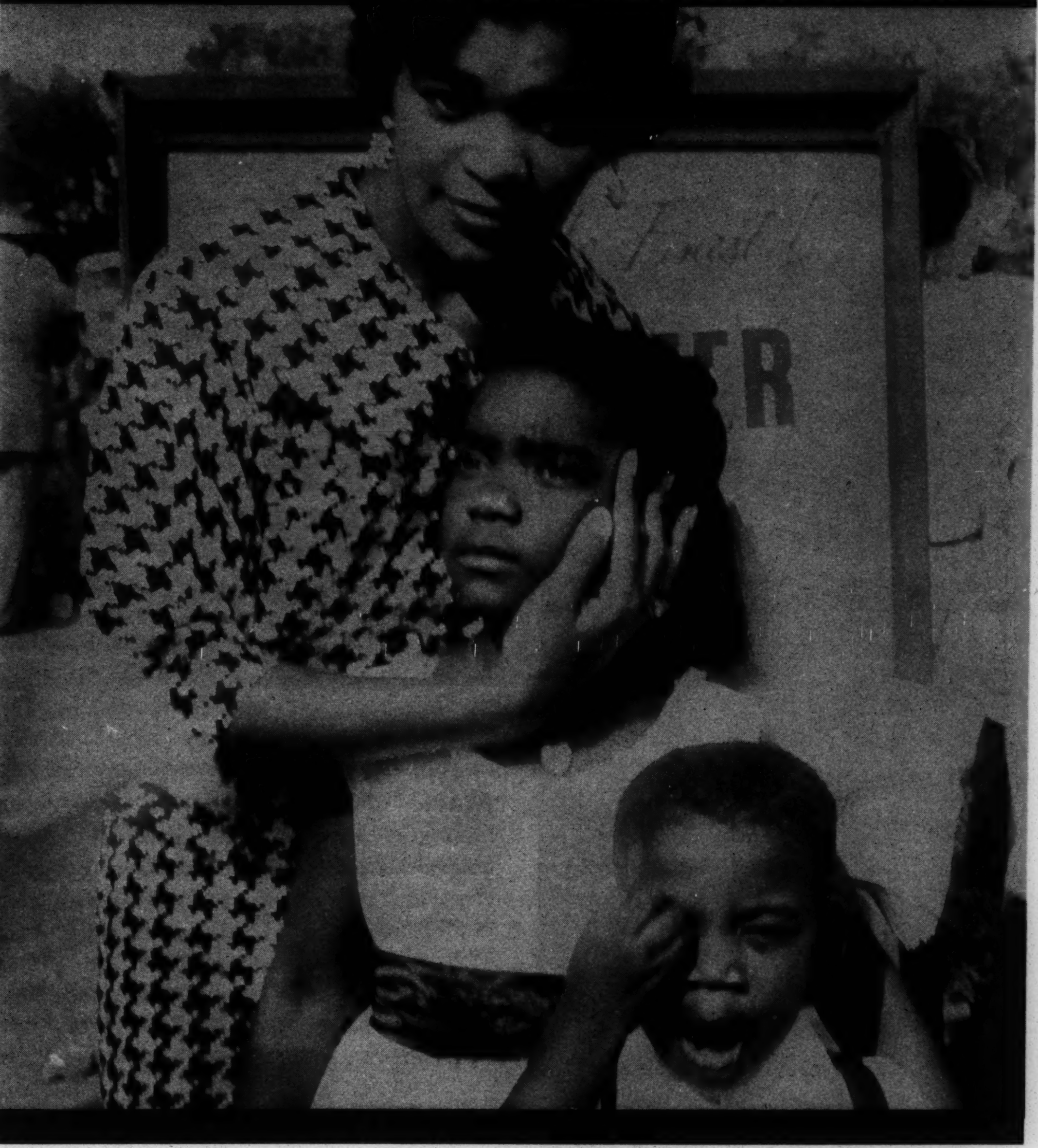

THE CORE METHOD OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION has been proven successful in all types of public accommodations. It has been used by various groups to end discrimination in theaters, amusement parks, swimming pools, barber shops, hotels, motels, drive-ins, bowling alleys, skating rinks, playgrounds and YMCAs.

FORBIDDEN STREET

The technique of peacefully waiting in line, insisting on the right to buy a ticket, was first used by CORE in a theater situation in the fall of 1949. The theater was the Trans-Lux in Washington and the film showing was *"Home of the Brave,"* first Hollywood production to deal forthrightly with the issue of racial discrimination. Leaflets explaining the waiting line to the theater's patrons, pointed out that *"Home of the Brave"* shows "colored and white fighting together to protect those rights and ideals which are denied them in this theater."

While this action was effective, the Trans-Lux did not become the first Washington theater at which CORE was successful. The first was the Playhouse, the city's leading art theater. An 8-month campaign by CORE's Washington group ended on April 18, 1951 in a striking movie-climax manner.

The occasion was the grand opening of *"Tales of Hoffman,"* produced by Lopert Films, which also operated the Playhouse. It was a benefit performance for the National Symphony Association, with seats at $10.

Two weeks before the opening, CORE picketed the theater. A week later Victor Orsinger, local representative of Lopert Films, asked for a conference. Between then and the opening CORE held long conferences with Orsinger and with Jerry Wagner, the manager. A second picket line marched on April 14. Within the next two days, CORE contacted every city editor and drama critic telling them about the 8-month campaign.

"The climax came at 7:45 p.m., opening night," relates Albert Mindlin of CORE. *"A brass band was on hand. Klieg lights flooded the street. A crowd of spectators gathered. Police were on hand in large numbers. About 25 of us were assembled ready to start picketing. Suddenly Orsinger appeared, appealed to us to call off the picket line and made a very strong moral commitment, which he subsequently kept. The picketing was called*

off. The Playhouse was opened to all, regardless of color."

A slightly different technique was used by the Denver group, in CORE's first campaign involving theaters. In that city in 1943, Negroes could buy tickets and enter, but could not sit in the orchestra.

So, Negro members of the group simply took seats in the orchestra, ignoring attempts by the ushers to steer them up to the balcony. The campaign wound up following the arrest of seven pickets who raised their placards in front of the Broadway Theater after a group had been refused orchestra seats inside. Their attorney wrote the Denver commissioner pointing out that the theater's discriminatory policy violated the state's civil rights law. There ensued a conference between the commissioner and the theater managers which resulted in ending discrimination in all Denver theaters.

PARKS AND POOLS

On "All Nations Day," 1958, an annual event at Baltimore's Gwynn Oak Amusement Park where only white nationals are admitted, the local CORE group added the waiting-line technique to its habitual picketing. For three years previous, Baltimore CORE in conjunction with other community groups had picketed the event to spotlight the inconsistency of an "All Nations Day" which bars Negroes. In 1959, three CORE members were beaten. Resulting publicity strengthened the drive to include all races as well as all nations.

In two CORE campaigns—at Palisades Park swimming pool, opposite the Hudson from New York and at Bimini Baths in Los Angeles—waiting lines were met with violence on the part of management. But in both cases, CORE participants remained non-violent and stood their ground. Both campaigns were eventually successful.

The provocation in the Palisades campaign was extreme. Melba Vallé, young Negro model, was carried bodily from the Pool ticket office to the Park entrance and ejected. The author of this book on one occasion suffered a broken rib and on another was knocked out by Park guards. James Robinson was alternately kneed from behind and elbowed in the stomach from in front—until non-CORE bystanders interceded. This brutality took place in full view of local police, some of whom worked as Park guards on their days off. But despite the violence, interracial CORE groups returned to the Park each weekend throughout the summers of 1947 and 1948 until the pool finally admitted Negroes. Ironically, management's brutality speeded the

THIS IS
CORE
IN ACTION
C.O.R.E.
IN ACTION
GWYNN OAK PARK
WE PROTEST
NEGROES
ADMITTED
GWYNN OAK PARK

campaign. Newspaper stories about how CORE members were manhandled, and critical editorials, helped toward enactment of the 1949 Freeman Civil Rights Act, which names swimming pools as one of the types of public accommodation where discrimination is prohibited in the state of New Jersey.

Following passage of the law Palisades reached a verbal agreement with New Jersey's newly-established Division Against Discrimination. This agreement was observed fairly well throughout the summers of 1949 and 1950, CORE tests showed. But by the summer of 1951 management began to backslide.

So, early in the summer of 1952, four Negro CORE members who had not been recognized as such and had been refused admission filed complaints under the Freeman act. Faced with an impending public hearing, Palisades put into writing the verbal agreement made with the Division Against Discrimination three years earlier and since then a policy of non-discrimination has been observed.

Regarding the new policy, Irving Rosenthal, the Park's owner, who had said as late as the summer of 1948: "You'll all be dead before I change," told Harold Lett of the Division Against Discrimination that he had been a fool not to change long ago. Rosenthal had discovered, first hand, that his fears of loss of business—fears expressed by so many business men faced with the prospect of integration—had not materialized.

STORY OF A BARBER SHOP

A novel method of ending barbershop discrimination was evolved by CORE in 1949 at State College, Pa., a college town of 20,000. The usual CORE method—which has proved successful in many localities—of simply having a group, with Negroes first-in-turn, sit down in the shop awaiting service, did not work in State College. The town's barbers had formed a united front against any policy change, despite a CORE-initiated petition bearing 2,000 signatures.

So, CORE embarked on a plan of selling haircut tickets which would be presented at any barbershop that would adopt a policy of non-discrimination. This produced over $1,800, which CORE offered as cash in advance to any shop that would change. None accepted the offer.

CORE then placed ads in nearby metropolitan papers: "Students and citizens of State College offer location and $1,800 cash advance toward patronage to barber without racial prejudice." Over 60 inquiries were answered in detail. More than 20 barbers came for interviews.

The man who finally set up the shop was Mark Butler of Philadelphia. After his equipment had been installed, CORE paid him the $1,800 cash in advance and he agreed to service holders of the non-discriminatory haircut tickets. The shop opened without fanfare. Negroes patronized it freely and none of the white customers showed any surprise. Butler and his assistant barbers were overworked. The shop soon had to expand.

One man whom CORE members had come to consider perhaps the most extreme racist in town had his hair cut twice at Butler's shop during the first months. His only explanation was: "I like Butler: he's a good guy."

THE BLACKBOARD AND THE BALLOT

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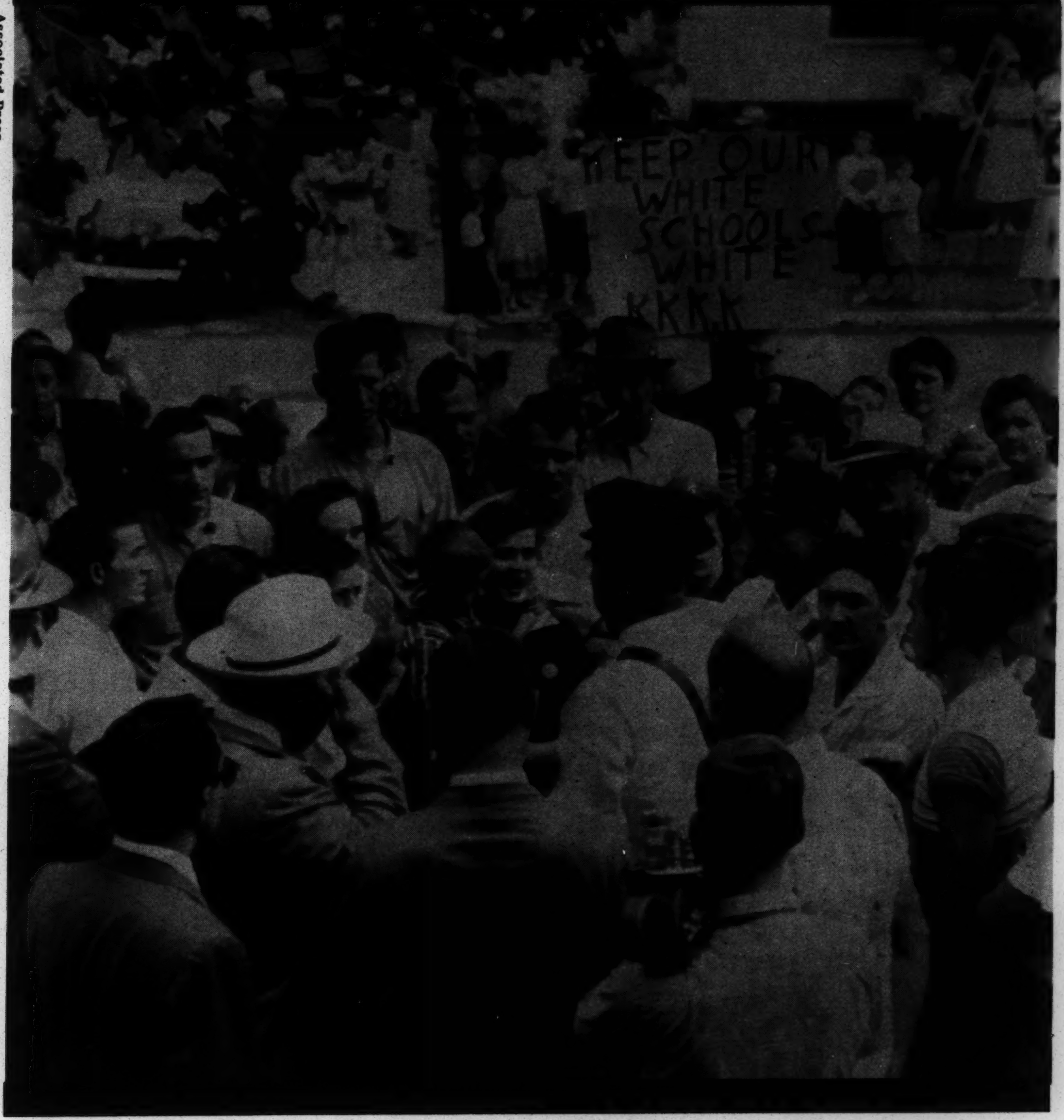
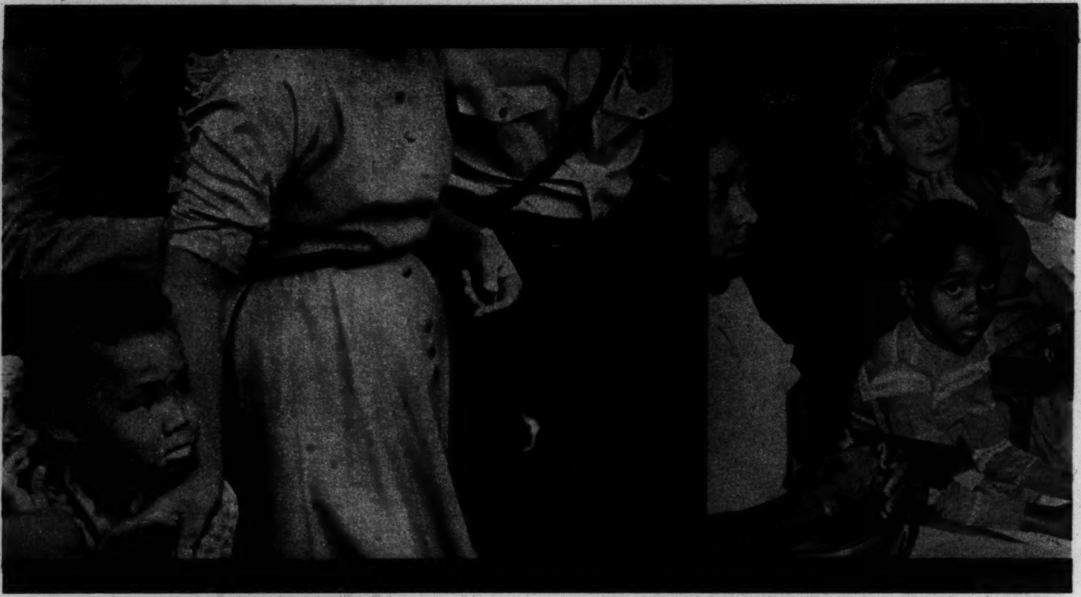


Associated Press

FOLLOWING THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN 1954, school integration became a national aim. The right of all citizens to vote was emphasized by Congress when it enacted the 1957 Civil Rights Law. Thus, schooling and voting became the chief focus of the equal rights struggle in the South. In both of these areas, CORE has done significant work.



Associated Press

THE NASHVILLE STORY

In Nashville, CORE together with the Negro PTA helped to make school integration work despite mob violence which marked the change-over from segregation in the fall of 1957. In so doing, CORE evolved a workable, community program which might well be applied in any southern community where court-ordered school integration is being thwarted.

"If Little Rock had had a similar inter-racial group, Governor Faubus might have been checked without the use of federal troops," wrote Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence. Specifically, he pointed out: *"The key to success in Nashville was CORE's policy of backing up the parents—by visiting them and by escorting their children to integrated schools."*

King wrote this in a preface to the pamphlet, "*A First Step Toward School Integration*," in which Anna Holden, a leader of Nashville CORE, gives a vivid account of the group's campaign.

For example, the day the Hattie Cotton school was bombed, the pamphlet relates: "*Mrs. Watson telephoned Dr. Miller* (a member of the CORE group).

"'If I ever needed anybody, I needed somebody that morning,' she recalled. 'I had gotten a phone call threatening to set the house on fire if Barbara Jean went to school. I couldn't go off and leave the rest of the children alone. And I knew she had to go to school.'

"Barbara Jean was dressed and ready. Dr. Miller came promptly. He drove the child five blocks to her school. Then he took her by the hand and they walked through a crowd of jeering whites.

"The same morning Mrs. Charles Martin, another CORE member, walked to the Jones School with her neighbor, Mrs. Myrtle Battle and another first grader, Charles Edward Battle. In the Glenn School area of East Nashville the Rev. R. W. Kelley of Clark Memorial Church accompanied several children to school. Teen-age boys in the booing crowd got themselves photographed for newspapers by standing behind Rev. Kelley, pretending to measure him for a coffin."

The pamphlet goes on to relate how "the crisis was soon reduced to manageable size" and how Kasper (John Frederick Kasper, professional segregationist who had come to Nashville for the occasion) and his mobs were suppressed. As Anna Holden explains it:

"The tide was turned because the police finally enforced the law and because a handful of Negro parents, staunchly backed by the Negro PTA, CORE, ministers and other forces of decency, persisted in sending their children to formerly white schools."

The following year, 1958, Nashville took the second step of its grade-a-year plan, extending integration from first to second grade. Though Anna Holden feels that the grade-a-year plan is too slow (total number of Negro children enrolled for the 1958-59 school year was 34), she concluded: *"Considering the general pattern in the south and last year's mob violence, CORE and other interested organizations feel gratified by the outcome of Nashville's 'second step.'"* By September 1959, 41 Negro students were attending integrated schools.

PILGRIMAGE TO RICHMOND

Another outstanding CORE achievement on the school issue was mobilization of the Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools, which brought 2,000 persons to Richmond on New Year's Day, 1959, to protest Virginia's "massive resistance" program.

"Passive Resistance Opposes Virginia's Massive Resistance," was the apt headline of one southern newspaper. The demonstration was precedent-setting in that it took place—not in New York, Washington, Chicago, etc., where the big civil rights rallies had been held in the past, but in a southern city. This Pilgrimage played a significant role in the subsequent collapse of Virginia's "massive resistance" program which had deprived 13,000 children of education for the first half of the 1958-59 school year.

Major credit for mobilizing the Pilgrimage goes to a young Petersburg minister, Wyatt Tee Walker, and Gordon R. Carey, a CORE field secretary.

VOTING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

On the voting issue, early in 1958, James T. McCain, a CORE field secretary, started organizing a registration campaign in an area of South Carolina where he has lived and worked for the major part of his life. Aim of the campaign was to translate the newly-enacted federal civil rights law into reality by getting Negroes to exercise their right to vote.

McCain's procedure was to establish in each county a committee which instructs persons on how to fill out application blanks, accompanies them to registration offices and remains with them until they receive their certificates for voting. Applicants who fail to receive certificates because of any error on the blank are given further instruction by the committee and are taken back to the registration office to re-apply.

Within the first two months, four such committees were established—in Charleston County; Sumter County, where McCain's home is located; Richland County, which includes the city of Columbia, and Clarendon County, where the first school desegregation suit originated. Other committees have been established since.

Commenting on the South Carolina registration campaign a year after it started, McCain said: *"In counties where we have CORE affiliates, the percentage of Negroes registered is higher than in counties where no such group has been organized. For the first time, during the year's primary runoffs, candidates have invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems. In a number of communities candidates who stressed segregation were defeated. Negroes ran for public office in larger numbers this year than in any year since Negroes won the right to vote in the South Carolina state primaries."*

For example, in 1958 Negroes for the first time took over all Democratic Party offices in Sumter's Precinct 3-B and elected 16 of the 17 delegates to the Democratic County Convention. Rev. Fred C. James, a Negro and a leader of Sumter CORE, set a precedent by running for city council. In Columbia, according to *The State,* local newspaper, "the predominantly Negro ward 9—was more than enough to make the difference" of 14 votes by which Lester Bates nosed out his strongly segregationist opponent in the 1958 mayoralty election.

In the South Carolina campaign there has been excellent cooperation between CORE and Martin Luther King's Crusade for Citizenship, the NAACP and various local groups such as the Palmetto Voters Association.

It is the policy of CORE to work to increase the number of Negro voters. However, CORE does not endorse candidates or engage in partisan politics.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

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Associated Press

AS THE JIMCROW LINE RECEDES SOUTHWARD, so does the focus of CORE activity.

In Marion, South Carolina, in the spring of 1959 the operator of Hewitt Esso Service Station ran a drive-in ice cream stand next door where he required Negroes to go to a side window for service. In his service station, he had a water fountain with paper cups and a sign "For Whites Only."

"As chairman of CORE, I had a talk with him," relates George Kelly. "Then I called a meeting and we went into action. Several CORE members who had large monthly accounts at the station went to the stand and tried to get ice cream at the front window. They were told to go to the side window.

"They then stated that if they couldn't be served at the front window, they didn't want the ice cream. Next they went over and paid up their accounts at the gas station, announcing to the operator that they would not trade with him any more.

"Other Negroes did likewise, until finally he had to close the service station. But rather than close the ice cream stand, he shut the side window and started serving everyone from the front window.

"Word of this spread and Negroes began getting better service from other businesses in town."

The importance of this action is not that it constituted a major project but that it took place as far south as South Carolina, which would have been unthinkable a few years before.

MIAMI, FLORIDA

Never prior to the spring of 1959 had the sit-in technique been used as far south as Miami, Florida. The furthest south it had been employed until then by CORE was over 1,000 miles northward in St. Louis and in Charleston, West Virginia.

True, Miami is sometimes described as "south of the south" to differentiate it from its geographic location. It has many permanent residents who have migrated from the north and midwest, not to speak of the hordes of sun-seeking vacationists. But the deep-south pattern of total racial segregation prevails.

In such a locale it was big news on April 29 when 20 Negro and white CORE members sat down at Grant's lunch counter and remained there though they were refused service. Reporters, photographers and TV men were out in force to cover this unprecedented event. Thus opened the initial campaign by a newly formed CORE group.

"Several factors combined in January to motivate a few Miamians to send out a call for CORE field secretaries," explains Mrs. Shirley Zoloth, one of the group's initiators. "Main factor was that when four Negro children were approved for assignment to the previously all-white Orchard Villa elementary school, CORE's outstanding community work in the Nashville school situation was recalled and CORE's presence in Miami was felt needed.

"Field Secretaries James McCain and Gordon Carey arrived on February 28 and by March 12, Greater Miami CORE had

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first meeting with some 15 members.
. John Brown, an opthalmologist, be-
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ently headed CORE's initial project,
ich was not school desegregation, but
at was deemed one of the most illogical
eas of discrimination: the downtown
nestore and department store lunch
unters."

RST PROJECT

Negroes were permitted to eat next to
ites—standing up but not sitting down.
ey could eat at stand-up sections of
counters but not at the main sections
ich have stools. There was no down-
n Miami lunch counter where a United
tes Negro could sit down for a meal,
ugh some served Spanish-speaking
tin-Americans of equally dark com-
xion. Being the U.S. city closest to
tin-American countries, Miami has a
eable Spanish-speaking community.

The justice and logic of CORE's re-
est that Negroes be served sitting down,
s not denied by store managers with
om the group had negotiated. But each
refused to be first to change.

*The public readiness for such a change
s indicated by a local TV commenta-
s survey made outside Grant's during
first sit-in. Of 100 white passersby in-
iewed, 98 not only had no objection*

to Negroes being served, seated, but were unaware of the existence of the prevailing policy. Another indication was the fact that during sit-ins at Grant's five months later, white customers would take seats next to the interracial groups sitting-in, without paying the slightest attention.

Throughout the campaign, customers showed little hostility and, on occasion, sympathy. Only a few reacted to the sit-ins by making anti-Negro or anti-Semitic remarks.

As a result of the general interest aroused by the initial sit-ins at Grant's and McCrory's, Miami CORE found itself with an increasing number of supporters. Tests were then conducted at Woolworth's and Kress's; at three department store lunch counters: Jackson's-Byrons, Burdine's, Richard's; at two of the Walgreen drugstore lunch counters and at several Royal Castle Hamburger counters. Meetings with several managers and with the Better Business Division of the Chamber of Commerce followed.

ACTION INSTITUTE

During the ensuing months the group conducted a number of sit-ins involving as many as 50 persons. During the first two weeks of September, the group's ranks were reinforced by 12 participants in a CORE-sponsored Interracial Action Institute who came from various parts of the country to learn about non-violent action both in theory and practice. The practice came with the sit-ins which at that juncture were concentrated on Jackson's-Byrons.

Six days of continuous sit-ins caused management to close the counter temporarily while considering a policy change. During that period the sit-ins were transferred to Grant's. The day before the Institute's conclusion, management's attorney promised an immediate policy change. Institute participants left for their homes, elated, but before most of them had reached their destinations, a test at the reopened lunch counter proved that management had not acted in good faith. Negroes were still refused service.

So, the group determined to return every day. The lunch counter had about 40 seats and on September 23, 40 persons were sitting-in. Two days later there were 80 volunteers; half of them had to go to Grant's. It is not easy to get that number of people on a weekday to sit-in from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. but CORE maintained these daily demonstrations for an entire week. One woman who sat-in daily, worked at a night-shift job. Cab drivers and off-duty Negro policemen joined the group at the counter. Fair-minded Miamians were tired of this kind of segregation and were ready to combat it at great personal sacrifice.

But, also on September 23, Gordon Carey, CORE field secretary, was attacked and roughed up upon leaving the rest room and warned to "get out of Miami by Monday." Two days later, two CORE members, one of whom is a partially paralyzed war veteran, were dragged from their seats, severely beaten and then arrested along with their assailant. Dr. Brown, leader of the lunch counter campaign, was threatened in his office by an ex-convict who said he "had been contacted by some people to do something about you and the organization."

ONE COUNTER CLOSES

Immediately following these incidents, the Jackson's-Byrons lunch counter was closed permanently and the equipment dismantled.

"We did not want this to happen," Carey commented. "Repeatedly, we had stressed the simplicity of the situation, yet management chose to shut down rather than sell a sandwich and a cup of coffee to a Negro."

As one of the sit-in group expressed it: "Well, at least we're now all equal in Jackson's-Byrons: now nobody eats."

On October 1, 1959, Florida's attorney general issued an opinion that restaurant owners have a right to refuse service to anybody—a legal doctrine opposite to that prevailing in most other states.

Speaking on behalf of CORE, Dr. Brown promised a court challenge of this ruling. At the same time he pledged continuation of the campaign until downtown Miami lunch counters are open to all regardless of color.

"We are going to use the same means of non-violence which we have followed thus far," he told the press.

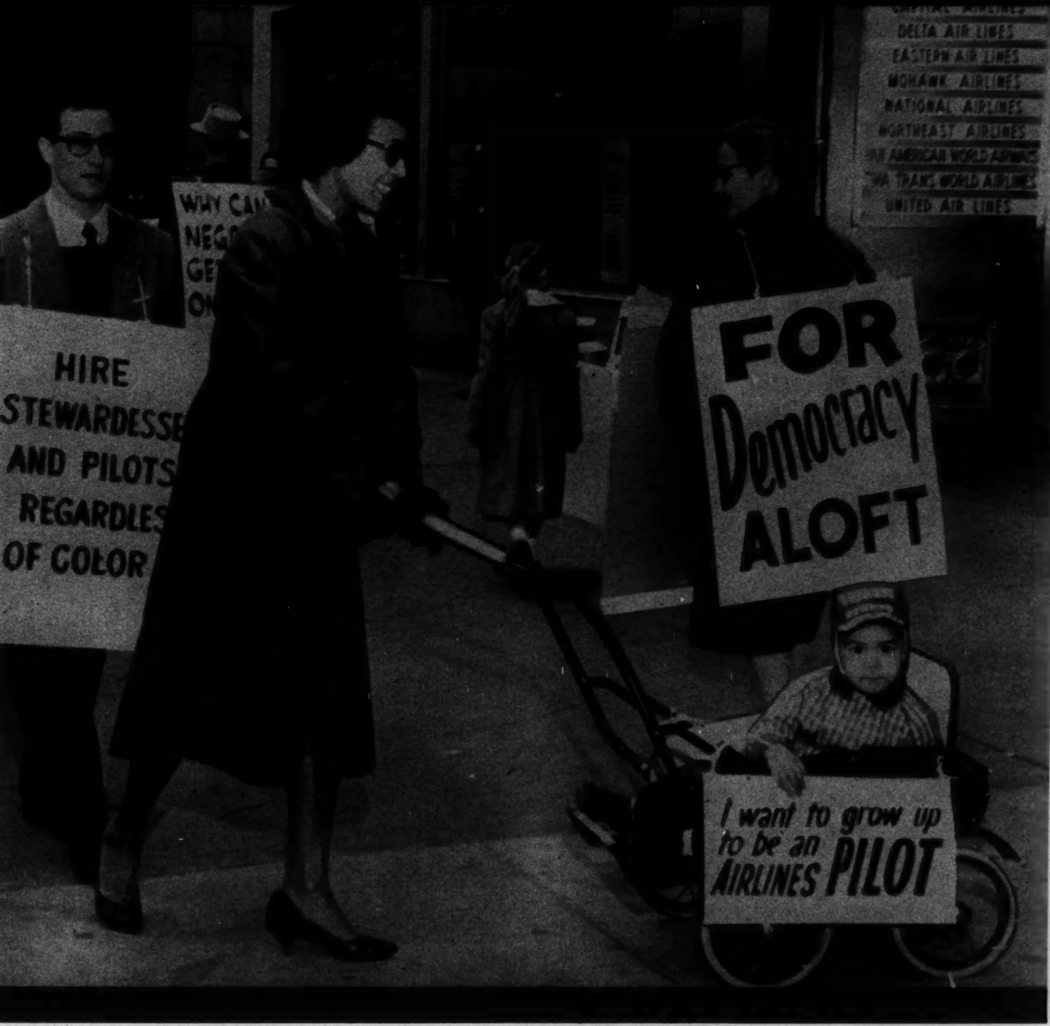
In the summer of 1960 as a result of the CORE sit-in campaign some 30 restaurants in the downtown area desegregated.

EQUALITY UNDER THE SOUTHERN SUN

A few weeks after Dr. Brown's statement, non-violence came into play on the beaches. Beginning in November 1959, members of Miami CORE in cooperation with the local NAACP began using Dade County facilities (see cover picture). Although an announced change in official Miami jimcrow policy had been precipitately rescinded, CORE members have used "white" beaches several times with scant attention and no objections from others on the sand or in the sea.

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR
KNOCK ON ANY DOOR


DELTA AIR LINES
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ALOFT
I want to grow up
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AIRLINES PILOT

AS CORE GROUPS IN THE SOUTH concentrate on schools, voting and public accommodations, those further north focus on employment and housing. Indeed, the employment methods developed by St. Louis CORE are adaptable to any community with a large Negro population—South as well as North. In these two areas, nonviolent action can prove as effective as in restaurants, theaters, and amusement parks, with which this technique is generally associated.

In employment, particularly, successful CORE actions have taken place in a number of communities. Individual companies have been persuaded to change to a fair employment policy under which employes are hired regardless of color in skilled as well as unskilled capacities. How CORE technique works in employment is most clearly illustrated with a play-by-play account of a St. Louis project compiled by three of its participants: Charles and Marian Oldham and Vera Williams.

THE "TAYSTEE" PROJECT

In the fall of 1958 after a joint CORE-NAACP motorcade and an impending mass picket demonstration got department stores to start hiring Negro sales clerks, St. Louis CORE was ready for a new employment project. Inevitably, many different fields were suggested: trade schools, oil companies, bakeries. Following a thorough study by the group, the baking field was chosen because bread is a product bought by every Negro family in the city and hence one whose producers should be sensitive to the problem of employing Negroes. However, the prevailing policy of St. Louis bakeries was to employ Negroes in maintenance work only, giving them the lofty title of "sanitation engineer." A CORE survey revealed that no Negroes were employed in the production department of any bakery, that only one firm had Negroes on its office staff, but that several companies had Negro driver-salesmen.

After choosing the category of bakeries it was decided to concentrate on a particular company. Taystee Bread was selected because at least 20% of its product is sold to Negroes, because its plant and office are located in the center of the Negro ghetto and because it was one of the firms which employed Negroes only as maintenance workers.

WE DON'T SELL
TAYSTEE BREAD
DUE TO
DISCRIMINATORY
EMPLOYMENT
POLICY
GROCERIES
FRUITS • VEG

Following a fruitless conference with the manager, in which he denied any discrimination, CORE decided to inform the public of Taystee's refusal to hire Negroes in either production or sales.

Retail store owners in the neighborhood of the plant were asked to sign cards saying: *"I believe the Taystee Bread Co. Should Employ Negroes in All Capacities."* The CORE group began mailing the signed cards to the company at the rate of five a day. Unable to contact the manager by the end of a week, CORE spread the card-signing over a wider area and started sending them to Taystee at the rate of ten a day. Subsequently the number was increased to fifteen a day and then to twenty.

By this time the manager made himself available to CORE and promised to consider hiring Negro production workers if ny should apply. With his permission, CORE sent a press release to the Negro weeklies. The Urban League was con-acted. A special newsletter was sent to ll Negro churches. To make sure of at east some Negro applicants, CORE mem-ers themselves applied for jobs at Taystee nly to be met with stalling tactics.

When CORE next succeeded in con-acting the manager, he admitted that nany Negroes had applied but stated he ad not had time to examine the applica-ions. He pleaded for another month. At he end of that time he asked for an dditional delay of a few months.

RGANIZED BOYCOTT

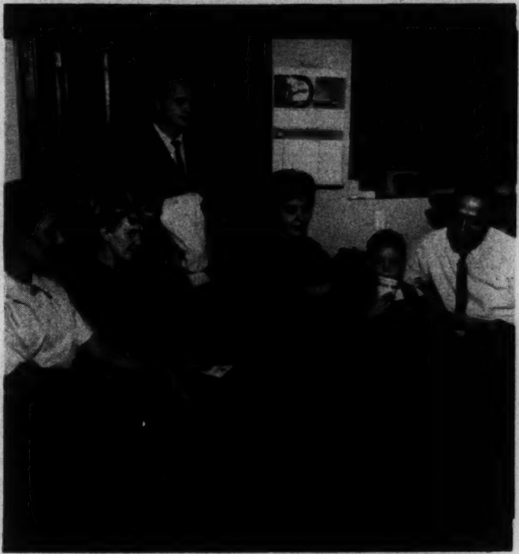
With no progress at the end of the econd delay, CORE resolved to ask re-ail store owners to put signs in their vindows saying: *"We Don't Sell Taystee read Due to Discriminatory Employment olicy."* It was decided to start with a mall area and if results were not forth-oming, to spread out over the city. Of 0 stores visited, two-thirds agreed to stop elling Taystee Bread and to put the signs their windows. The job was made more ifficult by a Taystee public relations man ho followed CORE deputations into the tores and denied that the company dis-riminated. Some stores then resumed sell-g Taystee Bread until visited again by ORE members who informed them about e truth of the situation.

At this point the manager appealed to he Negro alderman from the ward where he plant is located. This alderman agreed o discuss the matter at the company ffice, but with the proviso that CORE epresentatives be present.

The outcome of this conference was n agreement by management to upgrade wo Negro maintenance men to produc-ion and to hire a Negro driver-salesman mmediately with others to follow. CORE n turn removed its window-signs and uggested that the stores resume sale of aystee Bread. In contacting the company for an initial progress report, CORE learned that Taystee had put into effect the terms of its agreement. An understanding was reached by which CORE contacts Taystee every six months for a new progress report. Simultaneously with the Taystee campaign, CORE was negotiating with five other large bakeries—and a furniture store.

FAIR HOUSING

This is the next-to-last act of a real-life drama on housing. The photo was taken during a 25-hour sit-in in October 1961 at the rental office of the Ira Management Corporation, Brooklyn, N. Y.



The cast at extreme left, Mrs. Margaret Chapman, who as an outcome of the sit-in, secured the apartment which she had previously been refused because of her color. Mrs. Chapman, a medical secretary, is a widowed mother of three children.

Next to her is Mrs. Rioghan Kirchner, chairman of Brooklyn CORE's housing committee. Entering the door, with a bag of food for the sit-inners is Arnold Goldwag, who, on behalf of his "sister," was shown the 3-room apartment which Mrs. Chapman had tried, unsuccessfully, to rent.

To Goldwag's right is his "sister"—who in reality is Mrs. Sonya Zelwain—and her son Eric. To their right is Dr. Robert Palmer, chairman of Brooklyn CORE.

Rental office sit-ins together with picketing have proved successful with adamant landlords in several localities. However, landlords who have committed an act of discrimination often change policy when caught red-handed—particularly in states with fair housing laws. Landlords are thus confronted with the discriminated Negro at the very moment when the white tester who followed and was granted an apartment is at the point of signing his lease. This timing can be easily arranged by the particular CORE group involved.

In testing housing—whether it be a hotel, motel, apartment or house—a white CORE member applies within a few moments after a Negro is refused. If this white person is accepted, the landlord cannot use the standard excuses that there are no vacancies or that apparent vacancies have already been filled.

When the first Negro family moves into a previously all white neighborhood, there may be threats of violence. CORE action can help stop such threats from being carried out. Los Angeles CORE in 1958 had an emergency committee, prepared to stand nonviolent guard duty. This committee established an all-night vigil when violence was threatened against a Negro teacher and his family who had bought a home in a formerly white area. There was no violence.

Once Negroes, in substantial numbers, move into a formerly white neighborhood, there is a danger that whites will move out and the neighborhood will become a new Negro ghetto. In fact this trend is often accelerated by unscrupulous real estate operators who incite panic-selling in changing neighborhoods. This danger can be—and has successfully been—averted by a prompt community education program which CORE groups can help initiate. Whites in changing neighborhoods have been persuaded to erect signs saying: *"This house is NOT for sale: we believe in democracy."*

Both in Boston and New York, CORE groups were active in campaigns which brought about passage of fair-housing legislation. To translate the new laws into reality, thousands of CORE leaflets were distributed emphasizing that under the law, people can move into any section of the city they may choose. The leaflets offered free assistance to apartment and house hunters. Actual cases of discrimination were followed-through by nonviolent action which in many cases succeeded in winning for Negroes the homes of their choice.

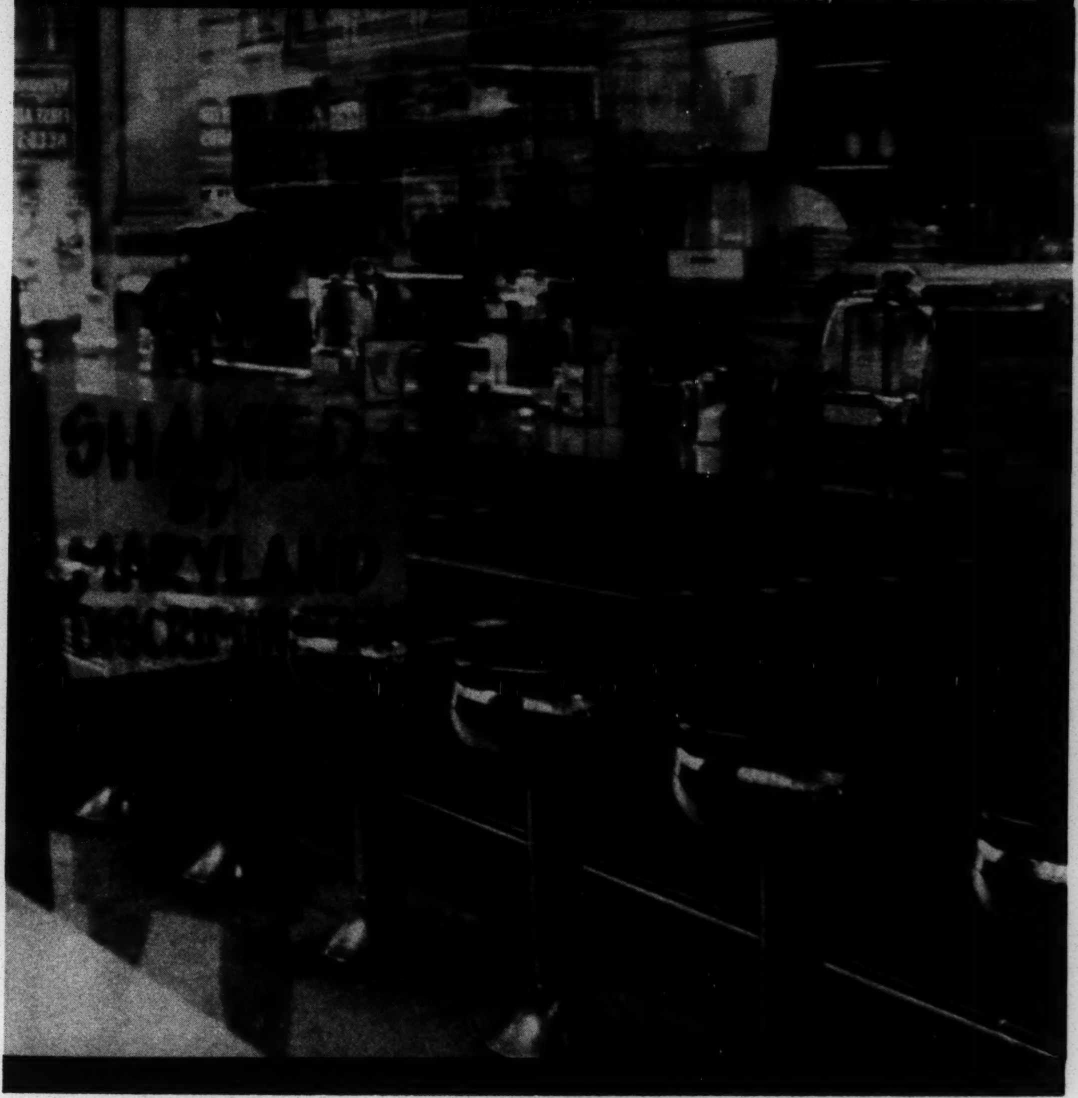
Perhaps the most sustained housing campaign conducted by a CORE group was in Boston. For that reason, Boston was selected as the site for CORE's first special Action Institute to be devoted to housing, only. It took place in mid-summer 1961.

ADELMAN

GENTLEMEN, BE SEATED

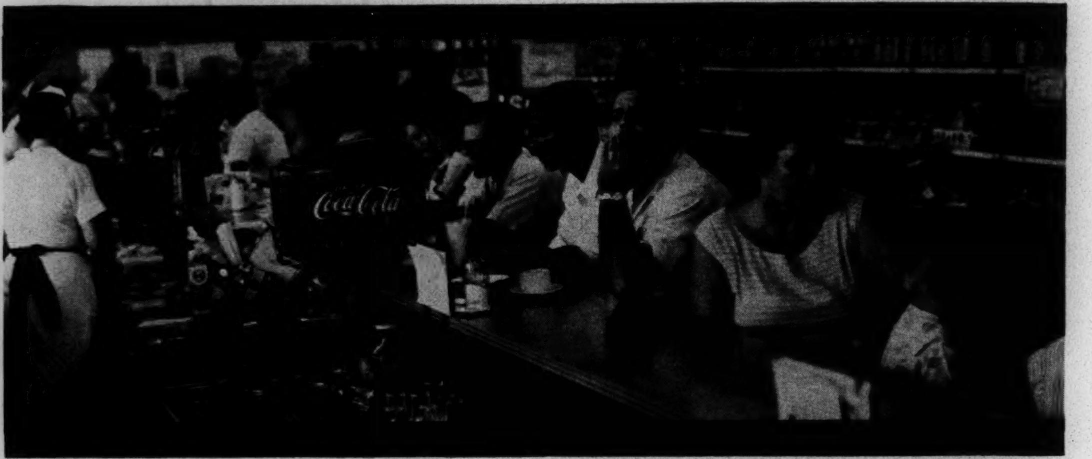
GENTLEMEN, BE SEATED

GENTLEMEN, BE SEATED



ADELMAN

NONVIOLENT ACTION, in which CORE pioneered since 1943, was first used on a mass scale in 1956. For an entire year, 42,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, simply ceased riding the city's buses rather than be humiliated by segregated seating. Their peaceful boycott, directed by Martin Luther King and other leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, succeeded in desegregating the city's buses.



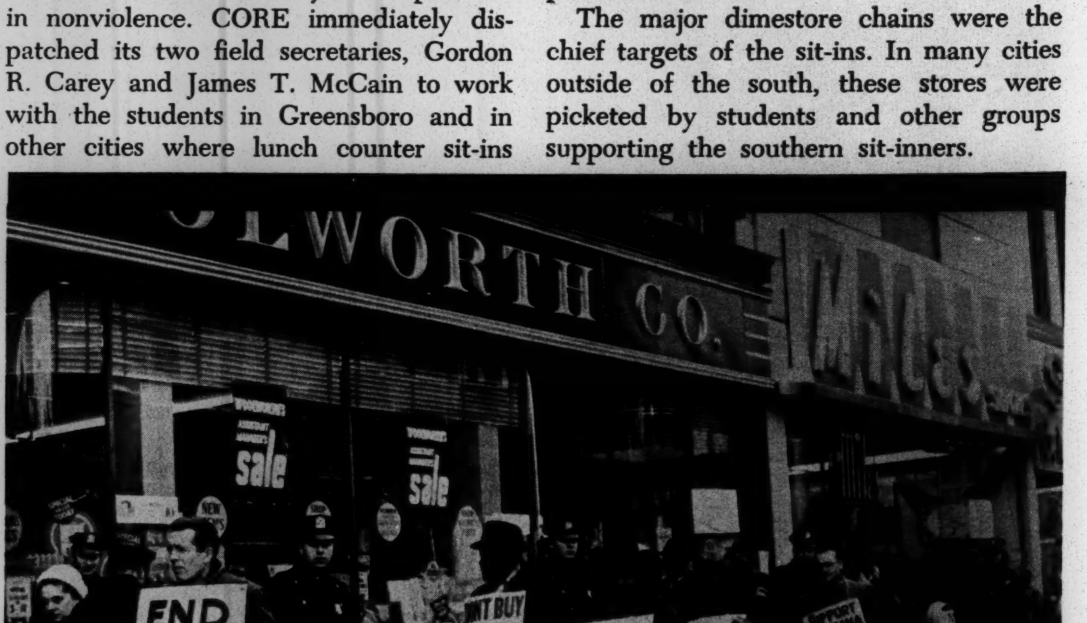
LUNCH COUNTER SIT-INS

The second instance of a mass resort to nonviolence, was the 1960 lunch counter sit-in movement. Setting this off, was a student sit-in on February 1 at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Dr. George Simkins, Jr., head of the Greensboro NAACP, approached CORE on behalf of the students to gain the benefits of CORE's 18 years experience in nonviolence. CORE immediately dispatched its two field secretaries, Gordon R. Carey and James T. McCain to work with the students in Greensboro and in other cities where lunch counter sit-ins followed. Within a month they had spread to 25 cities in 5 states. The arrest of some 200 sit-inners in several communities on charges of *"trespassing"* failed to stem the tide.

Despite the large numbers of students involved and despite taunting by rowdy gangs of white youths in some cities, outbreaks of violence were few and minor. The students grasped the importance of maintaining nonviolence, regardless of provocation.

The major dimestore chains were the chief targets of the sit-ins. In many cities outside of the south, these stores were picketed by students and other groups supporting the southern sit-inners.



The technique in which CORE had pioneered since 1943 with very little publicity, had finally become nationwide news copy. As a result, the organization for the first time became widely known throughout the U.S. The number of its contributors rose sharply and the organization was consequently able to expand.

CORE placed its entire resources behind the student movement. Its affiliated groups in the south were mobilized to engage in sit-ins. Those outside of the south were urged to conduct supporting picket demonstrations.

The students considered the lunch counter campaign their own protest movement and viewed it with pride. Generally, they chose to act independently from existing civil rights organizations. However, they welcomed the aid of these organizations and particularly of CORE, whose special field is nonviolence. CORE was called upon, in particular, to conduct workshops on nonviolence. CORE also remained in negotiations with the major dimestore chains throughout the sit-ins in an effort to effect the policy change as swiftly and smoothly as possible. CORE also contacted many church, union and civic groups to rally support for the students.

MASS PROTESTS

From the sit-ins evolved mass marches and civil rights rallies involving a total number of students in the thousands. The number arrested in these demonstrations was well over a thousand.

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, 350 of 550 arrested students were herded into an open-air stockade in sub-freezing weather because the city and county jails were not big enough to hold them. Prior to the arrests, police intercepted their protest march with tear gas and fire hoses. The students stood in the stockade, well-dressed, calm, singing *"God Bless America."*

A similar peaceful mass protest by students in Montgomery, Alabama, scene of the 1956 bus boycott, brought to the campus a cordon of police armed with guns and tear gas. These displays of police force failed to deter the students. Other mass demonstrations followed those in Montgomery and Orangeburg.

The process of lunch counter desegregation took place fast. Two months after the sit-ins started, approximately 100 eating places throughout the deep south had changed policy. By Mid-summer community-wide lunch counter desegregation had taken place in many localities. A survey of eight such localities by the Southern Regional Council showed that the stores whose lunch counters had desegregated were prospering.

"Where settlements have been reached, there has been little solace for the south's prophets of disaster," the survey report said. *"No store in the south which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase.*

"Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate a victory. Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity. White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine."

JAIL-INS

Within the first year of the sit-ins, lunch counter desegregation came to 134 southern communities. In February 1961 a new word came into our vocabulary: JAIL-INS. It was coined by newspapermen in reference to the increasing number of southern students who, to emphasize the injustice of being arrested for protesting racial discrimination, chose to remain in jail rather than pay fines or go out on bail. The first student jail-in occured less than three months after the sit-ins started. It involved five members of the student CORE group in Tallahassee, Florida. One of them Patricia Stephens, wrote from Leon County Jail where she and the others were imprisoned 49 days: *"We could be out on appeal but we all strongly believe that Martin Luther King*

was right when he said: 'We've got to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights.'"

Jail-ins reached a peak in February 1961 with a total of 100. The jail-in which sparkplugged this trend was by eight Friendship Junior College students in Rock Hill, South Carolina and a former Claflin student, Thomas Gaither, who had become a CORE field secretary. These nine were the first student sit-inners to be committed to a road gang. They served 30 days rather than pay $100 fines.

How they felt about it was aptly expressed in a letter which Clarence Graham wrote his mother and father at one in the morning, the day he was to jail-in. *"Try to understand that what I'm doing is right,"* the letter said. *"It isn't like going to jail for a crime like stealing or killing, but we are going for the betterment of all Negroes."*

The conviction and dedication of the student sit-inners is conveyed in the concluding paragraphs of *"Jailed-In,"* a pamphlet which Thomas Gaither wrote following his release.

"Our 30 days on the road gang were over, but not our struggle to end lunch counter discrimination in Rock Hill. One of our group, Willy Massy, was back in jail again less than two weeks later. He and four other students were arrested March 14 for picketing a drug store with a segregated lunch counter. Like our group, they refused to pay fines. The day before, two other members of our group—John Gaines and Robert McCullough—were assaulted on the picket line by white hoodlums, Gaines was clubbed unconscious and taken to York County hospital. Two hours later, he and McCullough resumed picketing accompanied by three others of our group—Clarence Graham, James Wells and me.

"These students are determined to carry on the nonviolent action campaign until Rock Hill's lunch counters desegregate. Our jail-in has strengthened—not weakened that determination."

"...AND LEAVE THE DRIVING TO US"

"...AND LEAVE THE DRIVING TO US"

"...AND LEAVE THE DRIVING TO US"

THE TERM "FREEDOM RIDE" was originated by CORE in 1961. But the idea of challenging southern bus segregation by direct action was first put into practice by CORE 14 years earlier, with the Journey of Reconciliation. In April 1947, ten months after the Supreme Court had issued its initial decision outlawing segregation in interstate travel, 16 whites and Negroes set out on an interracial bus trip through the upper south, challenging the jimcrow seating pattern.

They found that drivers and passengers were ready to accept desegregation. Aboard buses where drivers ignored the group's Negroes sitting in front seats, passengers did likewise. Arrests or threatened arrests were the exception and even in the five instances where arrests occurred, there were no outbreaks of violence

—except in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where the group was attacked by some white cab drivers. All but one of the arrest cases were either dropped or won by CORE on appeal. In the one case which was lost on a technicality, three of the riders served 30 days on a North Carolina road gang.

Even before the 1947 Journey was over, the question of another such trip was discussed. Several years later an attempt was made to organize one, but it never materialized. In the winter of 1961, riding aboard a bus together, Thomas Gaither and Gordon Carey of the CORE field staff broached the subject in earnest and devised the term Freedom Ride. The idea was accepted enthusiastically by the next national CORE council meeting and the Ride was set for early May, from Washington to New Orleans. What made the timing particularly opportune was that in December the Supreme Court had extended its original 1946 decision to cover all terminal facilities—restaurants, waiting rooms, rest rooms, etc.

The 1961 Freedom Ride would test the terminals—not merely the seating aboard buses. Also, in the event of arrest, participants would be committed to be jailed-in rather than accept bail or pay fines.

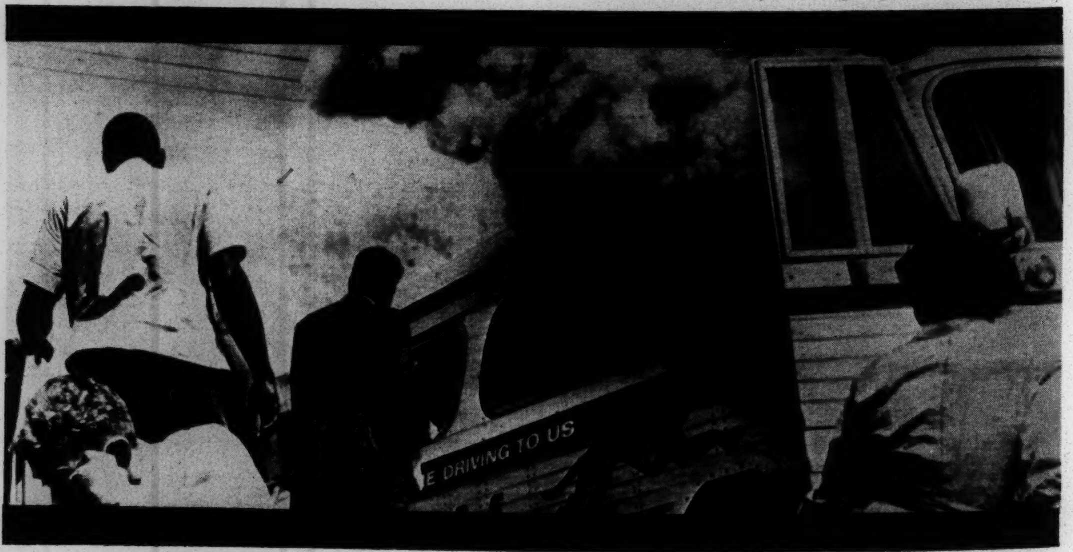
FIRST FREEDOM RIDE

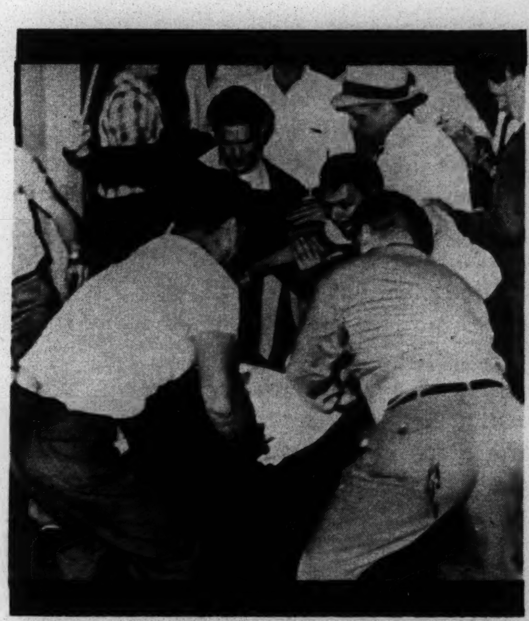
On May 4, 13 Freedom Riders including James Farmer, national director of CORE and Jim Peck, who had been on the 1947 Journey, set out from Washington following a 4-day training session in nonviolence.

"The integration of seating was a sharp contrast to the situation prevailing at the time of the 1947 Journey when CORE testers were virtually the only passengers to ride non-jimcrow," Peck wrote in the next CORElator. *"However, the same rigid segregation which prevailed in seating at that time now prevails at the terminals and rest stops."*

As far as Alabama, except for an incident with white hoodlums in Rock Hill, South Carolina—the Ride progressed peacefully. There were three arrests—but the case in Charlotte, North Carolina was dismissed and the two cases in Winnsboro, South Carolina, were dropped after the arrested Riders were jailed overnight. Across Georgia, the Riders traveled using all the terminal facilities without incident. There was no segregationist violence or police interference—even in Athens, which had been the scene of mob action the previous fall following admission of two Negro college students.

In Alabama, mob violence occurred on May 14. A Greyhound bus with the first contingent of Freedom Riders was bombed and burned by a segregationist crowd





outside of Anniston. A gang of hoodlums boarded a Trailways bus in Anniston and assaulted members of the second contingent. Upon arrival in Birmingham, Jim Peck was beaten almost to death and Charles Person was badly injured by a waiting mob as the two entered the Trailways terminal restaurant. Segregationist violence errupted again a week later when a second group of Freedom Riders, most of them Nashville students, arrived in Montgomery. Like in Birmingham, no uniformed police were at the bus station and the riders were ruthlessly beaten with all types of weapons as they debarked.

FREEDOM RIDES ROLL ON

The mob violence in Alabama, reported by newspapers, radio and TV the world-over, shocked many people. Prospective Freedom Riders started writing the CORE office and applying in person. Starting in June an intense mobilization of Freedom Riders was coordinated by CORE, the Nashville Nonviolent Movement, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Over the summer, the Freedom Rides became a movement, as had the lunch counter sit-ins the year before. Most of the Negro participants were southern Negro students who had been active in the sit-ins. Most of the whites were young people from sections other than the south. One contingent of Freedom Riders journeyed all the way from California and another from the state of Washington. One contingent included ministers and rabbis only. Another included professional people only.

Most of the Rides wound up in Jackson, Mississippi, where all Freedom Riders were automatically arrested and jailed for "*disturbing the peace.*" The largest number imprisoned at one time came to almost 200. Hinds County, where Jackson is located, had to take over a building of the State Prison in Parchman, Mississippi, to house all the imprisoned Riders. Most of them, including James Farmer, remained in jail for 40 days and then came out,

as required by state law if a case is to be appealed. A few served their full sentences, which ranged up to six months, without appealing.

RESULTS OF THE RIDES

On September 22 the Interstate Commerce Commission issued new regulations prohibiting interstate carriers from segregating and from using terminal facilities which segregate. That these new regulations were a direct outcome of the Freedom Rides was asserted in many newspaper stories and editorials.

Immediately following November 1, the compliance date, CORE dispatched test teams throughout the deep south. They found a pattern of substantial compliance except in Mississippi and most of Louisiana. Surprisingly, Alabama was not in the ranks of the generally non-complying states. At Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, where the first Freedom Riders had been assaulted by segregationist mobs, test teams were served without incident. However, in Alabama, as in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, compliance is by no means complete particularly in the smaller, outlying communities.

As James Farmer stated: *"The ICC regulations, while helpful, can prove truly effective only if they are translated into action by interstate passengers' traveling unsegregated and insisting on their right to do so."*

The 1961 Freedom Rides spelled the beginning of the end of bus segregation in the deep south. CORE plans to continue freedom riding until Mississippi, Louisiana and other isolated pockets of segregation fall into line.

TWU SUPPORTS The FREEDOM RIDERS
TWU AFL-CIO

U.S. ROUTE #40

An outstanding example of the effectiveness of nonviolent action is CORE's U.S. Route #40 project. On the section of that highway between the Delaware Memorial Bridge and Baltimore, restaurants had discriminated repeatedly against African diplomats traveling between the United Nations and the U.S. capital. American Negroes seeking service at these eating places were arrested. The situation had become so embarassing, internationally, that President Kennedy and the State Department interceded. Nevertheless, the incidents of discrimination continued.

As a result, CORE initiated a Freedom Motorcade scheduled for November 11, 1961, in which participants would sit-in at the many eating places along the road and, if necessary, face arrest. Over 1,400 Riders volunteered. Three days before November 11, the majority of the restaurant owners—35 in Maryland and 12 in Delaware—agreed to desegregate. The Motorcade was postponed. Subsequent CORE tests proved that almost all of the 47 restaurants were complying as were some of those who had not been party to the agreement. The holdouts were the targets of a Motorcade on December 16 and of further CORE action. *"I'm not bitter about CORE's role in this thing,"* commented one of the restaurant owners. *"Let's face it, we never would have done it if they had not applied pressure."*

This booklet was written by Jim Peck and designed by Jerry Goldman. The chapter, "Dinner at Stoner's" is reprinted from a pamphlet about CORE's early years by George Houser.

CORE

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CONGRESS OF
RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

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N PAPER

November 22, 1966

Mrs. Bonnie Stretch
"Saturday Review"
380 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mrs. Stretch:

Enclosed herewith is a statement on CORE's position on education.

Yours truly,

Don Smith
Director
Public Relations

DS/dk
encl.

The schools which the overwhelming majority of American children now attend are both segregated and inferior. Both segregation and the lack of quality must be ended and their end is undividedly intertwined. Just as leading educators have done, the nation as a whole must recognize that schools which are segregated cannot be high quality and to be of high quality they cannot be segregated.

Drastic changes in educational systems throughout the country are necessary if the educational process would adequately perform its function of preparing children for life.

Revolutionary methods must be developed, pupil-teacher ratios must be less than 20, remedial reading and extensive tutelage must become a part of the teaching process in disadvantaged areas. Electronic devices and the training and use of non-professional community aids must be widely used. Quality education can only be accomplished if the constraints of ghetto living and the handicaps of children from families with poor verbal skills are attacked by new methods that will involve the parents in the educational programs.

# # #

Civil Rights

STATEMENT FROM THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY TO THE ASSEMBLAGE AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

~~Brooklyn~~

We, members of Congress of Racial Equality Chapters, come to this Centennial celebration of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation to place a casket symbolizing the need to bury "Jim Crow." We are here not to protest this occasion nor with any animosity toward any person present.

James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, was invited to sit on the dais. However, he is absent because of the need for him to play a key role in a major rally being held in Statesville, North Carolina as a continuation of CORE's major summer action project, Freedom Highways, the purpose of which is to enable Negroes to ride the highways of this country and be served in restaurants, hotels and other facilities in the same manner accorded other travelers. Our National Director's absence is evidence that the Emancipation Proclamation may have freed the slaves, but did not free the Negro.

We bring this casket to this Celebration to remind all of those assembled of the tremendous task that remains to accomplish in fact the burial of racial segregation and discrimination.

Today eight years after the Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public education unconstitutional only 7% of the Negroes in the public school system of the seventeen southern states attend school with white children. The public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia have been closed since September of 1959 in defiance of a court order. In the States of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, no effort has been made to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. The utter irrationality of Southern racism is graphically illustrated by the legal and legislative contortions exercised by Governor Ross Barnett and other state officials of Mississippi to prevent James Meredith from enrolling at the University of Mississippi.

With this country's economy placing increased emphasis on skilled manpower, Negroes are barred from apprenticeship training programs in building trades unions and by employers in metal and other crafts. The unemployment rate for Negro workers is two and a half times that of white workers. Yet there is no stirring of support from Capitol Hill for an enforceable Federal Fair Employment Practices law.

According to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 80 per cent of federally assisted housing is segregated. President Kennedy promised in his campaign to issue an Executive Order banning discrimination in all federally assisted housing. Not only has the President failed to fulfill his pledge, but the reported draft of the Executive Order prepared at the White House is not retroactive, failing to cover federally assisted housing already built and under construction. This represents not only a severe emasculation of the effectiveness of the Executive Order but is a grave affront to the Negroes and other minority groups on the centennial anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Furthermore, with increased racist terror in the South in the form of the recent burning of Negro churches in Georgia; shooting, violence and intimidation in connection with efforts of Negroes to exercise their constituionally guaranteed right to vote; police intimidation by acquiescence or complicity of white mob violence as occurred during the Freedom Ride in Alabama in May, 1961, by mass arrest of peaceful demonstrators on dubious charges in Albany, Georgia and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and by brutality on the streets and jails in Louisiana and Mississippi, we ask you to join with CORE in a twenty-four hour vigil at the White House from 12:00 noon Saturday, September 22 to 12:00 noon Sunday, September 23, demanding that the President and the Department of Justice fully exercise the powers of leadership vested in their office by:

1) Issuing an Executive Order with necessary enforcement powers extending to all Federal agencies concerned with housing forbidding discrimination in all federally assisted housing.

2) That the Department of Justice make greater use of federal marshalls to protect persons peacefully exercising constitutional rights. That when, in the presence of marshalls, citizens and local and state officials commit acts in violation of the United States Code, marshalls make arrests.

3) That greater use of injunctive relief be sought by the Justice Department in federal courts.

4) That FBI agents not native to the scene of trouble, or residents of it, be assigned to civil rights investigations.

5) That Congress authorize federal courts to grant injunctive or other mandatory relief in civil rights cases when state courts, by inordinate delay, have deprived a person of due process.

September 22, 1962

EMPLOYMENT
WORKSHOP
BOOKLET

(first draft)

May, 1964

OUTLINE FOR EMPLOYMENT BOOKLET

Because not enough materials are at hand the following outline cannot be expanded into a full booklet. The pages following this outline, then, are an expansion only of parts I and II.

I. Introduction: The relationship between freedom and jobs.

II. Job opportunities opened by recent legislation

- A. Civil Rights Act of 1964
    - 1. Title VI
        - a. ARA jobs opened on non-discriminatory basis
        - b. jobs and training in agriculture which must be non-discriminatory
        - c. jobs created under Economic Opportunity Act
        - d. ways to complain against violations of non-discriminatory provisions
    - 2. Title VII
        - a. No discrimination in hiring, firing, salarying, providing all other work conditions for any employer with 100 or more employees.
        - b. ways to complain when the above is violated.
- B. Economic Opportunity Act
    - 1. Jobs to assist professionals (Headstart)
    - 2. New jobs for unemployed and low income people
    - 3. Supplementary jobs for farm families
    - 4. Small businesses development
    - 5. Job training

III. Job opportunities which have long existed--but on a discriminatory basis.

- A. Civil Service
- B. Vocational training

IV. What the Future Holds

- A. Unionizing in Mississippi?
- B. Diversification and Mechanization in Agriculture
- C. Diversification and Mechanization in Industry

JOBS FOR NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI

Everybody has heard somebody say, "I don't want to get mixed up with 'freedom people' because I might lose my job." The risk of losing jobs is a part of trying to get free from the old system. But becoming free can mean something more. It can mean searching for new and better jobs. That search is what we want to talk about now.

Today many people in Mississippi have a better chance for decent employment than they had last year. This is because the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed by the Congress in Washington, D.C. Two parts of that Act are about jobs. One part is called Title VI (Six). It says that any place that receives money from the U.S. Government must hire, fire, and treat all people equally in all ways. There are at least three kinds of such places:

1. Some places receive government money from the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA). The Fourth District Office has a list of these.
2. Almost all farming programs have U.S. money behind them. These programs offer jobs, training for jobs, and education about better farming. You can probably list some of the places where more information can be found about these programs.

   A. The County Agent

   B. ASCS Office

   C. Letters to U.S. Dept. of Agriculture

3. More and more, now, jobs will be created from the Anti-Poverty Bill (see below, page). Since they, too, are supported by the U.S. Government, they, too, must be open to everybody. Do you know of any anti-poverty programs in this community? List them.

If you're not sure what programs exist, how can you find out?

A. Ask community officials and leaders

B. Write Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

Maybe one or two committees should be formed to get this information.

INFORMATION-SEEKING COMMITTEES

Committee will meet:

The other part of the Civil Rights Act that is about jobs is called Title VII (seven). It says that any employer who has one-hundred or more employees must treat all of them, and all people who apply for employment, equally in every way. He must hire, fire, pay wages, give out jobs, provide restrooms and drinking fountains without discrimination. Do you know which places here employ one-hundred or more people?

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The Fourth District Office has a list of these places which you can check with.

When all this information--about ARA, farm programs, anti-poverty progrmms and companies employing more than 100 people--is gathered you will have a list of jobs which people in your community can apply for. How can you let everybody know about these jobs? How can you get people to apply for them.

PLAN OF ACTION

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If you know people who are already working at some of these places, maybe you can ask them for a report.

What questions should you ask?

1. Do Negroes have any of the better jobs, or are all their jobs low-grade?
2. Is the salary scale the same for both Negroes and whites?
3. Are separate drinking fountains and restrooms kept there?

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If the answers show that the places discriminate, what can you do? And if the people who apply at various places are turned down for bad reasons or just ignored, what can you do? The National Lawyers Guild has written a booklet to answer these questions. It's called The Citizens Guide to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Fourth District Office has a copy of this guide. It tells what to do if a place is covered by Title VI (if a place is supported by federal money, see page 2 above):

> direct quote, page 13, Citizens Guide
> (not available at press time)

The Citizens Guide also explains how to act against a place covered by Title VII (see above, page 3):

> Direct quote from Citizens Guide, pages 19-23)
> (not available at press time)

If you have to follow this course, how can you do it best? Should one or two people be chosen to make sure all complaints are filed properly? Are there lawyers and other people who can advise you?

PLAN OF ACTION

Looking for jobs that already exist isn't all you can do. It is possible, too, to create new jobs. This can be done under Congress's Economic Opportunity Act (the Anti-Poverty Bill). Under this act you can start a "community action" program. With this you can create new jobs and, if you choose, can set up job training. This could mean starting small businesses, or setting up pre-school care centers to hire professional and non-professional people, or giving added employment to farm families who need more income to stay on their farms. Anyone can write for the Community Action Program Guide which has all the information on this. The address is:

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Maybe some of you should agree to obtain and study this Guide so that a future meeting you could decide if you can and want to use it.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Trinity VII NEWSLETTER August 1, 1965

MEMBERS TO ELECT NEW DIRECTORS

The Society's Board of Directors is made up of twenty-four clergy and laity, twelve of whom are elected each year to two-year terms. Of these twelve, eight are elected from the Church's provinces and four are elected at the Annual Meeting. The former, with clergy and laity alternating, are elected by mail ballot; thereby giving every member a stake in determining the Society's affairs, whether or not they can attend membership meetings. This year's Nominating Committee, appointed by President Peabody, was centered in the Chicago area and chaired by ESCRU's National Treasurer, Jean Frey. Others serving with her were: Evelyn Edwards, Mattie Hopkins, and Frs. Joseph Dickson, John Slee, and Warner White. The slate they have nominated is set forth on the enclosed ballot(s) (Two for couples.) Instructions are on the ballot. To count it must be returned to Mrs. Frey by August 31st. VOTE NOW!

MISSION TO MONTANA PLANS SET

Six Episcopal priests will meet in Minneapolis Sunday, September 5th, to finalize a Statement of Concern they hope to present to the meeting of the House of Bishops at Glacier, Montana, later that week. The subject of their concern will be clergy placement patterns in the Church which traditionally relegate Negro clergy to "Negro parishes". Making the trip for ESCRU will be: The Rev. Jesse Anderson, Philadelphia; The Rev. James Breeden, New York City; The Rev. Quinland Gordon, Washington; The Rev. Robert Hood, Gary, Indiana; The Rev. Kenneth Hughes, Cambridge, Mass.; and the Rev. Henri Stines, Atlanta. A number of Bishops are already persuaded that the matter of clergy placement should have top priority in the House. The delegation of six is ably equipped to encourage any Bishops who may have doubts as to the urgency of this issue. On September 9th they will fly directly to Jackson to highlight discussion of clergy placement needs at the ESCRU Annual Meeting.

AGENDA FOR THE 5TH ANNUAL MEETING

Jackson, Mississippi September 9 - 12, 1965 Hotel Heidelberg

Thursday, Sept. 9:

2:00 P.M. - 6:00 P.M. - REGISTRATION, Hotel

7:30 P.M. - OPENING SERVICE, St. Andrew's Church, Sermon-Executive Director

8:45 P.M. - OPENING SESSION, Hotel
Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr., President

10:00 P.M. - Informal Reception

Friday, Sept. 10:

8:00 A.M. - Holy Communion

9:00 A.M. - PLENARY SESSION: "Internal Needs in the Life of the Church"
The Montana Declaration
Workshops & Report

2:00 P.M. - PLENARY SESSION: "Other Frontiers"

I-NEW HORIZONS IN INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONS
Charles Wittenstein - American Jewish Committee

II-THE FIRST AMERICAN: A FORGOTTEN MINORITY
The Rev. George Pierce
Porcupine, South Dakota

III-SELMA: A CONTINUING MINISTRY OF PRESENCE
Jonathan M. Daniels, E.T.S.'66
Selma, Alabama

IV-FRONTIER IN A NORTHERN CITY
The Rev. Layton P. Zimmer
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Friday, Sept 10:

7:00 P.M. - DINNER. PANEL: "Mississippi: A Closed Or Opening Society?" Panelists invited from - NAACP, MFDP, Delta Ministry, Council on Human Relations, Diocese of Mississippi, concerned citizens.

Invited Guests: Episcopal Clergy of Mississippi

Saturday, Sept. 11:

8:30 A.M. - DEPARTURE FOR FIELD VISITS
Delta Ministry Projects, Other Areas
Local Episcopal Church leadership

8:00 P.M. - PLENARY SESSION: Reports & Evaluation of Field Visits
Meditation - The Rev. Arthur Walmsley

Sunday, Sept. 12:

7:30 A.M. - Holy Communion, St. Andrew's Church

9:00 A.M. - FINAL PLENARY SESSION
Local Chapter Reports
Elections
Other Business

12:00 Noon - Adjournment

REGISTER NOW - USE THE ENCLOSED FORM

It is essential that you register in advance with the national office of ESCRU & request room preferences now!

SAN DIEGO ESCRU MEMBERS PROMOTE OPEN OCCUPANCY HOUSING: POOL SAVINGS TO BUY 16 UNITS TO RENT

Seven families in the San Diego area have formed a partnership, investing between one to three thousand dollars each, and purchased a development of one bedroom houses near San Diego State College which they intend to rent on an integrated basis. "The Bi-Ra" cottages, located in a previously all-white neighborhood, have a community swimming pool and will rent for $75.00 a month. Profits from the venture will go toward additional integrated housing developments. The partnership, itself interracial, was sparked by Churchman George Benedict & includes families belonging to several churches. Recently they all gathered at The Bi-Ra, children & all, and spent the day preparing the units for occupancy.

HOUSTON ESCRU MEMBERS ARRESTED IN HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS, SIT-IN: CHARGED WITH DISTURBING PEACE. DAY IN JAIL.

Six members of the Houston Chapter of ESCRU, including the Chairman, were among 26 persons jailed in the East Texas community of Huntsville on July 25th after seeking service at a local restaurant that had not made its policy on serving Negroes clear. Without being asked to leave, the doors were locked and the group was arrested and held overnight in the small county jail. After arraignment the following day, the local Negro community raised the $200. cash bond required for each of the group. This extraordinary abuse of police power is reminiscent of methods since discarded in areas generally considered more Deep South in outlook. It is a vivid reminder of the pockets of resistance still found in many parts of Texas, Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas.

RACE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH: SCHISM AND RUMORS OF SCHISM

> "I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinedresser. Every branch of mine that bears no fruit, he takes away, and every branch that does bear fruit he prunes, that it may bear more fruit." - John 15:1-2

It becomes more apparent every day that God is working through the racial crisis for the renewal of His Household, the Church, and that this may very well mean the agony of schism and separation at times. No one desires this and, indeed, all within the Household must earnestly seek reconciliation and healing where a breach is near. However, the confrontation of Christian principles with the old order is so acute at times that it seems well nigh inevitable at times that some will choose to separate themselves from the Church and withdraw to build idols and images of racism. Such has happened in Savannah, Georgia, where the former Rector of St. John's Church has led a majority of its members in schism rather than admit Negroes to the services and sacraments of the Church. Mr. Ernest Risley has renounced his orders and the Bishop of Georgia has appointed the Rev. Robert Marlow to be in charge of St. John's. Services for the faithful remnant of St. John's are to held for the present at Savannah's Desoto Hotel, itself soon to be demolished. Ultimately, it would seem that the diocese must contest the right of the schismatics to retain possession and use of the building that has housed this congregation for over a hundred years. Almost universally the legal title to Church properties is vested in the diocese, but there are reports that unusual factors may prevail in this instance. It is certainly in order for the whole Church to keep the Bishop and this diocese in its prayers as the future steps are taken.

Still another congregation named after the Beloved Disciple has recently come close to schismatic action. St. John's, Farmville, Virginia, long accustomed to loaning its facilities to a segregated private school while public schools were closed, was on record as opposing the admission of Negroes to worship services. Two volunteers in the Farmville Headstart program were Episcopalians. Because of their color they were initially to be denied admission to St. John's. However, at a meeting of the congregation it was decided, as we understand it, that the Church's canon law would be obeyed, but that the repeal of the objectionable canon would be sought by those concerned. It almost seems that Canon 16 has become a new kind of idol, obscuring the long-held and often proclaimed teaching of the Church which used to be cited in such instances. Such corruption of the law, though, simply increases our responsibity to discern and help others discern the moral and theological reasons for it in the first place.

These are but two instances of the agony of the Church. Numerous parishes lately have been cutting or completely withholding funds from diocesan and national obligations because of the Church's stand on race. Resistance to the new currents of reform and renewal moving within the Church is not confined to Southern regions. In the Diocese of Pennsylvania a group of dissident Churchmen has begun to circularize others, protesting Bishop DeWitt's strong leadership in racial matters and, in particular, his stand on Girard College, a segregated institution still being picketed by Christians of all traditions. The dissidents call their circular "The Voice from the Catacombs". That they use the fish, an ancient Christian symbol, to identify themselves suggests a possible connection with the right-wing "Society of Fishermen", a segregationists' group in Michigan which shows up at General Conventions to espouse their cause.

Still another schismatic group is "Bishop Dees" and his "Anglican Orthodox Church" centered in Statesville, N. C., where Mr. Dees was once the Episcopal Rector. He has a number of organized groups, chiefly, if not altogether, in the South. Recently some Atlanta Churchmen have received promotional material from "Bishop Dees" He probably has tried to capitalize on the unrest amongst racist church members in Atlanta who have advertised openly in the press for sympathizers to join them in creating a "laymen-controlled" church. One spokesman suggests it should have rented pews!

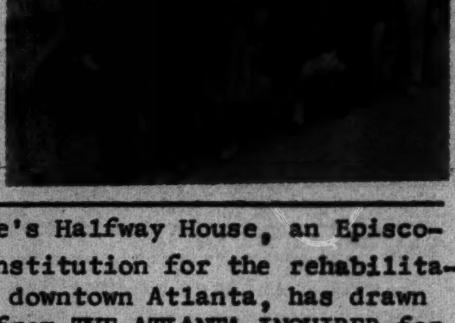
And so it goes. Pray for those in authority in the Church, that they might have strength to resist the temptation to replace reconciliation with compromise, and wisdom to know the difference.-JBM

CHURCHWOMAN TO MISSISSIPPI FOR YEAR: NEEDS HELP

Miss Kathleen Madden, a New Jersey Episcopalian, has been accepted for a year of service by the Delta Ministry for assignment to Greenville, Miss. She is in need of financial assistance to cover living expenses. Contributions may be sent, earmarked for Miss Madden, to St. John's Episcopal Church, 120 Summit St., Jersey City, N. J. ESCRU Director Fr. Robert Castle, Jr., is Rector of St. John's and has advised us of the need. If you cannot be a volunteer worker, perhaps you could stand back of Kathleen Madden for a month or more.....A goodly number of Churchmen are now in volunteer work this summer. Californians Pamela Emerson, Faith Conklin, Marc Oliver and Richard Copeland are but a few of those who serve. ESCRU staffers Dreisbach & Morris joined Dick Copeland and others of the Crawfordville, Ga., SCOPE project for a march recently. The following week Copeland, son of a San Diego priest, was beaten by white men......And there is Jonathan Daniels who faces danger daily in Selma where, as our representative, he is doing a magnificent job of sustaining morale in the Negro community and fostering a spirit of reconciliation across town.

SOME WILL SERVE IN A SMALL WAY BY COMING TO JACKSON - JOIN THEM!

CHICAGO ESCRU PROTESTS DEFACTO SEGREGATION



Pictured here are ESCRU members and others who remain deeply involved in the protest of the reappointment of Chicago's superintendent of schools. Numerous community groups are active in the protest of Mr. Willis' policy concerning racial imbalance in the public schools.

MISCELLANY - St. Jude's Halfway House, an Episcopal Church-related institution for the rehabilitation of prisoners in downtown Atlanta, has drawn editorial criticism from THE ATLANTA INQUIRER for its discriminatory policies, and behind-the-scenes rebuke from city authorities who utilize its services..... ESCRU Staff: Fr. Stines, speaker at a conference of Southern clergy; Fr. Boyd, touring Miss. for SNCC; Mr. Dreisbach spoke at Atlanta's Interdenominational Theological Center; Mr. Morris, participant in White House Conference on Education.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr.
Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris
Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd
Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.
Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. Henri A. Stines / 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3, Georgia

National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

FACT SHEET

ON THE LABOR DEPARTMENT HEARINGS

CONCERNING THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN FARM WORKERS

Because of the successful combined action of church groups, labor unions, organizations of Spanish speaking Americans, family farm groups and civic organizations, Congress refused to renew Public Law 78, or the Mexican Farm Labor Importation Program. As a result, P.L. 78 will expire on Dec. 31, 1964.

However, despite the Congressional action, the federal government will apparently continue to import foreign farm workers for U.S. growers. It intends to permit growers to import Mexican workers under section 214(c) of P.L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. British West Indian workers are already being imported for work on Florida and some East Coast farms under this law.

HEARINGS SCHEDULED

The Labor Department has announced hearings "to consider the criteria for the employment of foreign agricultural workers in the United States." In these hearings, witnesses are to suggest the conditions which the Labor Department is to require in order to permit growers to bring foreign farm workers into the United States.

These hearings are to be held as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.	-- in the Departmental Auditorium on Nov. 30 at 10 A.M.
MIAMI, FLA.	-- in the Bay Front City Auditorium on Dec. 2 at 10 A.M.
DALLAS, TEX.	-- in the Sheraton Dallas Hotel on Dec. 4 at 10 A.M.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.	-- in the California State Building on Dec. 7 at 10 A.M.

Since the Johnson Administration may well consider the turnout at these hearings as a test of public interest in foreign worker importation and since the growers will certainly appear to testify in great numbers, it is vital that very many witnesses who are concerned with farm labor reform appear. As many organizations as possible should have their representatives testify at as many of the hearings as possible. Please urge all like-minded organizations and individuals to testify.

Statements need not be long, but should set forth the viewpoint of the organization on the subject of foreign farm worker importation. Those groups or individuals who find it absolutely impossible to appear at any of the hearings can send a statement to Clifford Grant, Hearing Examiner, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C. But appearances will be more effective.

POINTS SUGGESTED FOR HEARINGS

The following points are suggested for inclusion in the statements for the hearings:

1. All organizations should sharply protest the projected importation of foreign agricultural workers. Congress terminated P.L. 78 in order to prevent the continued importation of foreign farm workers. It did not terminate P.L. 78 to continue a similar program under a different law.

If the executive branch of the federal government continues the importation, despite the existence of large scale unemployment in the U.S. and especially among farm workers, it is clearly violating the intent and wishes of Congress. Further, since the importation of the foreign agricultural labor force definitely depresses the wages and working conditions and limits the job opportunities of U.S. farm workers, the executive branch is negating its very own war against poverty.

2. The hearings are specifically aimed at setting standards for the importation of foreign workers. If the groups concerned with farm labor reform do not discuss standards in these hearings, the importations may occur without any portective conditions set for U.S. workers or the foreign laborers. We must, therefore suggest standards -- no matter how much opposed we are to the importations and no matter how much we believe they violate the intent of Congress.

3. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has no compliance machinery to be used in matters involving the importation of foreign farm workers. The Labor Department has long experience in this field. Therefore, all work to assure compliance with requirements involved in the importation of foreign farm workers should be carried out by the U.S. Department of Labor.

"ADVERSE EFFECT" CRITERIAS CITED

4. P.L. 78 and P.L. 414 provide that the importation of foreign workers should not create "adverse effect" on the wages and working conditions and job opportunities of U.S. workers. This is utter nonsense since any importation of foreign workers is bound to create "adverse effect."

Growers do not have to raise wages and improve working conditions to attract sufficient U.S. workers, as other American employers must. They simply offer a specific wage and conditions. If these do not attract adequate U.S. workers, foreign laborers are imported.

Unemployment in the U.S. is at 5.2 per cent. Farm labor unemployment is much higher. If adequate wages and working conditions were offered, a sufficient number of U.S. workers would certainly be available to do all American farm work.

The following conditions are therefore needed for any meaningful effort to even limit "adverse effect:"

(a) U.S. workers must have an absolute priority for all American farm jobs. Even if foreign workers have already been contracted and U.S. workers appear, the foreign workers must be sent back.

(b) Growers who seek foreign workers must first offer U.S. workers the pay of at least the amount to which wages would have risen if no foreign workers had ever been imported. This can be calculated by figuring the percentage increase in the state's manufacturing wages, for which no foreign workers have been imported, since 1950. This percentage increase should then be applied to the 1950 average state agricultural wage. (The present P.L. 78 and P.L. 414 "adverse effect" wage is simply the existing state or national average farm labor wage. This figure is the result of the low wages caused by the importation.)

(c) Piece work rates should truly provide an incentive by assuring average hourly earnings at least 125 per cent of the above "adverse effect" rate.

(d) Growers who seek foreign workers must first offer to U.S. workers all perquisites which were provided imported Mexican workers under P.L. 78, including a guarantee of work for at least three-fourths of the contract period, free housing, free transportation to and from their home base to the area of work, free workmen's compensation and accident insurance. (In the past, competing U.S. workers were offered none of the bracero perquisites and yet the federal government and the growers claimed that U.S. workers had priority in the competition for jobs.)

(e) Growers must first offer U.S. workers family housing, which meets U.S. Labor Department conditions, before applying for foreign workers. (In the past, bracero-using growers tore down family housing to make certain that U.S. workers would not accept jobs.)

(f) Growers who seek foreign workers must first offer U.S. workers unemployment compensation coverage. Although most states exempt farm workers from compulsory coverage, an employer can choose to include his employees.

(g) Growers must be forbidden from using foreign workers for skilled jobs and from employing them for a period of more than 180 days of seasonal work a year.

(h) Growers must agree to deal with representatives of workers on matters of availability of U.S. laborers and to hire U.S. workers through their organizations when such organizations can provide employees.

(i) Growers must post an adequate bond to guarantee the payment of wages, work guarantees, and transportation to U.S. workers and any foreign workers.

(j) Growers must pay a fee to the U.S. Department of Labor of $25 for each worker obtained under P.L. 414. This money is to be used by the Department to employ personnel needed to assure that growers meet the standards required by the Secretary of Labor.

(k) Growers must undertake any recruitment effort of U.S. workers proposed by the Labor Department, including out-of-state recruitment, use of paid advertising, institution of day haul and youth programs, etc.

(l) Growers must agree that foreign workers shall not fill jobs involved in a labor dispute. When 50 per cent or more of domestic workers in the employ of a grower are involved in a labor dispute, the grower must return all foreign workers.

# # # # #

CITY OF LIVE OAK
P. O. DRAWER 651 PHONE 362-2276 LIVE OAK, FLORIDA

MAYOR
J. MARVIN PHILLIPS

CITY CLERK
HARVEY W. PERRY

COUNCILMEN
JOHN O. CANNON
VERNAR HUNTER
WADE KEEN
M. J. KIRBY
N. O. PROTSMAN

CITY ATTORNEY
ALFRED T. AIRTH

CHIEF OF POLICE
ELWOOD HOWARD

FIRE CHIEF
T. W. ROPER

PUBLIC WORKS SUPT.
MAHONE REES

May 24, 1965

Mr. Spiver W. Gordon
Florida Field Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality
Route 3, Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida

Dear Mr. Gordon:

All facilities of the City of Live Oak are operated in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It is the feeling of the City Council and myself that all of our children and young people are entitled to the best recreation program we can make available to them, so long as enough use it to justify the expenditure and so long as it can be operated in an orderly and peaceful manner.

It therefore is our intention to open the swimming pool and other recreation facilities and operate them in full compliance with Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is our belief that with the understanding and cooperation of our people of both races that we can have an orderly and peaceful transition from segregation to intergration of these facilities.

At any time you or any of your staff are in this area, I will be happy to have them call on me.

Sincerely,

J Marvin Phillips

J. MARVIN PHILLIPS
MAYOR

JMP:bs

Local people say it OK??

Way down upon the Suwannee River

"In the Heart of the Suwannee River Valley"

John Doar Copy

TO: City Commissioners, Member of the City Council, City Manager and City Attorney of ______________________

FROM: Spiver W. Gordon, Florida Field Secretary - Congress of Racial Equality; Rt. 3 Box 428-F, Quincy, Florida

Re: Recreational Facilities

You are advised that Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that segregation on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin is forbidden in any public facility, operated or managed by or for a State or one of its political subdivisions. We are informed that Title III had not been complied with in your community in 1964. We therfore suggest that you quietly proceed to comply with Title III for the year of 1965 regarding recreational facilities. Further, we would appreciate very much that you reply to this memorandum and indicate whether you intend to comply with Title III regarding recreational facilities or whether you intend to proceed to operate your recreational facilites as heretofore. We desire such information as we plan to engage in direct action in all those communities which are not complying with the Law of the Land.

Mr. Spiver Gordon
Congress of Racial Equality
N.F.C.E.P.

May 27, 1965

To the Governor of the State of Florida
To the Attorney General, the State of Florida
The State Attorney

Honable Sirs:

Where as you are the chief enforcement officers and agencies of the State of Florida, we therefore request that you make investigations to the developing pattern of violence being committed against persons of the Negro Race and the lack of the Breach of Duty by law enforcement officers towards persons of the Negro Race. We offer the following respires investigation by your officers:

On May 16, 1964, on about 2 or 3 P.M. Mr. James E. Thomas, age 36, of Route 6 Box 82, Tallahassee, Florida, was stopped by State Trooper Gillis. Hand-cuffed, beaten, cursed and charged with many charges. His bond has been set at $750.00, he is now at the A & M Hospital with many burses and breaks in his skin, particularly on his head. Mr. Thomas for some time has been employed at the Florida A & M Hospital, he's considered to be a good citizen. We demand an investigation in this great mis-carriage of justice.

On May 17, on about 3 P.M. Young Stanley Grimsley, was struck down by a speeding car as he crossed the street in front of the Nims School. Young Frimsley was struck down by Mrs. Geraldine Vivian Willis who accordly to an eye-witness was driving at a great speed also who was driving on the wrong side of the street, a check at the sheriff department by Mrs. Grimsley indicated that Mrs. Willis has not been charged with anything. "A child has been killed, "A law breaker has been freed," we demand justice.

Saturday, March 22, 1965, Mr. Eddie Nell who lives in the Woodville area was found in a jail sell by a deputy sheriff unconscious. We have made an investigation and found out that Mr. Nell had burses and burns on his body, we take the position that the Leon County of the Tallahassee City Policy Department, or what ever agency who is incharged of prisoners did not offer much protection this particular night. It would seem to us that if a prisoner is being beaten or being burned in a jail certainly the jailer should have heard the cry and investigated. We demand an investigation into this matter it may prove that Mr. Nell is a victim of foul play.

On about March 3, 1965, on highway 27 at 3 A.M. in the morning, Mr. King David McKeleary, age 23, who resides at Route 3 Box 109 A, Quincy, Florida, was stopped by a state trooper who asked for a drivers licence, MR. McKeleary didn't have one; this trooper asked him to pay $25.00, Mr. McKeleary didn't have $25.00. He followed the trooper about 2 blocks in the direction of the County Jail. Mr. McKeleary decided then that he would try and get away, the assistances of the Leon County Sheriff Department was obtained and the chase ended in a dead end in the Griffin High School area.

NFCEP - CORE
Rt. 3 Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida
Phone 627-8458
Att. Spiver Gordon

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Chattahoochee , Florida, May 27, 1965, Core Field Sect., Spiver Gordon, Attorney John Due and Mr. Carl Rowell of the Chattahoochee Hospital Improvement Association met with Gov. Haydon Burns and members of the State Hospital Association, protesting the following:

(1) Segregated Facilities (100%), (2) Employment practices with regards to promotion and advancement,
(3) Discrimination against Negro patients because of race, and (4) Poor treatment of Negro patients and failure to seek and hire Negro doctors.

The meeting with the Governor proved quite successful. The administrator of the hospital admitted to all charges and said changes would be made according with the Hill - Burton Law. A check at the hospital June 5, 1965 indicated th at all eating facilities are to all and a meeting is being held to discuss promotion and advancement of Negroes. Negro doctors are now being sought for. CORE Field Secretary, Spiver Gordon, took issue with Dr. J. B. O'Connor, Superintendent of Florida State Mental Hospitals, when he remarked, "We will not desegregate wards and patients rooms at this time, because the change might affect the sick patients. Gordon told him the law applied to all and and if he didn't comply another complaint would be sent to H. E. W.

JUL 4

To the Governor of the State of Florida
To the Attorney General, the State of Florida
The State Attorney

Honable Sirs:

When Mr. McKeleary got out of his car and tried to run, several shots was fired into his leg; Mr. McKeleary stated he didn't hear anybody say stop, he didn't hear any warning shots. We take the position that although Mr. McKeleary had violated the law, the fact still remain he could have been stopped other-wise, other than to be shot like a common dog in the leg. We demand an investigation.

Yours for Justice

Spiver Gordon

cc: National Core
Core Southern Office
Attorney Carl Rachlin
Attorney John D. Due

Talla Democrat

St Pete times
June 1, 1965

June

THREE NEGROES FILE SUITS

Tallahassee Pools Reopening Sought

Times Bureau

TALLAHASSEE — A suit to force the city of Tallahassee to open the three city-owned swimming pools has been filed in [illegible] Court by three Negroes.

They are Rochelle and Darryl [illegible], children of the Rev. C. K. Steele, and Sadie Estelle Gordon, wife of Spiver Gordon, field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality.

THEY ASK $50,000 damages and $10,000 in legal fees, and ask that the city be enjoined from selling or trying to sell the three swimming pools, until the suit is heard.

Defendants in the suit are Mayor George B. Taft, City Manager Arvah Hopkins, the four city commissioners, the chief of police, the recreation board, the recreation director, the park board members, and the director of the swimming pools.

THE SUIT STATES that o July 4, 1964, a group of Negroe tried to swim in Levy Park poo a formerly all-white pool, an immediately City Manager Hopkins ordered all three pools — another white pool and the Negro pool — closed.

"The closing was not . . . constitutional," says the suit, "bu was done purposely and deliberately on the grounds of race and opposition to desegregation."

The three Negroes say they have been deprived of equal protection of the laws.

Drunk Tank Fight Leads To Death Of Prisoner

A man, reportedly beaten in the county jail by a fellow prisoner, died from injuries yesterday afternoon in Florida A&M Hospital.

Eddie Nell, 31, of Woodville, was taken to the hospital after he was found unconscious on a cell floor in the jail Saturday. Being held in connection with the death is Charles Willingham, 29, of Talladega, Ala.

State Attorney W. D. Hopkins has ordered an autopsy. Findings could be submitted to the Grand Jury which does into session June 7.

Jailer I. G. Love said Willingham and another prisoner were being held in the drunk tank with Nell Saturday when the beating occurred.

Val, this petition has been just presented, developement later. they are studing it now.

June 9, 1965

We, the residents and representatives of the Negro Community of the city of Tallahassee with the assistance of the Florida Counsel CORE Scholarship Education and Defense Fund petition you, the City of Commissioners of the City of Tallahassee for the following:

(1) That Negroes be hired in all departments of City Government above menial levels.

(2) That Negro policemen be able to patrol all areas of the City of Tallahassee, also better police protection during school hours in Negro areas and have authority to arrest all criminals, regardless of race.

(3) That City pools be opened to all regardless of race, and to establish guard around drainage ditches.

(4) That street and sidewalk improvements be made in all Negro neighborhoods and poor white neighborhoods.

(5) That F.E.P.C. and public accomodations ordinance be enacted. To seek ways and means to include Negroes on the Chamber of Commerce.

(6) That the City officially endorse, support, and participate in the local "War on Poverty".

(7) That the city act to procure industries to locate in Leon County.

Signed:

Rev. C. K. Steele
Inter Civic Council

Rev. Dan Speed
Tallahassee, NAACP

Mr. Sam Hunter
Non-Partisan Voter's League

Spiver Gordon
Florida Field Secretary for CORE

Dr. James Hudson

Dr. R.L. Anderson
President, Tallahassee Civic League

Father Brooks

Mr. Pender, AFL-CIO

CORE

CORE - N.F.C.E.P.
Route 3, Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida 32351
Phone 627-8458

June 9, 1965

Mr. Val Coleman
Community Relations Dept.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Val,

Enclosed you will find the complaints we sent to Governor Burns. We also talked about this at the conference in Mississippi. Here is the latest developement. On June 9, 1965, I was summoned to apear before the Leon County (Tallahassee) Grand Jury. The entire time I was in the meeting CORE's activities in Florida were the topic of discussion, rather than the points of my complaint.

The point I am trying to make is this: this group of white gentlemen will do nothing about this complaint. I have complained to the County Commissioner about only one Negro name being drawn to serve on the jury and also the hostile attitude toward me during the hearing. "Man," the foreman of the jury was a resident of Plaquemine, Louisianna, my home town. He offered me a one-way ticket back to Plaquemine. I shall keep you informed if anything else breaks. Take care.

Yours in Freedom,

Spiver W. Gordon

Mr. Spiver Gordon
Congress of Racial Equality
N.F.C.E.B2 May 27, 1965

To the Governor of the State of Florida
To the Attorney General, the State of Florida
The State Attorney

Honable Sirs:

Were as you are the chief enforcement officers and agencies of the State of Florida, we therefore request that you make investigations to the developing pattern of violence being committed against persons of the Negro Race and the lack of the Breach of Duty by law enforcement officers towards persons of the Negro Race. We offer the following respires investigation by your officers:

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To the Governor of the State of Florida
To the Attorney General, the State of Florida
The State Attorney

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Yours for Justice

Spiver Gordon

cc: National Core
Core Southern Office
Attorney Carl Rachlin
Attorney John D. Due

No Incidents

Tallahasse
After Righ

Tallahassee was quiet today after Monday's visit by James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, which was marked by the first civil rights demonstration at the Capitol since Haydon Burns became Governor.

Burns was in Minneapolis attending the National Governors Conference and was represented in a meeting with Farmer and a delegation of Negroes and whites, by Vernon Sikes, Charles Wilson, and Sam Flowers.

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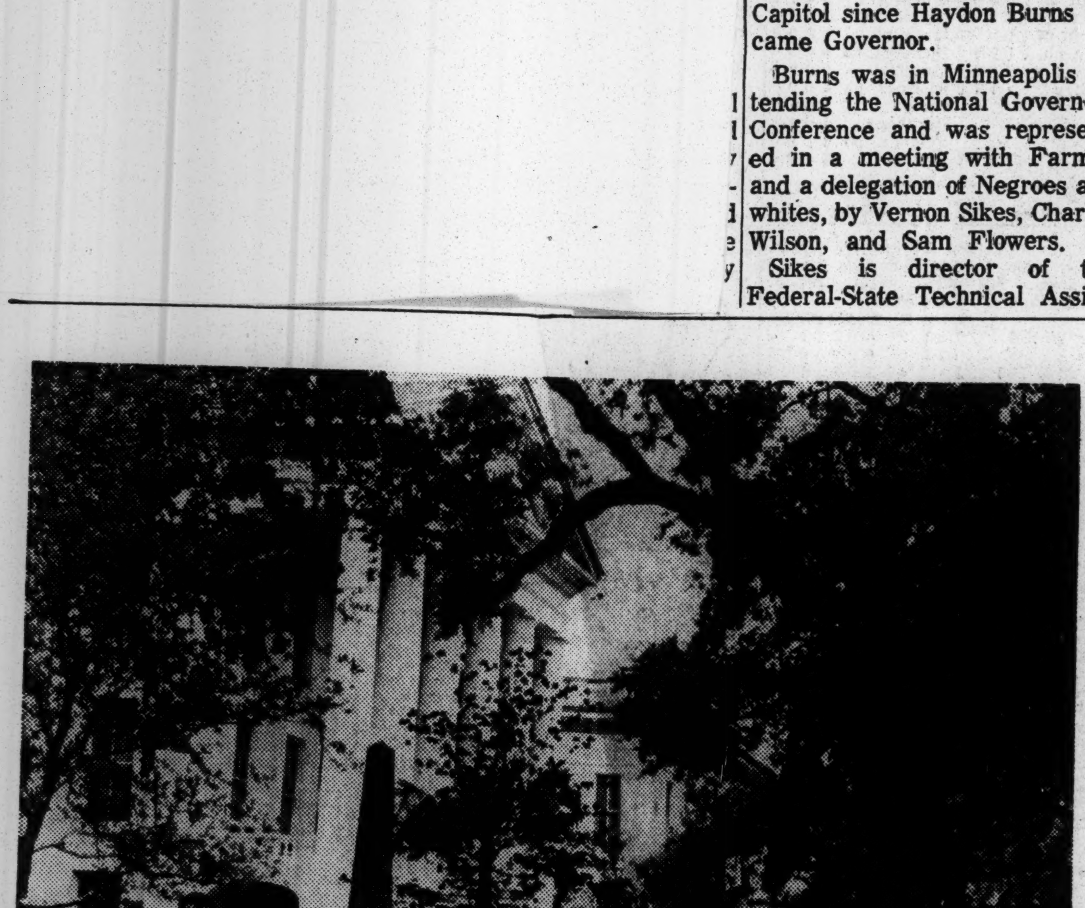

Placard-Carrying Pickets Parade Before Capitol
. . . demonstration was peaceful, marchers soon dispersed

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ance Program, the official agency involving civil rights compliance problems; Charles Wilson is legal aide for the program, and Flowers is program consultant in the division of economic opportunity in the Governor's office.

Presented to them by the delegation of CORE officials and other civil rights group representatives were six requests calling for longer hours for voter registration, stronger implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act; full compliance with the civil rights law, including integration of personnel and patients in city, county and state hospitals; integration of all public schools at all levels; halting of alleged harrassment and intimidation of Negroes and civil rights workers by law enforcement officers; full compliance with civil rights law by all establishments classified as public accommodations.

VOTER REQUEST

The voter registration request specifically called for opening of all voter registration books in Florida from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday.

At the insistence of Spiver Gordon, director of CORE in Quincy, the meeting was closed to newsmen.

Gordon told reporters later that while he felt the meeting reflected concern on the part of the Governor but "I wouldn't say the meeting was encouraging."

He said the Attorney General was not at the meeting although his presence had been requested. He added "Someone from the Cabinet could have been there."

Turning to voter registration, the sore point among civil righters in this North Florida area, Gordon said Sikes told the delegation that he would recommend to the Governor that he use persuasion toward keeping the books open six days a week or at least on Saturday as CORE requested.

In connection with the war on poverty, Gordon said Flowers, of the Governor's staff, had promised to give consideration to "telling the people of the need for equal representation of the poor in poverty planning efforts in the various communities."

He said the delegation was promised that the Governor's office would "work with us" on integration of public accommodations and that the Governor's representatives indicated there probably was not much they could do.

Gordon said his group received a promise to look into the problem of harrassment by law enforcement officers, particulary arrests of out of state civil

(See Civil Rights Page 14)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Officials Say No Voter Problem For Negroes

J. Love Hutchinson, superintendent of voter registration in Gadsden County, said today that Negroes have no difficulty in registering there. He said more than 4,000 were registered to vote last spring and summer.

The voter registration office is open all day each Monday, the same as for several years, he said, and will be open Monday through Friday during the month preceding election.

Hutchinson said 80 Negroes and three whites were registered Monday of this week. He is editor of the Gadsden County Times and has been voter registration supervisor for 18 years. He said Gadsden County follows the state law on voter registration.

Mayor A. M. Watson of Monticello said that all Negroes have to do to register to vote in Jefferson county "is to be a resident of the county for six months and be able to sign an X."

He said the books are open one day a week and will be open five days a week in the month before election, just as in Gadsden County. He reported that six Negroes and 15 whites registered during the past 35 days.

Mayor Watson went on to say that Jefferson Countians are complying with the civil rights law "even though they may not like it."

He said there was no trouble "until these paid workers came in."

Registration for schools is scheduled in Jefferson County next week, Watson said, and children will be allowed to give their choice of schools.

One period of registration has been held in Gadsden County, school board officials said. Nineteen Negro students were reported to have registered for formerly all white schools. Another registration period is planned in August.

About 9,000 Negro students and 4,000 whites attended Gadsden County schools yast year.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

SF-1201 (4-60)

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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JAMES FARMER CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NYK

SEVERE AND SOMETIMES BRUTAL POLICE ACTION IS NOW BEING USED ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AGAINST SOME 800 STUDENTS WHO ARE DEMONSTRATING AGAINST DENIAL OF THEIR BASIS CIVIL LIBERTIES BY THE UNIVERSITIES ADMINISTRATION, PRESIDENT CLARK KERR AND CHANCELLOR EDWARD STRONG. THE STUDENTS ARE ENGAGED IN A SIT-IN AT THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND ARE PRESENTLY BEING DRAGGED AWAY FROM THE CAMPUS AND BEING SENT TO PRISON WORK FARMS. BAIL IS FROM $250. UP TO $1400. CONDITIONS THERE ARE HORRIFYING TO SOME OF THE STUDENTS ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG GIRLS. THE SIT-IN WAS AN ATTEMPT TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE DISREGARD OF THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH ON THE CAMPUS, PARTICULARLY THE FREEDOM TO SPEAK AND ADVOCATE ACTION CONCERNING THE CIVIL-RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

DEC 4 1964

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

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OJOB492/2

WE NEED YOUR HELP YOUR SUPPORT. THIS IS A DESPERATE SITUATION FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT OF UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOURTH DRAFT, JULY, 1966

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

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TECHNICAL NOTE

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* Charts omitted in this copy, but will be included in final copy.

INTRODUCTION

The "Freedom Budget" spells out a specific and factual course of action, step by step, to start in early 1967 toward the practical liquidation of poverty in the United States by 1975. The programs urged in the "Freedon Budget" attack all of the major causes of poverty--unemployment and underemployment; substandard pay; inadequate social insurance and welfare payments to those who cannot or should not be employed; bad housing; deficiencies in health services, education, and training; and fiscal and monetary policies which tend to redistribute income regressively rather than progressively. The "Freedom Budget" leaves no room for discrimination in any form, because its programs are addressed to all who need more opportunity and improved incomes and living standards--not just to some of them.

The "Freedom Budget" differs from previous worthy efforts to articulate similar goals because it fuses general aspirations with quantitative content, and imposes time schedules. It deals not only with where we must go, but also with how fast and in what proportions. It measures costs against resources, and thus determines feasible priorities. It is not only a call to action, but also a schedule for action.

The "Freedom Budget", however, is not self-executing. It defines programs around which can be rallied all those individuals and groups who favor these programs and their objectives. But even with this convergence of forces, these individuals and groups will need to assume the political task of impressing upon their Government the prompt obligation to undertake the needed legislative and Executive programs. As the study points out, improved operations under the Employment Act of 1946, commencing at once, must be the first focal point of the implementation process. The "Freedom Budget" is thus an imperative call to national action.

Why do we call this a "Freedom Budget"?

The language evokes the struggle of the civil rights movement, its vision of social justice and equality, its militant determination that these goals be rapidly and forth-rightly achieved. This is the vision and determination that underlies the "Freedom Budget" and must propel any genuine war on poverty. The moral issues in this war are no less compelling than those of the battle against racism.

We call this a "Freedom Budget" in recognition that poverty and deprivation, as surely as denial of the right to vote, are erosive of human freedom and of democracy. In our affluent nation, even more than in the rest of the world, economic misery breeds the most galling discontent, mocking and undermining faith in political and civil rights. Here in these United States, where there can be no economic nor technological excuse for it, poverty is not only a private tragedy but in a sense a public crime. It is above all a challenge to our morality.

We call this a "Freedom Budget" because it embodies programs which are essential to the Negro and other minority groups striving for dignity and economic security in our society. But their legitimate aspirations cannot be fulfilled in isolation. The abolition of poverty (almost three-quarters of whose U.S. victims are white)can be accomplished only through action which embraces the totality of the victims of poverty, neglect, and injustice. Nor can the goals be won by segmental or ad hoc programs alone; there is need for welding such programs into a unified and consistent program.

The largest beneficiaries will be the poor themselves. But in the process everyone will benefit, for poverty is not an aberrant circumstance affecting only those entrapped by it. It reflects--and affects--the performance of our national economy, our rate of economic growth, our ability to produce and consume, the condition of our cities, the levels of our social services and needs, the very quality of our lives. Materially as well as spiritually, a society afflicted by poverty deprives all of its citizens of security and well-being.

In this war, too, we encounter the pessimists and the tokenists, those who counsel "gradualism" and those who urge piecemeal and haphazard remedies for deep-rooted and persistent evils. Here again, "gradualism" becomes an excuse for not beginning or for beginning on a base too small to support the task, for not setting goals; and the scattered, fragmented remedies, lacking a sense of priorities and coordination, often work at cross purposes.

In the economic and social realm, no less than in the political justice too long delayed is justice denied. We propose and insist that poverty in America can and therefore must be abolished within ten years.

The means toward this end are spelled out in the following pages, prepared in cooperation with some of the nation's outstanding experts. There may be minor disagreements with regard to statistical data, analysis, and policy proposals, even among those endorsing the "Freedom Budget" in this publication. These individuals subscribe only to the broad directions of the "Freedom Budget," and are too imbued with a sense of urgency to cavil about the details. But this limitation is not intended to imply lukewarmness in terms of urgency, not to question that in its major aspects the "Freedom Budget" is essentially sound and imperative as to findings, goals, and methods.

The "Freedom Budget" contends that this nation has the resources to abolish poverty, for the first time in human history, and to do so within a decade. Indeed, the very process of abolishing poverty will add enormously to our resources, raising the living standards of Americans at all income levels. By meeting our unmet social needs--in slum clearance and housing, education, training and health, agriculture, natural resources, and regional development, social insurance and welfare programs--we can achieve a full employment economy (itself the greatest single blow against poverty. All of these legitimate goals interact, whether viewed as causes or results, and they are in truth both.

Only such a massive and sustained program--which sees poverty in terms of the national economy, and not only in terms of the personal characteristics of the poor--has a chance of success.

Goals must be set, along with time tables for achieving them. We must plan the allocation of our resources in accord with our priorities as a nation and a people.

The outlines of the "Freedom Budget" are summarized in the pages immediately following. But first, it is appropriate to consider questions which are not economic in nature.

The economic impact of the war in Vietnam and the attendant question of inflation are discussed subsequently and need not be taken up here, except to point out that the "Freedome Budget" makes no independent judgement as to national defense requirements but adopts what might be called "the composit judgement of informed experts." Thus, the "Freedom Budget" is not predicated on cut-backs in national defense nor on one or another position regarding the Vietnam conflict, which is basically a thorny question to be viewed in its own terms. The fundamental proposition is that the broad approaches of the "Freedom Budget" can and should be implemented, whether or not an early termination of the Vietnam conflict is achieved, or even were there to be some increase in its economic and financial burdens.

Clearly, however, there are those who would use the Vietnam war and the issue of inflation as political weapons to force cut-backs or dangerous slowdowns in the needed rate of expansion of domestic social spending. Their cries might deserve more notice had they not, in too many instances, been vociferous opponents of Great Society programs prior to the stepped-up American involvement in Vietnam. And as for the problem of inflation, to the extent it augments, the Federal Government has at its command selective measures to combat it which do not require impairment of Great Society programs of needed magnitudes. If the progress of inflationary pressures should indicate that we are trying to do more than our rapidly-advancing productive resources will support, then a legitimate effort against inflation means cut-backs of the relatively nonessential, not of the vital. A simulated campaign against inflation which punishes those who need help most reveals the crocodile tears of those who bewail how inflation hurts the unfortunate. Always, it is important that thinking Americans recognize the selfish character of the assault on domestic social programs.

As we reject this line of thought, so must we reject another argument emanating from different quarters, to the effect that the termination of the Vietnam conflict is the prerequisite for acceleration of domestic social programs. We all desire that termination, on safe and honorable terms; nonetheless, the argument just cited, no less than that of economic conservatives, would hitch the aspirations and long-denied needs of the poor to the outcome of the Vietnam war--a dependency which, we repeat, is neither economically necessary nor morally defensible.

Those drafting this "Freedom Budget" have sought to outline, objectively and fully, the steps required for the abolition of poverty in America. It may be argued that the "Freedom Budget" is too ambitious to be "politically feasible." We contend that the question is whether the persistence of poverty is any longer feasible. Can we as a nation afford another Watts, and more than one more? How may examples of seething discontent do we need before we move earnestly to provide jobs for all, clear the slums, rebuild our cities, overcome the shortages of schools and hospitals, and reverse the neglect of our other social needs?

Who, only a few short years ago, would have acknowledged the "political feasibility" of the tremendous legislative victories of the civil rights movement in our own day? Who could have foreseen the beginnings of a war on poverty, and the initiation of a host of new Great Society programs?

These breakthroughs were not won by those who thought narrowly of what was "politically feasible," but by those who raised the moral issues and placed them squarely before the American people. Having raised the issues clearly, they forged a mighty coalition among the civil rights and labor movements, liberal and religious forces, students and intellectuals--the coalition expressed in the historic 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Social progress is always the trusteeship of those battling constantly to lift the level of "political feasibility.' A nation can decay, as all history shows, if the level of "feasibility" is kept too far below what is required to survive and advance. We must ask, not only what is feasible by whom, but also what is needed by whom.

It is to the full goals of this 1963 March that the Freedom Budget is dedicated. It is within this coalition of conscience that the strength must be mobilized for the implementation of this "Freedom Budget" for all Americans.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The "Freedom Budget" In Brief

Basic purposes and method: key role of our Federal Government

The "Freedom Budget" is built around four mutually reinforcing goals:

(1) To restore full employment as rapidly as possible, and to maintain it thereafter, for all those able and willing to work, and for all those whom adequate training and education would make able and willing to work;

(2) To utilize technological advances for rising living standards, rather than permit this advance to result in unemployment;

(3) To distribute the ever-increasing flow of goods and services in accord with the great priorities of our national needs, both private and public. Among these priorities, the abolition of poverty and the unemployment which is central to poverty come first. This abolition of poverty requires improvements both in private incomes and in public services in such fields as housing, health, education, social security, and welfare payments;

(4) To determine priorities and shape national policies in accord with standards of social justice.

We cannot use our economic strength and our institutions to meet our needs fully in accord with their relative importance until we develop both short-range and long-range quantifications of our resources and needs, and then bring consistent national policies to bear upon meeting these needs as fully as we can. The "Freedom Budget" insists that we must start immediately to achieve the goals set forth. But we cannot act effectively today unless we look and plan far enough ahead.

While the goals of the "Freedom Budget" require participation at all levels, private and public, the leadership role must be taken by our Federal Government. The next Annual Reports of the President under the Employment Act should quantify ten-year goals for full employment and full production, for the practical liquidation of U.S. poverty by 1975, and for meeting the other great priorities of our national needs. With due allowances for private and public performance at other levels, but with a firm determination by our Federal Government to close the gaps, all major Federal economic and related social policies--including the Federal Budget--should be geared to the attainment of these ten-year goals, starting at once in appropriate magnitudes.

Toward closing the gaps between what others may do and what the nation and the people need, the two first and unalterable commitments of the Federal Government should be: (a) to lead in initiating and financing job projects for those who should be employed but who are not otherwise employed. This utilization of unused manpower would be directed toward the service of all those types of public needs which are now being so deficiently served; and (b) to work as rapidly as feasible toward a program or programs which, in the form of a guaranteed income or its equivalent, will assure a health and decency standard of living to all Americans who are not achieving it through the process of full employment.

The "Freedom Budget" can serve as an indicative guide to the programs and policies which our Federal Government should immediately undertake, as the only spokesman of all the people, and as the prime factor in defining and achieving truly economic and social choices in the interest of all the people.

Full production and full employment goals

The first basic finding in the "Freedom Budget" relates to the productive resources we have to work with, if we use them fully. With sustained full employment and encouragement of high productivity advance, our total production (measured in 1964 dollars) can rise from about 663 billion in 1965 to 1,085-1,120 billion by 1975. This would mean, for the ten years, 1966-1975 inclusive, an annual level of production averaging 231.5-244.2 billion dollars higher, and an aggregate over the decade of 2,315-2,442 billion dollars higher, measured in uniform 1964 dollars, than if total production remained at the 1965 level.

The first imperative step toward utilizing this productive potential is to restore full employment by early 1968 at the latest, and to sustain it thereafter. This must take care of population growth, and deal not only with full-time and officially-recorded unemployment, but also with the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment and the concealed unemployment which results from those who are not participating in the labor force (and who therefore are not counted as unemployed) because of scarcity of job opportunity. This means that, compared with 1965, total employment (measured in its full-time equivalent) must be about 4.6 million higher in 1967, 9.3 million higher in 1970, and 16.6 million higher in 1975. The total number of new jobs which must be created is much greater, to allow also for those who will be displaced from old jobs by technological changes.

On both social and economic grounds, sustained full employment is the absolutely first national priority. No "explanations" of unemployment, no analysis of the "characteristics" of the unemployed, can substitute for the truth that full employment is feasible at all times. We know that it was attained during World War II. What we could do while fighting a total war, we can do more easily under other conditions.

The "Freedom Budget" contains many harmonized proposals toward this end. But the bedrock civilized responsibility rests with our Federal Government, which should at once and continuously lead in organizing and financing enough job-creating activities to close the gap between full employment and employment provided at other public and private levels. None of these Federally-created jobs need to be "made-work," because our unmet needs as a nation and a people in the public sector are greater than would be met excessively even by this Federal effort during the next decade. These needs extend across housing, city rebuilding, transportation, public works, educational and health facilities and personnel, and resource development. Training programs must be united with job-creation.

Goals for liquidation of U.S. poverty

Designating the benefits of sustained full employment and full production as a *means* towards all other objectives, the first *end* priority in the "Freedom Budget" is the practical liquidation of U.S. poverty. Moving *pro tanto* toward this goal in every year *beginning* now, the poverty of about 34 million people in 1964 can and therefore should be reduced to only slightly more than 2 million in 1975. The rest of the goal can be achieved shortly thereafter.

Programs designed to improve income distribution are vital to the liquidation of poverty. From the purely economic viewpoint, full resource use cannot be sustained if the situation persists as it was in 1964, when the highest income fifth of all U.S. multiple-person families received 41 percent of total multiple-person family income and the highest two-fifths 65 percent, while the lowest income fifth received only 5 percent and the lowest two-fifths only 17 percent. In terms of social justice, such maldistribution is intolerable. Practically all major national economic policies affect income distribution, and should be used to affect it progressively, not regressively.

The anti-poverty program, stemming from the Office of Economic Opportunity, should be improved qualitatively and greatly augmented quantitatively. But at best, this program touches only one small aspect of the poverty problem as a whole, which requires for its solution the coordinated utilization of all major national economic policies--for they all affect levels of employment and production, income distribution, and allocation in accord with priorities of need. This is true both with respect to a full-scale war against poverty in the form of enlarging the private incomes of the poor, and a full-scale war against poverty in the form of programs in the public sector.

Jobs do most to fight poverty: the needed Federal commitment

A full 40 percent of all of the poverty in the U.S. is due directly to inadequate employment opportunity. Sustained full employment requires, among other measures, a firm and full commitment by the Federal Government to undertake job-creating projects along the lines set forth above. Even more broadly, sustained full employment requires a much better balance between the growth in our ability to produce and our ability to consume. All Federal economic policies, especially fiscal and monetary, need much better adjustment to this purpose than they have thus far displayed.

Improved minimum wages

About 20 percent of all U.S. poverty is among the working poor (including their dependents) who receive substandard wages. The Federal maximum wage should be lifted to at least $2.00 an hour by 1968 or 1969, and its coverage should be pushed to the uppermost constitutional limits of Federal power.

Enlarged welfare services

The remaining 40 percent of U.S. poverty is among those who cannot or should not work because of age or other disabling factors. More than half of this type of poverty is concentrated among families headed by women. This aspect of the poverty problem calls for vast improvements, beginning at once and accelerating, in all social security and welfare programs. This will require greatly enlarged Federal contributions to all of these programs, including old-age insurance and assistance, general public assistance, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and other specialized programs designed to help those suffering from other disabilities.

The long-range objective (for which plans should be made at once) should be to substitute, for the virtual crazy-quilt of current welfare endeavors that are miserably inadequate in coverage and amounts, a more unified system designed in accord with the principle that all those who cannot achieve adequacy incomes through the employment process be guaranteed adequacy income through acceptance of public social responsibility. This means a Federally-initiated and supported guaranteed annual income, to supplement rather than supplant a sustained full-employment policy at decent pay.

Wiping out the slum ghettos

All of the foregoing measures would be designed primarily to increase the money incomes received by those whose incomes are too low for them to move quickly out of poverty, and to move with deliberate speed toward a truly adequate standard of living in accord with our rapidly rising per capita production capabilities as a nation.

But another range of attacks upon the poverty problem is equally essential, and these involve massive action in the public sector. The first of these is to wipe out the slum ghettos which are both the roots and offshoots of poverty, while their replacement would also make the largest single contribution to sustained full employment and the rescue of the urban environment from deterioration and decay. Traditionally-financed private housing for middle-income and high-income families is already receiving sufficient encouragement. But we should start moving upward now toward about 400,000 starts of lower-middle-income housing in 1968, and about 500,000 in 1970. This calls for large increases in public outlays, use of Federal loans or credit to drive interest rates downward, and a long-range planned program. Above all, housing starts for low-income families, with annual subsidies to bridge the difference between the annual cost of what these families can afford to pay without excessive strains upon their overall budgets and what decent housing costs, should be lifted year by year to at least 400,000 in 1968, and 500,000 in 1970. Allowing for feasible increases in State and local efforts, the basic thrust in this connection must come in the form of Federal financial assistance.

Investment in education, training, and health services

Public responsibility, especially at the Federal level, must move immediately and at an accelerating rate toward increased investment in our human resources in the form of education, training, and health services. For at least six years ahead, we need a construction program very conservatively estimated at more than 100,000 public classrooms a year, requiring outlays of about 27 billion dollars. We need about 100,000 new teachers a year in the public schools. We need vast enlargements in facilities and teachers at higher levels of education, accompanied by public financial aid to those hundreds of thousands of young people who possess every innate endowment to go to college but lack the means.

Granted the advance represented by Medicare, we need approximately to double within ten years the annual rate of outlays for hospital construction, and to increase at least 50 percent by 1975 the annual number of physician graduates. Seriously inadequate medical care, due to the cost factor, still handicaps about 40 percent of our population. The battle should now be resumed for a nationwide universal system of health insurance.

The reader desiring a detailed account of the needed expansions in the programs thus far discussed will find them in the following chapters. One index of the size of the need is that the average insurance payments to our senior citizens under the Federal program should be approximately doubled within five years or less.

Improving rural life

The extraordinary concentration of poverty in rural America, the economic disenfranchisement of a majority of our farm people, and the lag in public services in rural areas even relative to the gross deficiencies in urban areas, call for both general and specialized approaches. Most of these head up ultimately to Federal responsibility, both in the form of a drastically reconstructed national farm policy and Federal equalization policies designed to help the poorer areas of the nation to serve public needs. Underemployment is rife in agriculture. Hired farm workers, especially migratory, are among the most neglected and exploited people in America. Chapter VIII deals more fully with rural problems.

Responsibilities of the Federal Budget

Because the Federal Budget is the main instrument of national economic policy, and of those aspects of social justice which require economic and financial measures, the "Freedom Budget" sets forth in detail all of the major components of a Federal Budget which should rise from 112.8 billion dollars as proposed in the current fiscal 1967 Federal Budget (which is several billion too low) to 135 billion dollars in calendar 1970, and 155 billion in calendar 1975. Chart Three sets forth, in as compressed a form as could be contained in this summary, how the proposed Federal Budget should be allocated among all the great priorities of our national needs, not only in absolute dollar amounts, but also on a per capita basis related to the size of the population, and in ratio to the size of our growing total national production. The reasonableness of these Federal Budget goals, and their compatibility with maintenance of balanced relationships among public and private responsibility at all levels, is indicated by the fact that the Federal Budget projected for calendar 1970 and 1975 would be smaller in ratio to total national production than the average during the fiscal years 1964-1967.

How to contain inflation

The "Freedon Budget" is not neglectful of the problem of inflation. The attainment of all of its projected goals would not place excessive strains upon our production capabilities, if we use them fully. And even if this turned out to be an over-optimistic view, that would not negate the essentiality of achieving all of the great priority program quantified in the "Freedom Budget"; it would simply mean that we should use tax policy and other measures to restrain marginal enjoyments instead of sacrificing what we need most.

The challenge, 1965-1975

If the "Freedom Budget" becomes the living law of our national economic and social goals, policies, and programs, we can [illegible] convert an abundance which already exceeds the most fanciful expectations of a decade ago into an America a decade hence where poverty has come close to total abolition; where every American enjoys a decent home in a suitable living environment; where our cities have become places in which to live instead of to move out of as rapidly as possible; in which the educational and health services enjoyed by all of the people will have been be abreast of the advance in knowledge and science; in which the poisons will have been extracted from our airs and waters; in which our natural resources and means of transportation will be conserved and replenished; and in which the incomes of all, while by no means equal, will be equal to the requirements for living without want or economic fear, by virtue of employment for those able to partake of it, and by other appropriate methods for those not able to be employed.

Most important of all, we shall have recognized that the foundation of a Great Society is a Just Society. The "Freedom Budget" does not ask for the moon, but only for justice here on earth, in the land best able to afford it.

CONFIDENTIAL 4/26/66

I. Why We Need A "Freedom Budget"

Identity of our domestic and international purposes

The American people today are torn by two seemingly conflicting purposes. On the one hand, they have been stirred to their depths by the "war against poverty" and by other splendid goals of the Great Society. They want to move forward toward these goals, and regard this properly as an essential economic and social follow through on recent progress toward civil rights in racial relations. On the other hand, many of them believe that we must slow down instead of speed up the practical pursuit of these objectives, because of the war in Vietnam and the rising costs of our national defense and related activities. Current national policies and programs, in the main, embody this viewpoint. So long as this seeming conflict is not resolved, we the American people will remain divided among ourselves.

But this seeming conflict is not a real one. By common consent and by every public proclamation, no effort we are making anywhere in the world has any basis except to defend and advance the frontiers of freedom. These frontiers are not measured by lines upon a map, but rather by the ideals and human purposes we and other peoples live by. And the image we project overseas is but the reflection of what we do at home, in terms of human progress and social justice. All history teaches us, and never was the lesson more manifest than in this second half of the 20th century, that it would profit a nation nothing to protect its shores but lose its soul.

The urgency of the challenge

Our people feel in their hearts that the extirpation of poverty and deprivation, unemployment and other injustice, in the U.S. is central to all of our efforts everywhere. But we have not marshalled the needed sense of urgency, partly because freedom from want and even affluence have become the general rule rather than the exception in the U.S. But any complacency on this score is a tragic and dangerous irony, because the very conditions which feed this complacency bespeak our economic and institutional power to bring freedom from want and some measure of affluence to all of our citizens--commencing immediately, and reaching these goals within a decade. Then, we will set new goals.

As an example of the current irony, even the Negroes in Watts today may be better off in material terms than their counterparts of fifty years ago, or very large segments of the American people during the depths of the Great Depression thirty years ago. But the profound difference is that the unemployment and poverty and deprivation of those earlier times was merely a tragedy, because we had neither the economic resources nor the know-how to deal with them. Today, because we have both the resources and the know-how, the millions of unemployed, the 34 million living in poverty, and the 28 million living above the poverty level but in deprivation nonetheless take on also the aspects of a national crime.*

The situation in Watts erupted in volcanic form because the people there knew or felt that their deep troubles were interlaced with manifest injustice. And this eruptive potential is seething just below the surface in portions of almost every large city in the U.S., awaiting only some slight additional pressure or some unpredictable event to spark the explosion. Because of the very nature of this situation, the advances in general prosperity and employment are multiplying the fundamental pressures by the contrasts which they sharpen.

Budgeting our resources and needs

Responsive in part to these pressures, a growing sense of urgency may more fully arouse the national conscience. But how fast this flame of conscience succeeds in consuming the evils against which it protests depends upon how boldly and quickly we translate it into massive program action. If we continue to yield to the tendency to let the towering size of our troubles, and the costs of overcoming them, lead to indeciveness or faltering measures, then we will indeed be letting our consciences make cowards of us all.

In view of the conflicting purposes referred to at the outset, good will in itself will not be enough. It must be accompanied by awareness among the American people of what we have the economic and financial strength to accomplish. That is why we need a specific "Freedom Budget," measuring our needs against our abilities to serve them. During World War II, when we were engaged in a total struggle against external enemies, we budgeted our total resources and needs. As no nation is ever strong enough to do everything at once, we also established a clear set of priorities, both civilian and military, added the ingredient of equity, and set goals accordingly. We were then able to bring all policies and programs into focus toward accomplishment of these goals. And aside fro the draft of military manpower, we did this without impairment of voluntary action, and actually strengthened our manifold institutions of freedom.

Because we did just this during the World War II era, we maintained full employment, and in addition lifted living standards and reduced poverty more rapidly than ever before, even though we were burning up half of our productive resources in fighting our external enemies. If we now benefit by this lesson with appropriate adaptions, what could we not accomplish in the few years ahead, when less than one-tenth of our total national production is now, or foreseeably will be, devoted to national defense?

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*Those living in deprivation are above the poverty-income ceiling but without sufficient income to prevent them from suffering serious denial of basic requirements. In this discussion, the deprivation-income ceiling is somewhat lower than the amount of income required for a "modest but adequate" budget. Contrasted with the 28 million living in deprivation, about 47 million in 1964 lived above poverty but below the "modest but adequate" budget.

II. The Role Of The American Negro In The "Freedom Budget"

The "Freedom Budget" will benefit all

In one sense the American Negro, relative to his numbers, has an unusually large stake in a "Freedom Budget." When unemployment is excessive, the rate tends to be about twice as high among Negroes as others. Viewing U.S. multiple-person families in 1964, 37.3 percent of the nonwhites lived in poverty with annual incomes under $3,000, contrasted with only 15.4 percent of the whites. About 14 percent of the nonwhite families had incomes between $1,000 and $2,000, contrasted with 5.4 percent of the whites. And 7.7 percent of the nonwhite families had incomes below $1,000, contrasted with only 2.7 percent of the whites. Among unattached individuals, 52.3 percent of the nonwhites lived in poverty with annual incomes under $1,500, contrasted with 40.5 percent of the whites; and 35.8 percent of the nonwhites were below $1,000, contrasted with 24.4 percent of the whites.*

Thus, the only reason why the Negro will benefit relatively more than others from the liquidation of excess unemployment and poverty is not because he is a Negro, but rather because he is at the bottom of the heap.

Aside from this dismal phenomenon, which is a liability rather than an asset to the Negro, those of lighter skins will benefit far more in absolute numbers through achievement of the goals of the "Freedom Budget." There are far more unemployed among whites than among nonwhites. In 1964, 6.6 million white families and 4.2 million white unattached individuals lived in poverty, contrasted with 1.8 million nonwhite families and 0.9 million nonwhite unattached individuals.

The "Freedom Budget" in relation to civil rights

There is an absolute analogy between the crusade for civil rights and liberties and the crusade which the "Freedom Budget" represents. This is because the "Freedom Budget" would achieve the freedom from economic want and oppression which is the necessary complement to freedom from political and civil oppression. And just as the progress thus far made on the front of civil rights and liberties has immeasurably strengthened the entire American political democracy, so will the "Freedom Budget" strengthen immeasurably our entire economic and social fabric.

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*The Office of Economic Opportunity, based upon the studies of Molly Orshansky, now uses poverty-income ceilings of $3,130 and $1,540, respectively, for multiple-person families and unattached individuals, but distributions by color are not readily available on this basis. However, the distribution by color would be roughly the same as indicated above. In the more extensive treatment of poverty later on in the discussion, the O.E.O. poverty-income ceilings are used.

The Negro's greatest role on both of these fronts is not as a beneficiary, but rather as a galvanizing force. Out of his unique suffering, he has gone a long way toward awakening the American conscience with respect to civil rights and liberties. The debt which the whole nation owes him will be increased many times, as he helps to win the battle against unemployment and poverty and deprivation.

III. How Much We Have To Work With

The costs of high unemployment and low economic growth

Before we kneel supinely before the false idol of what we "cannot afford," we should appraise realistically the potentials of the U.S. economy to increase from year to year the output of goods and services which respond to our needs.

A good starting point is to consider how much we have forfeited by the excessively high rate of unemployment and the low annual average rate of economic growth since the end of the Korean war. From the beginning of 1953 through the end of 1965, actual employment, measured by man-years of work, was about 28 million below what it would have been if full employment had been sustained. The loss in total national production, measured in 1964 dollars, is more difficult to estimate. But responsible estimates of this loss range from 500 billion dollars to more than 700 billion for the thirteen years as a whole, or an annual average of from about 38 billion to about 54 billion. The significance of this loss is indicated by the fact that the difference between the actual annual incomes of the 34 million Americans now living in poverty and the annual incomes required to lift all of them out of the poverty-cellar would be somewhere in the neighborhood of 13 billion dollars The reduction of poverty during these thirteen years was only a minor portion of what it would have been with sustained full employment and production, accompanied by allocation of an appropriate portion of our total national production toward the reduction of poverty.

Economic growth capabilities through 1975

Developments during the most recent years, when unemployment has been reduced considerably and the rate of economic growth accelerated greatly (even though we have not moved nearly far enough on either of these two fronts), give reasonable assurance that we can make much better progress in the years ahead, if we adopt suitable policies and programs.

The estimates of our economic growth potentials by competent organizations and individuals vary in degree, although they are usually within similar broad ranges. These variations derive from differing emphases and value judgments; within limits, the rate of economic growth depends upon the exertions we are willing to undertake, the priorities to which we attach most importance, and the policies and programs we adopt. The "Freedom Budget" is based upon the proposition that our unmet needs are so great that we should lean toward the higher rather than the lower competent estimates of our growth potentials.

The "Freedom Budget" is based upon an average economic growth rate of about 4½-5 percent from 1968 through 1975, and a higher rate until full resource use is restored by early 1968 at the latest. More specifically:

Total population is estimated to rise from 194.6 million in 1965 to 224.6 million in 1975, a gain of more than 15 percent.

Taking account of the growth in the civilian labor force induced by a full-employment environment, and if we commit ourselves to the restoration of full employment by early 1968 at the latest and its maintenance thereafter, total civilian employment should rise from 72.2 million in 1965 to 88.8 million in 1975, a gain of about 23 percent.

It is much more difficult to make estimates as to future gains in output per man-hour or productivity in the private economy, and the competent estimates vary considerably. The competent estimates as to the annual productivity-growth potential which have received the most attention appear to range from 3 percent to 3.8 percent. For the purposes of the "Freedom Budget," a range of from about 3 ¼ percent to about 3 ¾ percent is utilized. This does not seem excessive, as the average annual rise in productivity in the private economy was about 3.6 percent between 1961-1965, and productivity trends in the future should be favorably influenced by a full-employment environment, and by ever-improving programs of training and education.

Combining these estimates of the growth in the civilian labor force and the gains in productivity, and allowing for a gradual reduction in the length of the work week in accord with recent trends, it appears that, measured in 1964 dollars, our total national production of goods and services (GNP) should rise from almost 663 billion dollars in 1965 to 1,085-1,120 billion by 1975, or about 64-69 percent.

Movement toward a total national production which should be about 422-457 billion dollars higher in 1975 than it was in 1965 would mean this: We would enjoy total national production averaging per year from 1966 through 1975 (inclusive) 231.5-244.2 billion dollars higher, and aggregating during the ten-year period as a whole 2,315-2,442 billion higher, than if total production remained at the 1965 level.*

It is perfectly plain that, if we use these burgeoning resources wisely, we can meet all of the great priorities of our national needs, and combine this with large additional progress for those at practically all income levels.

IV. Budgeting The Great Priorities Of Our National Needs

Of course, we could not achieve the indicated gains in total national production of goods and services without sustained full employment (from early 1968 forward). But it might theoretically be possible (although there is much doubt on this point) that we could achieve the indicated gains in total employment and production without meeting some of the great priorities of our national needs. We might conceivably make these gains with millions still living in poverty while they worked to help lift others from affluence to riches; and without rebuilding our cities, clearing out slums, or concentrating upon the other goals of a Great Society. In that event, we would become an example to all mankind of a land where wealth accumulates and men decay.

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*See Chart on page 60. As to other estimates of our economic growth potentials, and in order to appreciate that these other estimates do not significantly change the basic impact of the "Freedom Budget," see Technical Note.

The great priorities of the "Freedom Budget" in summary

The great priorities of our national needs may be stated very quickly and simply. They are (1) to assure opportunity for year-round employment to all of those able to work and wanting to work, including those whose abilities need lifting through training and education; (2) to obliterate what might be called "private poverty," by assuring a decent American standard of income and living -- advancing as our economic capabilities grow -- to all those who are at work, and also to all those who cannot or should not work for one valid reason or another; and (3) to eliminate the poverty in the "public sector" of the American economy. This means remedying the glaring deficiencies represented by decaying cities; obsolescent transportation systems; neglected natural resources; polluted airs and waters; rural shortfalls even more glaring than those in urban areas; inadequate educational opportunity for all, in accord with their ambitions and abilities and the needs of an advancing technology; lack of satisfactory medical care for all, at costs within their means, compatible with the advances in medical science; and outmoded social insurance and welfare payments, which do not allocate a fair share of our national production and wealth to those unable to enter into or remain within the production process because of age or other condition of disability. It goes without saying that our great national priorities relate also to national defense, space technology, and international economic and technical assistance. These programs are also allowed for amply in the "Freedom Budget," but they are in general beyond the scope of this discussion.

We now face a curious paradox in general public thinking. Even while there are those who question whether we "can afford" to meet these great priorities of need, there are others who question where the markets will come from to absorb our rapidly advancing productive powers, as the only alternative to massive unemployment. While we should do all that we can to help those overseas whose poverty is so extreme that it makes our poor families look affluent by comparison, the greatest undeveloped market in the world for our own products is among our 61 million citizens who are still poor or deprived, plus the opportunity to reshape the sordid physical environments in which they and so many of the rest of us live.

The U.S. economic problem is a moral problem

Stated in another way, the so-called economic problem in the U.S. is really a moral problem. Some of the underdeveloped countries of the world, India for example, must temporarily hold down to a snail's pace the rate at which they increase the living standards of their indescribably poor populations. This is because they must bend every effort toward expediting capital equipment and industrial development -- their real source of hope in the long-run. In vivid contrast in the United States, the immediate and progressive fulfillment of our moral obligations to our people's welfare is the surest method of promoting economic growth, capital accumulation, investment in production facilities, and profits.

We may now turn to more specific consideration of our great priorities of needs. We must remember always that we cannot serve these by glowing declarations of intent, unless we quantify the magnitudes of the various needs, prove that we have the capabilities to meet them, and allocate sufficient portions of our great and growing resources to them. This, again, is the essential meaning of the "Freedom Budget."

V. Sustained Full Employment: First "Means" Priority In The "Freedom Budget"

Sustained full employment is treated as the first "means" priority in the "Freedom Budget," because it is so highly relevant to attainment of all of the other great priorities. For in the preponderance of cases, decent living standards depend upon employment at decent pay /This is not to deny that full employment is an imperative "end" in itself. For there is nothing more corrosive of the human spirit, and even of physical well-being, than for one to be told "you are not wanted" by the economic society in which one lives.

But even aside from this "end" value of full employment, the preceding depiction of how much we can expand our total production of goods and services in the decade ahead with full employment, and the subsequent depiction of how much this full production would yield in terms of human progress, make clear why full employment must be regarded as the top "means" priority. We cannot use what we do not produce. The thesis that mass unemployment would be tolerable (even assuming guaranteed incomes for all, including the unemployed), is defeatist beyond description.

Thus, the "Freedom Budget" rejects all "explanations" or extenuations of excessive unemployment, beyond the "frictional" minimum. It sets out to budget and create enough jobs to restore full employment at the earliest practical point in time, and to maintain it thereafter.

Full employment essential to war against poverty

The prime reason why full employment is the first "means" priority is that it is by far the most important single approach to the eradication of poverty. This truth is hidden by stressing the wide numerical disparity between the 34 million poor and a full-time unemployment rate of not far from 4 percent or only about 3 million people, comprising with their families perhaps fewer than 9 million people.

In the first place, the full-time unemployment rate now does not take account of the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment. Underemployment is not consistent with full employment. Nor does it take account of the concealed unemployment among those who are not in the civilian labor force (and therefore not counted as unemployed) because scarcity of job opportunity discourages them from looking actively for work, and sends many of them instead into the pool rooms, the streets, and the knife gangs. Unemployment should really be measured against all those of working age who ought to be employed, not just against those actually participatin in the civilian labor force. Taking these factors into account, the true level of unemployment (contrasted with the full-time unemployment rate of about 4 percent) is somewhere between 5¼ and 6 percent, or the equivalent of about 3 $^3/_4$ - 4 $^1/_3$ million full-time jobs. Translating these breadwinners into their family equivalents, this comes to about 11¼-13 million people.

In the second place, the same people are not unemployed throughout the year. In a year when full-time unemployment rate averages 4 percent, perhaps 12 percent of the labor force is unemployed for periods averaging about three months within the year. The consequent loss of income drags the majority of them below the poverty-income ceiling for the year as a whole, if they were not there already even when fully employed, because of substandard wages.

Even allowing for the fact that not all of the unemployed and their families are poor, it appears that about 40 percent of all the poverty in the U.S. is directly attributable to full-time unemployment or part-time unemployment, and that another 20 percent are poor because of substandard wages paid to their breadwinners when employed (which in itself is an aspect of an unsatisfactory employment environment). This accounts for about 60 percent of all the U.S. poor.

Moreover, the policies and programs designed to assure sustained full employment would necessarily include enlarging greatly the purchasing power of the other 40 percent of the U.S. poor who cannot or should not be employed. This 40 percent includes almost all of the 27 percent or so of the poor who are in consumer units headed by senior citizens (granted that some of these senior citizens should be accorded employment opportunity). It includes also the about 13 percent of the U.S. poor who are in consumer units headed by women who cannot or should not work (almost 32 percent of the U.S. poor are in consumer units headed by women, but much more than half of these women have or should have job opportunities.) Thus, a full-blown employment program would encompass, in one way or another, measures addressed to practically all of the poor, and not just to those in the working age population.

Further still, sustained full employment would generate the public revenues to finance the public programs which the poor (and others) need, whether employed or not. To illustrate: If we had enjoyed full employment and production during the period 1953-1965, tax revenues at all levels of government--at actually existing tax rates--would have been about 200 billion dollars more than they actually were. With these additional tax revenues, during the thirteen-year period, we could have built 175 thousand school classrooms, and paid teachers one thousand dollars more each year than actually received; provided more than 500 thousand additional hospital beds and facilities; increased Social Security payments very substantially by means of public contributions; paid for thirteen years the subsidy contributions on 4 million units of low-rent housing; and used various public types of income-supplementation payments to lift the incomes of all of the poor families in the U.S. to an annual level for each of these thirteen years averaging $822 more than they actually received. (And there would have been enough left over, from these additional revenues, to have increased economic assistance overseas by about 50 percent, and to have spent about 20 billion dollars more toward expansion of our national defense efforts, if this had been deemed desirable).

The size of the full-employment task

The size of the task of restoring and then maintaining full employment is immense. Measured from a 1965 base, we need 4.6 million net additional jobs by 1967, in order to restore full employment by early 1968; 9.3 million by 1970; and 16.6 million by 1975. Even these estimates understate the problem. They are based upon assuming that a level of full-time unemployment just below 3 percent of the civilian labor force would be consistent with full employment; we really ought to be moving toward a target of 2½ or 2 percent unemployment, particularly because unemployment hits the "vulnerables" so much harder than it hits the labor force as a whole, and the "ideal" toward which we should strive is employment of everyone who should be participating in the civilian labor force. And these estimates of net additions to jobs do not include new jobs for those who will continue to be forced out of their current jobs by technology and automation, and by changing patterns of demand on the part of consumers and governments at all levels. Thus, it has been estimated that we may need a gross total of 22-27 million new jobs by 1975.

Aggregate approach to full employment

The aggregate approach to full employment insists that increases in total spending or demand, if large enough, will eliminate unemployment in excess of "frictional" or minimum unemployment. These increases in total spending may take the form of larger public outlays, without corresponding increases in taxation. They may take the form of tax reduction to induce more private spending, without corresponding reduction in public spending.

In addition, increases in total spending may be promoted in the private sector by reducing maladjustments in the distribution of income which cause saving to rise faster than it is actually utilized for production and employment purposes; Idle manpower and plant are manifestations of such excess saving. These needed corrections in the private sector may be achieved through voluntary adjustments in prices, wages, profits, and investments, which would bring into better balance our ability to produce and our ability to consume. Adjustments in the private sector may also result from public policies which impose private obligations, such as minimum-wage legislation, various aspects of the Social Security program, and some regulatory programs.

In very large measure, the aggregate approach to full employment expresses an inescapable truth. Not a single unemployed person can get a job anywhere (except by taking it away from somebody else), unless there is additional spending to employ this person, *even if there is a current job opening waiting to be filled*. This means more aggregate spending. And since this additional spending adds to our total production of goods and services, there is a clear and direct correlation between the reduction of unemployment and the rate of economic growth. This rate must be speeded up considerably to restore and maintain full employment.

While there can be no doubt that we need even better programs of training and retraining than we now have, we must reject most emphatically the proposition that the *main* reason for excessive unemployment resides in the personal characteristics of the unemployed. This fallacy rests upon failing to distinguish between the reasons why too **mar** are unemployed and the reason why particular people are *selected* for unemployment when there are not enough jobs to go around.

If the current level of full-time unemployment were to rise from 4 percent of the civilian labor force to 8 percent, due to insufficient spending to hold unemployment steady, the additional unemployment would be mainly among the "vulnerables." These would be the older workers; the young people seeking to enter the labor force for the first time; the semi-skilled and relatively unskilled; the nonwhites rather than the whites, and the women rather than the men, insofar as discrimination against nonwhites and women remained, or because discrimination during the past century and longer has prevented nonwhites and women on the average from having the degree of training and education which others have. But to say that this would be the reason *why* they became unemployed would be like saying that, if half of the people in a lifeboat died from exposure because they were not as strong as the others in the boat, the cause was the condition of their health rather than the shipwreck. **Likewise, if there were too few lifeboats, and the stronger kept the weaker out.**

Conversely, the reduction of unemployment to only about one percent of the civilian labor force during World War II provided jobs for those who a few short years earlier were "unfit," and also for millions who customarily did not enter the labor force at all. And the *creation* of job opportunities provides guidelines to effective training and education which do not otherwise exist.

To state all this in a different way, the fact that Negroes tend to be the first fired and the last hired when jobs are insufficient should not prevent us from recognizing that this phenomenon, so central to the racial problem, would not exist if there were jobs for all.

Structural approach to full employment

The structural approach to full employment, as usually defined, explains unemployment more largely in terms of the "unfitness" of the unemployed, and urges the training and retraining programs which would enable them to fill job openings which (it is claimed) already exist, or which (it is claimed) would automatically result from better-prepared seekers for jobs. The inadequacies of this approach, if pushed too far, have just been set forth.

Yet the structural approach, within appropriate limitations, has value also. For the very meaning of the new technology and automation is that a dollar of additional spending for one purpose will not help the job situation as much as a dollar of spending for another purpose. There are some industries where the rate of output per man-hour will continue to rise faster than any likely increase in demand for the products of these industries, no matter how much money consumers have jingling in their pockets. For example, if we use an index of 100 to represent the ratio of employment to production in the base period 1947-1949, this ratio by 1964 had fallen to 44.5 in agriculture; 57.3 in all manufacturing; 65.9 in iron and steel; 59.0 in electrical machinery and equipment; 57.8 in motor vehicles and other transportation equipment; and 58.1 in railroads.

We therefore need to redirect an increasing portion of total demand toward those goods and services where the increases in real national needs from year to year are so great that the servicing of these increased needs in full will outrun the rate of advance in technology and productivity, and thus contribute millions of additional jobs. This will also produce a job-product-mix including a much higher proportion of semi-skilled and relatively unskilled jobs, which is what large portions of the unemployed need at once. It is chasing a futility to train people for the job patterns of the past, which we could not repeat if we would, and should not repeat if we could.

For even apart from technological consideration, and although almost any kind of employment is better than unemployment, employment cannot be the sole criterion. We do not want leaf-raking nor pyramid-building. We cannot be satisfied with a million more jobs resulting from construction of luxurious hotels on the beaches and from production of superfluous gadgets by the hundreds of millions, if this substitutes for the additional jobs which would result from creation of effective demand and markets for the things we need most as a nation and a people. This consideration unites the goal of full employment with the goals for meeting the other priorities of our national needs.

Preparing an effective full-employment program

As full employment depends upon a careful admixture of the aggregate and structural approaches, much of the recent debate as to which of the two should be emphasized has been academic and futile, and conducted at the expense of the unemployed. There were similar debates when we had 8 million unemployed just before World War II. But when the war came, we got down to business. We assumed that we could not afford any large wastage of manpower or other productive resources. We budgeted full employment and full production, and we also defined the priorities of our national needs and resolved to serve them. Guided by these quantitative goals, we were able to achieve a synthesis of public and private policies and programs suited to the attainment of the goals. The results outdistanced expectation.

Granted that less stringent policies and programs are needed now, because we have more to work with and because we are not in a total war against external enemies, **a similar** method is embodied in the "Freedom Budget." But because the "Freedom Budget" is formulated without the vast resources available to the Government, and because the **"Freedo "Budget" has no powers except those of persuasion, the fulfillment of its objectives requires that the Federal Government develop a more comprehensive and exact equivalent, whatever it might be called, and implement it with all the powers at its command.**

This is no more than the explicit mandate of the Employment Act of 1946, which thus far has been seriously limited in its utilization. The Reports of the President and of the Council of Economic Advisers under the Employment Act should specify long-range goals, running five and perhaps ten years ahead, for sustained maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. These goals should be divided into components identifying what portions of our total output should serve the great priorities of our national needs. There should be specific goals for the total liquidation of U.S. poverty. There should be incorporated the concept of a specific adequacy standard of living for all Americans, assured in the main by the commitment to sustained full employment, and supplemented by measures to guarantee this adequacy standard of living to all those who cannot earn it through gainful employment.

Every economic policy and program conducted by the Federal Government, or involving Federal legislation, should be geared (1) to encourage others to go as far as they can toward attainment of all of the goals, and (2) to an unqualified commitment, by the Federal Government itself, to make up the difference between the full achievement of the goals and those portions of them which can elsewhere be achieved. The Federal Budget, national monetary policies, social security and housing and farm policies, and all other national policies and programs importantly affecting the development and utilization of our economic resources, including our human resources, should be included in the equivalent of a "Freedom Budget" in the Reports under the Employment Act.

Every legitimate reliance should be placed upon the role of private enterprise, community action, grass-roots participation, and action by State and local governments. But the very nature of a total effort against unemployment and poverty and all their manifestations, and toward serving the other great priorities of our national needs, calls for greatly increased emphasis upon Federal action.

Here again there is a close analogy to the civil rights movement. This movement started at the grass roots, and involved action at every level. But it gained substantial ground only through leadership decisions made in a Federal courthouse in Washington, a Federal Congress in Washington, and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. The need for this is even more apparent on the economic and social front. Theoretically, the objectives of the civil rights movement could be achieved without Federal action, if the hearts and minds of 200 million Americans were fully attuned to these objectives. But even if everyone wanted to get rid of unemployment and poverty-- and practically everyone does -- the specific actions toward these ends cannot be formulated, nor fully executed, by 200 million Americans in their separate and individual capacities. This is what our national union and our Federal Government are for, and we must act accordingly.

VI. Elimination of U.S. Poverty: The First "End" Priority In The "Freedom Budget"

In terms of "end" objectives, the elimination of poverty is the top priority of the "Freedom Budget." For the very word "poverty" brings together the whole cluster of our economic and social troubles: unemployment; substandard pay; bad housing; inadequate education and health care; malnutrition; deficient Social Security and welfare payments to those who cannot be gainfully employed; high concentration of crime, juvenile delinquency, and other social aberrations.

The amount of U.S. poverty, and goals for its reduction

In 1964, 9.1 million multiple-person families, embracing about 29 million people, lived in poverty. Adding 5.3 million unattached individuals, the total came to more than

34 million. The amount of income required to emerge from the poverty cellar depends upon the size of the consumer unit, the number of children in the unit and their age distribution, the geographic location which to a degree affects the cost of living, and some other factors. But as a fair working rule, a multiple-person family income of $3,130, and an unattached individual income of $1,540, is currently used by the government and others as the poverty-income ceiling.*

Even these data fail to present the whole picture. In 1964, 4.5 million multiple-person families had incomes under $2,000, and 3.1 million unattached individuals were below $1,000.

As has been stated, the goals for the reduction of poverty embodied in the "Freedom Budget" involve a top priority. They recognize the necessity for policies and programs which are not satisfied with sustained full employment and full production alone, and which concentrate upon many specific measures to fight poverty. They involve substantial redistributive efforts. Nonetheless, these goals for the reduction of poverty are fitted into an internally consistent range of "Freedom Budget" goals which take account of all other basic economic requirements and national objectives, contemplate balanced economic development, are designed for optimum growth in our overall economic strength, and (as will be shown) envisage income progress at all levels of the income scale.

In this full perspective, the "Freedom Budget" contains estimates that the total number of American multiple-person families living in poverty can and therefore should be reduced to less than three quarters of a million by 1970, and to about half a million by 1975. The number of unattached individuals living in poverty can and therefore should be reduced to about less than one and a third million by 1970, and to less than three quarters of a million by 1975. This would mean that, within the decade ahead, we can reduce the total number of people living in poverty from more than 34 million in 1964 to about two and a quarter million in 1975.**

The related problem of deprivation

Studies of the U.S. Department of Labor, brought up to date for changes in the cost of living, indicate that there is a very wide gap between the poverty-income ceiling and the income required for a "modest but adequate" budget. On the average, this budget might be set at about $6,000 for a multiple-person family. It therefore appears conservative to say that families with incomes under $5,000 (not $6,000), but above the poverty-income ceiling of $3,130, live in deprivation, though not in absolute poverty. Those living in deprivation in 1964 came to about 7.5 million families, or about 26 million people.*

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*The money income concept is used throughout this discussion.

**See Chart Two.

The "modest but adequate" budget for an unattached individual averages about $3,000, and an individual with an income below $2,500, but above the poverty-income ceiling of $1,500, should be regarded as living in deprivation. These totaled 1.7 million in 1964. Adding these to the about 26 million deprived people in multiple-person families, the total came to almost 28 million people.**

In many ways, the lot of those living in deprivation is especially poignant; their bread-winners in most instances are fully employed, and they are usually regarded as "respectable" people without having the incomes needed to live respectably.

A full-scale attack upon poverty cannot neglect the problem of deprivation. The sustained full employment and full production required to liquidate poverty would be much more difficult to attain, if we did not also increase the incomes and purchasing power of those living in deprivation. The policies and programs most needed to increase the incomes of the poor are equally applicable to a majority of the deprived. And it would be neither psychologically nor politically feasible to obtain the public consents required for a full-scale war against poverty, if the deprived were left out.

The "Freedom Budget" indicates that the 7.5 million families living in deprivation in 1964 can and therefore should be reduced to about 3 million by 1975. It would seem that the number of unattached individuals living in deprivation might actually increase from 1.7 million to about 2.8 million, but this would reflect the fact that so many of these now living in poverty will have moved upward into the deprivation category. Grouping together the families and the unattached individuals, the number of people living in deprivation could and therefore should be reduced from almost 28 million in 1964 to about 13 million in 1975.

These goals for the liquidation of poverty and the reduction of deprivation are not incompatible with income progress all along the line. For example, in 1964 there were 21.8 million multiple-person families living in comfort or affluence with incomes of $7,000 or over; these could be lifted to about 42 million by 1975. Among unattached individuals, there were 2.4 million living in comfort or affluence with incomes of $5,000 or over; these could be lifted to 3.4 million by 1975.*

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* The average size of families living in deprivation is higher than the average size of those living in poverty.

**As earlier indicated, 47 million lived above poverty but below the "modest but adequate" budget.

Importance of improved income distribution

The rather widespread idea that, if our economy grows rapidly enough, poverty will be reduced at acceptable speed regardless of improved income distribution, is entirely erroneous.

To be sure, sustained economic growth lifts the incomes of all. But while poverty is in part an absolute concept, it is also in part a relative concept. Poverty in the U.S. today does not mean the same thing as 50 years ago, nor does it mean the same thing as poverty in Africa or Asia today. Poverty in the U.S. today is to some degree relative to what others in the U.S. now enjoy. This does not mean that, if at some time in the distant future the lowest income fifth had incomes averaging $20,000 a year, they would still be regarded as living in poverty. But it does mean that, regarding social justice, we cannot remain satisfied with current income distribution when the lowest fifth are still so low in absolute terms.

In 1964, the highest income fifth of all U.S. multiple-person families received 41 percent of total multiple-person family personal income, while the lowest income fifth received only 5 percent, and the lowest two-fifths only 4[illegible] percent. It is arguable whether this distribution would be acceptable in terms of the American ideal, even if the lowest income fifth had average incomes of $20,000 a year. And it is certainly not acceptable, when more than the lowest income sixth of our entire population live in absolute poverty, and when almost all of the lowest third live in poverty or deprivation.

Even from the purely "economic" point of view, further improvements in income distribution are essential to the optimum progress and growth of the U.S. economy as a whole. From 1961 to 1965, total national production measured in uniform dollars grew 22.5 percent, and private consumer spending for ultimate products grew at about the same rate. Government outlays at all levels for goods and services grew only 12.2 percent, and these also constitute a type of consumption of ultimate products. Meanwhile, private investment in the plant and equipment which add to our production capabilities advanced 45 percent. These disparate trends indicate the tendency of our power to produce to outrun ultimate consumption, which results in idle manpower and plant, and, if continued long enough, results in economic downturns.

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*Again, see Chart Two.

These disparities between production capabilities and ultimate consumption stem from disparities in incomes. From 1961 to 1965, wages and salaries grew 21.8 percent, or at close to the same rate as total private consumer spending, and farm proprietors' net income grew only 4.5 percent, while corporate profits grew 39.4 percent, personal dividend income 33.6 percent, and personal interest income 42.2 percent.

These disparities between investment and consumption, profits and consumer incomes, have been equally apparent during the most recent year. A stable and growing economy remains in serious jeopardy until these enormous disparities are greatly reduced through improved income distribution.

Main approaches to the reduction of poverty

The aspect of the current "war against poverty" which centers in the program of the Office of Economic Opportunity under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is of tremendous significance. This program reflects the dedication of the President and the Congress to this war. It has brought the problem of poverty to the center of the national stage. It has enlisted the active cooperation of millions of men and women, in almost every county in the U.S. where poverty exists. It has already helped to reveal the nature and scope of the poverty problem, and in a short time made measureable gains against some aspects of this problem. The "Freedom Budget" projects very great enlargements in this program from year to year, supported by adequate funds. The program has already generated a wide variety of criticism, some constructive and some unworthy. What is said below is not intended to deal with these criticism, nor to enlarge the burdens of the devoted peoples at all levels engaged in the Economic Opportunity program.

But what has been already stated throughout this discussion, and what will be said further below, make it clear that the major aspects of a full-scale war against poverty cannot be found within the confines of the Economic Opportunity Act. Nor are these aspects implemented adequately by other national policies and programs.

This is because, to a very substantial degree, much of the current thinking about the "war against poverty" suffers from quite similar deficiencies to much of the current thinking about remedies for unemployment. There is a tendency to place excessive emphasis upon the personal characteristics of the poor as the explanation of the huge amount of poverty in an economy already as rich and productive as ours. There is correspondingly a tendency not to recognize how predominant a part of the treatment of the poverty problem depends upon full-employment policies, and income-assistance policies for those who cannot or should not be gainfully employed. Such policies are not generated by personal processing of the poor. Indeed, without prompt development and application of such policies, the "war against poverty" might well generate resentment and reaction, by lifting expectancies much more rapidly than they are being fulfilled.

This point is so vital that it requires reinforcement by a detailed examination of the characteristics of the U.S. poor. In 1964, somewhat more than half of them were in consumer units whose heads had less than eight years of education. Improved educational opportunity is in itself a top national priority, and the "Freedom Budget" allows amply for this. But those who have less than eight years of education are scattered among many groups, and in most instances improved education would not in itself help much to lift them out of poverty.

For example, as already indicated, considerably more than a quarter of the poor live in consumer units with heads aged 65 and over. If we are to deal realistically and promptly with this problem (instead of relying upon the distant hope that the grandchildren of today will not be poor when they are grandparents if sufficiently educated), we must set about promptly to enlarge the Social Security and welfare payments to our abysmally neglected senior citizens---who are increasing by the millions from year to year.

More than one-eighth of all of the poor people in the U.S. live on farms. Their plight, and what to do about it, is highlighted in Chapter VIII. Undoubtedly, farm people have had relatively less educational opportunity than others. But this is not the reason why about 43 percent of all farm families are poor, compared with only about 17 percent of all nonfarm families. The reason is that our national farm policies have not succeeded in allocating to agriculture anything even approximating a fair share of national income, by compensating for the economic weakness of the farmer who sells his products in a "free" market (where prices fluctuate widely, responsible to th so-called law of supply and demand) and buys in an administered or controlled market; coupled with this, too much of the Government aid has gone to farmers who have needed it least, and too little to those who have needed it most. The reason is also that we have not made full use of our farm productive powers to fight malnutrition among millions of American poor children in nonfarm areas, to fight starvation among hundreds of millions overseas. Still another reason is that, in rural areas relatively even more than in urban areas, the "public sector" is starved with respect to educational and health facilities and personnel; this calls for "equalization" policies on the part of the Federal Government. To wipe out farm poverty, the education most needed applies to the policy-maker rather than to the farmer.

About two-fifths of all of the U.S. poor live in the South. But this poverty cannot be attacked by pointing out that its victims have the personal characteristics of being Southerners, or by moving them to Harlem. They are poor because their incomes are too low, and the lin of attack are employment opportunity, decent wages, farm-income improvement, larger Social Security and welfare payments, and better educational and health services in the "public sector." These lines of attack are set forth in more detail in later chapters.

Almost one-third of the U.S. poor, as already stated, are in consumer units headed by women. Considerably more than half of these women would be helped most by a full-employment environment, and by removal of discrimination with respect to hiring, pay, and advancement. Public financial support of an adequate volume of day-care services for children is essential, in order that these women may take the jobs made open to them. But almost one-sixth of the U.S poor are in consumer units headed by women who cannot or should not work. These "broken" families, concentrated most heavily of course among Negroes, are singularly neglected in most of the current inadequate efforts to make war against poverty. They are subjected to many types of pauperization and degradation in the very process of extending to a small fraction of them the various types of welfare payments, and even where these are extended they are in most cases woefully inadequate. This glaring aspect of the poverty problem requires as one step a great enlargement of welfare payments in several categories, both as to scope and size, and also substitution as rapidly as feasible of nationwide systems of adequate family allowances. The quantitative needs with respect to these programs are set forth more fully in Chapter X.

The point has already been developed that a full 40 percent of all of the poverty in the U.S. is due to inadequate employment opportunity; to remedy this, traning and education are an auxiliary approach to a nationwide full-employment policy and program. And about 20 percent of all the U.S. poor, as already indicated, are poor because their breadwinners receive substandar wages when employed. This aspect of the problem requires more extended treatment, which will follow shortly.

There is, of course, an appealing note in the concentration of the Economic Opportunity program upon the young. Insofar as this approach is based upon recognition that millions of the young have become warped and twisted by the poverty environments in which they have lived, it deserves vigorous support. But insofar as this approach relates to improving their general education, it may be proper to ask whether we should not concentrate also upon improving our general educational systems, and changing the environments in which these young people live so that they will not drop out of school even if their classrooms are pleasant and their teachers good. Insofar as this approach is based upon the training of the young in a vocational sense, the earlier-stated proposition applies that we need to know better what to train them for, and that in a full-employment environment most of them would be drawn into jobs and trained on the job.

And insofar as concentration upon the young carries any implication that it is too late to do much about their elders, this misinterprets the whole nature of the poverty problem. If we are addressing ourselves to the more than 16 million poor children in the U.S., rather than to the relatively few who may be involved for a short period of time in special youth programs, we should all ask these pertinent questions: Can we really rescue the young, without rescuing their parents? Can we really rescue their parents, without profound alterations in the whole environment in which they live--especially the employment environment and the housing environment?

It is on the basis of these broad and balanced approaches that the "Freedom Budget" presents all of the essential ingredients in a full-scale war against poverty.

The problem of "the working poor"

We have already noted that about a fifth of all U.S. poverty is among those whose breadwinners receive substandard wages. Only about 63 percent of all nonsupervisory employees in the U.S. are covered by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, and only about 10 percent are covered by State laws which are far more inadequate. Thus about 27 percent of all nonsupervisory employees, or almost 13 million, are not covered at all.

Even among those covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the minimum wage is only $1.25 an hour. Assuming that the breadwinner enjoys fifty weeks of work per year and forty hours of work per week, the annual income yield of $2,500 is about 20 percent below the poverty-income ceiling for a family, and more than 58 percent below the "modest but adequate" budget. Assuming 7½ weeks of unemployment during a year, the annual income yield is about 32 percent below the poverty-income ceiling, and almost 65 percent below the "modest but adequate" budget. Even if there is a secondary worker in the family earning one-third as much as the primary breadwinner, the annual income yield at full employment is more than 44 percent below the "modest but adequate" budget. And assuming 7½ weeks of unemployment for each, the annual income yield is 9.5 percent below the poverty-income ceiling, and almost 53 percent below the "modest but adequate" budget.

The Bill reported favorably in 1965 by the House Committee on Education and Labor would lift Federal coverage to about 80 percent of all nonsupervisory workers. Its goal of a minimum wage of $1.75 an hour by 1968 for currently-covered workers and by 1970 for newly-covered workers is hardly adequate, and the lift by then or shortly thereafter should be to at least $2.00 an hour. The bill in its later stages, with the increase limited to $1.60 and its coverage less extensive, is even more inadequate by far. Even at $2.00 an hour, and with a secondary breadwinner as described above, the annual income yield would be more than 11 percent below the "modest but adequate" budget assuming full employment throughout the year, and more than 24 percent below assuming the above-stated amount of unemployment. The Federal minimum wage should be lifted to $2.00 an hour by 1968 or 1969, and its coverage extended to the limits of Federal jurisdiction under the Constitution.

The objection to prompt and adequate improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, on the ground that this would be "inflationary," will be discussed when we come to the subject of inflation and how to deal with it wisely and equitably.

The more generalized wage problem

The problem of inadequate wages is not limited to substandard wages. Wages in general are the dominant factor in consumer purchasing power, and the recurrent lag in consumer purchasing power behind the growth in our production capabilities is a major explanation of excess unemployment and inadequate economic growth. The dangerously disparate trends in various types of economic activity and incomes during the past four years and during the past year have already been depicted.

A major explanation of this difficulty is that the Federal Price-Wage Guideposts, while purporting to promote wage-rate gains in line with productivity gains, have not had this effect. During recent years, wage-rate gains have lagged very seriously behind productivity gains in the private economy as a whole, and even more so in the manufacturing sector where the hue and cry has been raised that excessive wage rate increases have forced prices upward.

Further unionization would also help to correct the wage lag, and this would be assisted greatly by Federal legislation obliterating the so-called "right to work" laws in some States.

VII. Replacing The Slum Ghettos: "End" and "Means" Priority In The "Freedom Budget"

The removal of the slum ghettos which now infect our cities, and of substandard housing in other areas as well, is the top specialized priority in the "Freedom Budget", as distinguished from the broader objectives of getting rid of excess unemployment and poverty. It is an "end" priority, because substandard housing is both a cause and by-product of poverty itself, and perhaps the main factor in what has been called the "self-perpetuating" nature of poverty. And it is a "means" priority, because rapid expansion of home construction, with the other outlays which it would spark, can perhaps contribute about half of the 22-27 million new jobs we need by 1975.

How many are ill-housed, and why

Although there is no satisfactory single test of what constitutes unsatisfactory housing, the 1960 Census described as "seriously deficient" about 9.3 million housing units in the U.S., or about one-sixth of the total. Allowing for what appears to be some understatement, at least one-fifth of all our people were ill-housed when the most recent comprehensive count was made.

The bad housing is occupied predominantly by the poor. According to the Census, less than 21 percent of all renter-occupied housing and only about 7½ percent of all owner-occupied housing in metropolitan areas were unsound. But in the case of occupancy by families with incomes under $3,000, about 60 percent of the former and about 34 percent of the latter were unsound. And among consumer units with incomes under $2,000, it appears that at least 4 out of 5 lived in unsound housing.

The poor in the main are not getting decent housing because it is not "profitable" to provide it for them. Even with the protection of Government insurance through the Federal Housing Administration, far less than one percent of the new single-family homes are purchased by those with incomes under $4,000. The production of new rental housing for the poor on a "profitable" basis has been even more negligible. And the provision of new housing for the higher income groups does not enable decent housing to be "handed down" to the poor in any substantial volume. The proof positive of this is the amount of substandard housing still in use, and its highly unsatisfactory rate of reduction in recent years.

Housing goals through 1970

It is going around in circles to argue that the poor should not move into decent housing, except at the pace that they move out of poverty and are able to pay for it on their own. For the slums themselves make the individual and the family less able to move forward on their own; and without a vast rehousing program throughout the decade ahead, there cannot be the sustained full-employment environment which must underpin the whole war against poverty.

In 1965, there were about 1.5 million traditionally financed private nonfarm housing starts for middle-income and high-income families. There were only about 40 thousand starts for low-income families and for lower-middle income families combined. Measured against need, this was a travesty.

The goals which now should be established, and fortified with appropriate policies are these:

By 1968 and through 1970, we should be starting about 1.2 million traditionally financed private nonfarm housing for middle-income and high-income families. A higher rate is neither desirable nor sustainable, because it recurrently saturates the market for this kind of housing, and explains the extreme instability of housing construction which has contributed mightily to general economic instability and high unemployment.

We should start moving upward now toward 400 thousand starts of lower-middle income housing in 1968, and about 500 thousand in 1970. This program requires an enterprising combination of private and public efforts. It calls for large increases in public outlays for aid to land acquisition and other aspects of urban renewal. There is imperative need for powerful use of the credit of the Federal Government, either through loans or guarantees, toward very much lower interest rates and much longer terms of amortization. The Government should be making credit available for this type of housing at an interest rate not higher than the average interest rate on all outstanding Federal obligations.

Even this will not be good enough, if the Government does not combat the trend toward rising interest rates of all types, instead of abetting this trend by lifting the interest rates on its own obligations. The strategic position of the Federal Government in the money markets should be used forthrightly to drive all interest rates sharply downward.

The nonfarm housing starts for low-income families, with annual subsidies to make up the difference between the annual cost and what these families can afford to pay without excessive strains upon their overall budgets, should be lifted year by year to at least 400 thousand in 1968, and 500 thousand in 1970. Allowing for increased efforts by the States and localities, the main drive in this connection must come from translating the Federally-assisted effort from a shabby token program to meaningful proportions.

The farm population also suffers from extremely bad housing. Although this problem is most intimately connected with the general problem of the restoration of our rural people to their proper place in the economic structure (see Chapter VIII), some note should be made of it at this point. The tragic condition of the housing supply for Negroes in farm areas had only one limited example in the Mississippi delegation which set up tent cities on Lafayette Square in Washington, D. C., to dramatize the housing needs of sharecroppers throughout the rural Sout

Why is public housing called "unpopular"?

The alleged "unpopularity" of the publicly-assisted programs to rehouse slum dwellers arises not from the fact that they have gone too far, but rather from the fact that they have hardly made a dent. So long as this kind of housing continues to be built annually for less than one-tenth of those who need it, nine families must be excluded for every one that is taken in, the rules of exclusion are harsh and arbitrary, those taken in are plagued with rules and regulations, and driven out again when their incomes rise enough to make them deprived instead of poor. This very process breeds resentment, turmoil, discrimination, and misunderstanding, and tends to replace the old slum ghettos with new slum ghettos--more livable, to be sure. But when this housing effort rises to the challenge which confronts it, it can become as successful and as "acceptable" as in some other countries which have done so much more on this front with so much less to work with.

A sufficiently massive effort would substitute purpose for patchwork, permit more mixed-income occupancy, make living in a "project" akin to living in other satisfactory housing, and remove from the "projects" their cruel identification as homes for the poor.

The housing program contained in the "Freedom Budget" would reduce the amount of seriously deficient housing from 9.3 million units in 1960 to 3.5 million by 1970. The rest of the job could be done by 1975.

Impact of improved housing upon urban renewal and economic growth

Although our urban renewal efforts have been grossly inadequate to date, they have run too far ahead of our efforts to replace the slum ghettos with decent housing. While the destruction of slums has been inadequate, the rehousing of slum dwellers has lagged even further. In consequence, many slum dwellers have been crowded into other slums, where they pay even higher rents because of the shortages thus created. In a more commendable effort, massive projects to rehouse the poor should be built first, and, after they move in, the slums they have left should be torn down. Parks and throughways and shiny new office buildings are all to be desired, but they do not get rid of the slums nor lift the oppression from those who live in them. They may even breed resentments by the contrasts they create. Flowers in the park do not remove the smell in the slum.

The replacement of the slum ghettos with new housing for their occupants at adequate pace would not only make other aspects of urban renewal more acceptable, but also augment them greatly. Development of community facilities and public improvements of all types would follow in the wake of the needed housing effort. More would be spent for every commodity which enters into housing and other urban construction, and for furnishings and equipment within the structures.

About half a million more new housing starts per year during the next decade than in 1965, or 5 million more for the decade as a whole, would probably entail for the decade as a whole about 50 billion dollars more of direct housing investment than would result from maintenance of the current level of housing starts. Considering the unusually high multiplier effect of housing on other outlays, the incremental spending over the decade might aggregate 100 to 150 billion dollars. Construction employment would rise, from a 1965 base, about 35 percent by 1970, and about 53 percent by 1975.

Accompanying social benefits

The social benefits would be even greater, though less subject to quantification. The crime, juvenile delinquency, and disease which concentrate in the slums would be reduced. Making our cities decent places in which to live would reduce the egress of the affluent to the suburbs. It would at least slow down the process whereby we are now inexorably becoming two Americas--with the poor forming increasing proportions of those living in the cities, while others move out. And with the affluent and influential forming a reasonable proportion of the total city population, the cities would have both the means and the will to finance adequately the popular services which are now being starved--with this starvation feeding the very poverty which it reflects.

VIII. Agriculture, Natural Resources, And Regional Development

Our farm people and the farms on which they work are among our most important resources. But these resources have been sorely neglected. Millions of acres have been retired from production, despite widespread malnutrition among the poor at home, and starvation among hundreds of millions overseas. Millions of farmers have been forced off the land, to find for the most part unemployment and poverty elsewhere. Even now, on a family or per capita basis, the concentration of poverty is about 2½ times as high in agriculture as in the nonfarm economy. Despite considerable improvement in farm income during the past year, per capita farm income from all sources in 1965 was only $1,610, and per capita income from farm sources only $1,060 compared with per capita nonfarm income of $2,800. This, after a generation of efforts to bring our farm people up to income parity with others.

A long-range full employment, production, and purchasing power budget for agriculture is an essential part of the "Freedom Budget." The main features are: (1) Goals to assure adequate, balanced, and pleasant diets for the U.S. poor, without waiting until they are no longer poor, through expanded food stamp and other distributional programs; to meet the growing food and fiber needs of our growing population in an economy and industrial system expanding at optimum rates; and to enlarge vastly our exports of foods and fibers to the half of the world where most of the people go hungry. (2) Goals to maintain our farm population and farm lands at levels which will assure the needed volume of output. Even allowing for the uniquely rapid advance of technology and productivity in agriculture, this will require a virtual stabilization of our farm population during the next decade, plus large increases in acreage and livestock breeding units. It will require that submarginal farmers receive the credit, incomes, tools, and skills to become self-sufficient, farmily-type farmers. (3) Goals to eradicate farm poverty, and to bring farm families very close to parity of incomes with others by 1975. This will require a gradual shift from price supports to income supports, and determined efforts to channel the help to those who need it most instead of those who need it least. (4) Goals for improved public services in rural areas, where they are even more deficient than elsewhere, with respect to education, health, subsidized housing for those who need it, and social security and welfare payments. This will require the reconstruction of all of these programs as dealt with elsewhere in the discussion, and ever-increasing recognition that the Federal Government must use its powers of spending and taxation as an "equalizing" force. It is noteworthy that some of the States which are spending least on a per capita basis for these public purposes are spending most relative to their wealth and resources.

These goals for agriculture depend upon a complete reversal of recent and current attitudes toward farm outlays in the Federal Budget. These outlays have been pounded for many years, even from sources which should know better, on the ground that they are "wasteful". Certainly the farm program, like most other programs, could be more efficiently conducted. But most of the money expended under the farm program has not consumed our economic resources it has merely redistributed them so that the farm population has received a larger share than it otherwise would, even though a totally inadequate share. This has not only achieved a moiety of justice for the farm population, but it has also been immensely beneficial to all the rest of us. It has protected the whole economy from the catastrophic declines in farm incomes and prices which used to spark general economic downturns of severe size with considerable regularity throughout our history before World War II.

The help extended to the farm population by the nation at large under national farm programs, constantly subjected to hue and cry on the ground that it is "excessive" should be measured against the real benefits conferred by the farm population upon others. Despite the talk about rising food prices (for which the farm program is only in part responsible because much of the rise at the consumer level is due to other factors), the American people today are fed more bountifully than ever before, and their food costs have come to occupy a constantly declining portion of their total budgets. The farm population, which is providing this service to the whole American public, for an income return coming to little better than half of income parity with others, is really subsidizing others, instead of others subsidizing it.

Conservation and replenishment of natural resources

Resource development in the United States has far from kept up with the requirements of a rapidly-growing population, immense population shifts, and industrial development. Critical shortages of water and power persist in many highly populated areas. Airs and waters remain polluted. Recreation facilities are unavailable for those who need them most.

These quantitative and qualitative shortages are closely connected with the whole problem of poverty and unemployment. Shortages of any kind tax the poor more than others. Recreational facilities will always remain adequate for those who have the means to get there, and to pay for what it costs to stay there. The needed programs of resource conservation and replenishment would provide millions of jobs, and, as in the case of housing and urban renewal, would have the additional merit of a high product mix of relatively less skilled jobs. And this is what is most needed without delay for the majority of those among whom unemployment is most heavily concentrated.

Our resource development programs should also intensify the industrial development of atomic energy, with sufficient public controls to make this energy the servant of the people, instead of a source of excessive private gains.

The "Freedom Budget" includes a long-range budget on this whole front.

Regional development and the distressed areas

There are wide variations in the amount of poverty and unemployment from region to region. The most drastic and tragic aspects are to be found in the so-called "distressed areas." Thus far, the programs in Appalachia and elsewhere are merely nibbling at the fringes of these problems. Attempts to "solve" these problems by moving people from the distressed areas to other areas, or by attracting industry and employment from other areas to these distressed areas, will remain merely robbing Peter to pay Paul until we have a sustained full-employment environment.

Most important still, the ad hoc treatment of the "distressed areas" must be massive and comprehensive enough to embrace full-scale programs for economic development. It has been a generation since we developed one TVA. With appropriate modifications, we need many of them.

Above all, the plans for relief of the "distressed areas" and for regional development must be integrated with a "Freedom Budget" of nationwide scope and purpose. Without this, the public outlays essential in the stricken areas will not receive the support of the American people as a whole.

IX. Direct Investment In Human Resources: Education, Training, And Health

Nothing said earlier in this discussion should be construed as playing down the role of personal improvement as a factor in economic and social progress. The intent has been merely to appraise more carefully the extent to which these specialized efforts bear upon problems of unemployment and poverty. Moreover, valuing the individual above all else, we should honor better education and training and health because they enlarge the individual in all respects, rather than merely as aids to job and more income. We would need more and more of these programs, even if everyone were employed and affluent.

Education

For more than twenty years, the quantitative and/or qualitative shortages of classrooms in our public schools have been accumulating. Instead of remedying them adequately, we have tended to reduce the estimates of shortages. We need, for at least six years ahead, and very conservatively stated, a construction program of more than a hundred thousand public classrooms a year. This would require outlays of about 27 billion dollars. Allied with this, we need during the next six years about a hundred thousand new teachers per year in the public schools, allowing for retirements and other withdrawals, the current shortages, and population growth. It is estimated that not more than two-thirds of this need will be filled, without improved teacher-preparation programs, and much higher pay.

With respect to higher levels of education, it has been estimated that there are now at least 200,000 young people who are ready for college but lack the means; the figure is probably much higher, and this problem is acute among young Negroes. The number will increase, in consequence of the very high birth rates during the early postwar years, and further improvement in secondary education. Comparing 1975 with 1963, the number of students who should be enrolled in schools of higher learning should approximately double. Under existing programs, neither the facilities nor the personnel will be available to meet these needs.

With the States and localities straining their budgets, their borrowing capacities, and their available sources of revenues, a very large share of these needs must be met by the Federal Government, if they are to be met at all. This has long been recognized by all in every way--except programmatically.

Training and retraining

The very commendable training and retraining programs for the poor and deprived, and mostly the young, under the Economic Opportunity Act are essential and should be greatly ir creased. This is also true of general manpower efforts. But even when increased, they alone are not enough. Handicapped workers need more attention. Vocational training needs be greatly expanded. Federal aid in the form of relocation allowances should be institute

We need to draw a sharper distinction between education and training for preparation enter the labor force, and education and training to upgrade the existing labor force--and do much more in both categories.

The main advances in all of these areas must come, if they are to come at all, throug very great enlargement of public outlays in the category of labor, manpower, and other welfare services. But as urged throughout, these can be brought into clear focus only if used as auxiliaries to programs which create jobs.

Health services and research

The recent enactment of Medicare, after years of struggle, evidences recognition by the American people and their elected representatives that medical care should be brought into line with the advance of medical science, at costs which the recipients can afford to pay. But Medicare touches only a small fraction of those within our population who cannot obtain adequate medical care at costs within their means. Only one-third of all families with incomes under $2,000 a year have health insurance, compared with three-fourths of all American families. About 60 percent of the hospital patients in the lowest income groups have none of their bills paid by insurance, and this runs up to 72 percent in the case of surgical patients. Although there is a direct correlation between low incomes and practically all types of disease and mortality, the hospitalization rates for nonwhites, where poverty is so highly concentrated, is 20 percent lower than for the population as a whole.

We should approximately double within the next ten years the annual rate of outlays for hospital construction, merely to keep pace with population increases, to serve even the most essential requirements for replacement and modernization, and to provide indispensable facilities for out-patient care. Even such efforts would do no better than cut in half the severe current shortages by ten years from now. In addition to hospital construction, there is need for expanding rehabilitation and out-patient facilities. This should include diagnostic and treatment clinics; facilities for long-term care; nursing homes, especially for the elderly; and public health and mental health clinics.

The shortage of health personnel has by now become alarming. It is estimated that, even to maintain the present very deficient ratios of health personnel to population, the number of physician graduates must be increased by 50 percent by 1975, and the number of dentist graduates doubled. Programs now in evolution will not meet this need.

In the field of medical research, the pending programs of the National Institute of Health and other agencies, both public and private, give promise of significant breakthroughs in scientific fields. But great gaps still remain. The dollar-and-cent cost of those disabilities which medical knowledge has not yet been able to prevent or reduce significantly are staggering. Cancer disabilities alone cost nearly one-half billion dollars per year in lost earnings, aside from the cost in lost production. The human cost is incalcuable.

All in all, seriously inadequate medical care now handicaps about 40 percent of our population--which is not far different from the numbers who live in poverty or deprivation. The genuine answer is a nationwide, universal system of health insurance. Experience with Medicare, and enlarged medical facilities and personnel, would establish a stronger base for this program. The battle for its enactment, abandoned many years ago, should now be resumed.

X. Help For Those Who Cannot Help Themselves: Social Insurance And Welfare Payments

Even in a full-employment environment, and with adequate pay for those employed, there will be those who cannot or should not work. Within this category, as already noted, we find those who, with their dependents, come to about two-fifths of all the U.S. poor. Our economic strength and our social conscience both dictate that we should allocate to these people a fair and decent share of our total national product and income. And increasingly, we should put these payments to those outside the functioning economic system on a basis which no longer requires that they be poor, or prove themselves poor, in order to receive such payments. They should receive them as a matter of right. A steady and growing flow of income to these people, rationally determined within the perspective of the "Freedom Budget," will also help to maintain a full-employment environment for others.

OASDHI and public assistance for the elderly

The original intent of the nationwide old-age insurance system, established in 1935, was that within a generation or so our senior citizens would receive, as a matter of right, payments adequate to maintain an American standard of living. But the improvements in this system from time to time have neither kept up with the cost of living nor been fully responsive to our nationwide gains in per capita income and wealth.

President Johnson has initiated substantial progress along this line. The 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act extended benefit rights to additional groups of people, and eased the requirements for entitlement. The first impact of these changes was felt in September 1965, when both the number of beneficiaries and the amount of benefits increased. The title of the program has been changed from OASDI to OASDHI, reflecting the inclusion of contributions for health insurance for the aged, although beneficiaries will not actually receive such benefits until July, 1966.

As of now, it has been estimated that, among those aged 65 and over receiving OASDHI benefits, between two-thirds and three-fifths live in poverty, taking into account their incomes from all sources. And millions of them are not pressing against the poverty-income ceiling, but are from 25 to 50 percent below it. Even in October 1965, the average OASDHI benefit to retired workers was only $84.00 a month, or at an annual rate of only $1,008.00. The annual rate of payment was less than $1,550 for a retired couple, and only slightly above $2,900 for a four-person family with a widow and three children.

There are now more than 20 million people receiving OASDHI benefits, and there will be 10 million more within a few years. The average size of these benefits should be at least doubled within five years. The complete reliance of this system upon payroll taxes is highly regressive, and the building of "reserves" analogous to those in a private system has no real merit in a public program. While it is too late to start afresh, a major portion of the sums required to lift the benefits under OASDHI should be contributed by the Federal Government, and financed on an annual basis through the progressive income tax.

While it was the original intent of the OASDHI system that the Public Old Age Assistance Program would gradually disappear, there remained in October 1965 more than two million recipients of this assistance. Among those aged 65 and over receiving Old Age Assistance but not receiving OASDHI benefits, about nine out of ten live in poverty. In October 1965, the average old-age assistance monetary benefit was only $61.16 a month, or $733.92 a year ($79.19 a month, including nonmonetary medical vendor payments). Average benefits varied enormously by State, ranging from more than $112 a month in New Hampshire to $39.15 in Mississippi. Adding insult to injury, many of these old people are forced to take the humiliating equivalent of a pauper's oath before they qualify for assistance.

With greatly increased Federal aid, the same retirement and income goals should be sought for our senior citizens helped by pensions as for those helped by insurance, and for those who, for one reason or another, receive neither. There is also room for very substantial improvement in those aspects of aid to the elderly which deal not with old-age assistance proper, but with other types of assistance including medical help.

Other deficiencies in welfare programs

The average size of public payments to the aged for medical assistance varies tremendously from State to State. While the nationwide monthly average in October 1965 was about $184, the average was only $34.74 in Kentucky, $25.27 in West Virginia, and $11.94 in Nevada.

In October 1965, the average monthly aid in the form of payments to the blind averaged $89.17, including nonmonetary payments. Meanwhile, the State public assistance payments to the permanently disabled and totally disabled averaged only $63.22 monthly in monetary terms, and only $86.47 including nonmonetary vendor payments. Under OASDHI, the average monthly payments to disabled workers, converted into their yearly equivalent would provide less than $1,595 for a family consisting of a disabled worker and his wife, and less than $2,400 a year if there are also two children. In many of the State laws, regulations and restrictions, as to the degree and proof of disability in order to qualify, work seriously against effective help.

None of these data reflect the immensity of the neglect, because the number of recipients represents only a small fraction of the total need. The average number of recipients per month under the State programs of payments to the aged for medical assistance is now less than 300,000.

In a broad sense, the concept of the general welfare extends to practically all of the types of specialized public payments which have thus far been depicted. In addition, help is extended to others, such as needy families with dependent children. But in October 1965, thi assistance averaged only $34.95 monthly per recipient, which on an annual basis would come to less than $1,260 for a family of three. And about 86 percent of the families receiving this type of aid receive no other type.

The States have developed a special category of payments in the form of general assistance. The average monthly payments per case in the general assistance categories was only $32.08 in October, 1965. The most glaring example of neglect in the whole field of welfare action has been the enduring failure of the Federal Government to make any contributions to State programs of general assistance.

Legislation to provide cash maternity benefits is virtually nonexistent in this country. Yet there are at least 15 million children, of whom 4 million are under 6 years of age, and 5 million between 6 and 11 years of age, who have mothers working outside the home. There are about half a million fatherless families, with children under 6 years of age, whose mothe are in the labor force.

Toward a unified nationwide system of guaranteed incomes

The guaranteed annual income is a highly desirable goal, designed to assure a nationwide and universally guaranteed decency standard of income for all those who legitimately cannot obtain it through their own efforts. It is based on the inescapable fact that an economy as rich and powerful as ours cannot countenance widespread deprivation, much less widespread poverty. One immediate need in this direction is greatly increased Federal assistance in all of the welfare categories; another is Federal entry into the field of general public assistance. Beyond this, and even more important, there is need for gradual elimination of the whole patchwork of ad hoc public assistance programs, which are highly inefficien and costly relative to their results and which tend toward pauperization of recipients, and substitution of the unified guaranteed income.

But this proposal for a guaranteed annual income becomes excessive and unattainable when not founded upon recognition that it should be supplementary to rather than in lieu of a nationwide full-employment policy. Indeed, it is even more important that the Federal Government guarantee sustained full-employment than that it guarantee incomes for all. To put this in a preferable way, a Federally guaranteed full-employment policy should be at the very heart of a guaranteed-income policy. This Federal full-employment policy should undertake forthrightly and immediately to provide jobs at adequate wages for all those who should be participating in gainful employment, but who cannot be or are not gainfully employed at other levels of private and public responsibility. Aside from the fact that practically any type of employment is better than unemployment on all grounds, our unmet national needs in the public sector which require massive Federal action if they are to be serviced means that this type of employment would be of no less value in terms of goods and services created than other types of employment, and of far more value than a substantial part of current and prospective employment directed toward the production of relatively less desirable goods and services.

Unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation

Many of the State unemployment insurance systems are miserably inadequate, as to duration of benefits, size of benefits, and sufficiency of available funds. With improved Federal standards and large Federal contributions, we should move immediately toward making unemployment insurance payments the right of all those unemployed through no fault of their own, for as long as they are unemployed, and with an average benefit payment at least half the average full-time working wage (or more than this, if that be required to comport with the goal of a guaranteed income at decency levels).

With increased Federal aid, disability coverage under public assistance and OASDHI should be as broad as the broadened coverage under unemployment insurance, and disability payments should be lifted to adequate standards as to amount and duration.

All of the States and the District of Columbia have workmen's compensation laws, but these are still very weak. In only about half the States is the compensation compulsory; benefits in general are very low; death benefits and duration of payments to widows are seriously limited; payments for medical care and rehabilitation are very inadequate; and operations in general are seriously impaired by a variety of undesirable restrictions bearing upon eligibility. The time has come to utilize Federal standards toward the needed improvements in workmen's compensation, which should be guided by the same considerations set forth in connection with unemployment insurance.

In sober truth, the levels of our social welfare outlays in the aggregate cannot stand up under any reasonable test. Expressed in uniform dollars on a per capita basis, nationwide publicly financed social outlays have advanced very slowly during the past fifteen years. Measured in ratio to total national production, they have been virtually stationary since 1961. The 1964 ratio of 7.7 percent (excluding outlays for education) was appallingly low, in terms of our real priority needs.

XI. The Role Of The Federal Budget In The "Freedom Budget"

Just as our Federal Government is the leadership agency for implementing the "Freedom Budget," so the Federal Budget is the main instrument of national economic policy. It identifies our national priority needs,whether adequately or inadequately, and through expenditure and tax programs allocates resources in accord with this identification.

In recent years, the Federal Budget, granted that it has had to carry a heavy national defense program, has not responded adequately to these great priorities of our national needs. Measured in ratio to total national production, conventional Budget outlays were 17.7 percent in fiscal 1947, the first full year in an economic sense after World War II. By 1961, they had declined to 16.08 percent, and for fiscal 1967 are estimated at 15.05 percent. This downward movement has also had an adverse effect upon employment and economic growth.

Without debating whether Federal Budget outlays for national defense were too high or too low or about right over these years, the fact that the total Budget was too low to perform its function in helping to maintain reasonably full employment and production means that domestic outlays in the Federal Budget were too low if one assumes that outlays for national defense were about right. They were certainly too low, in terms of the great priorities of our domesti needs. In ratio to total national production, Federal Budget outlays for all domestic programs declined from 8.17 percent in fiscal 1947 to an estimated 5.71 percent for fiscal 1967. Measured against the growing needs of a growing population, outlays for all domestic programs in the Federal Budget on a per capita basis declined from $230.91 in fiscal 1947 to an estimated $198.04 for fiscal 1967.

Proposed priority programs in the Federal Budget

To help implement the great priorities of our national needs, described above in some detail, and with full allowance for private and for State and local action, a Federal Budget is incorporated in the "Freedom Budget."

This Federal Budget is reconciled with all major goals for employment, production, and incomes in the "Freedom Budget."*

The "Freedom Budget" makes no attempt at independent judgment as to our national requirements in the category of national defense, space technology, and all international. But in order to make clear how much room there is for fulfillment of the great priorities of our domesti needs, it adopts in this category what might be called the composite judgment of informed experts. On this basis, total Federal Budget outlays in this category would rise from 70.018 billion dollars in fiscal 1967 to 87.500 billion dollars in calendar 1975, but would decline from 9.34 percent to 7.81-8.06 percent of total national production in a properly expanding U.S economy. If these estimates should turn out to be too high, there would be just that much more room for domestic programs.**

For all domestic programs, starting with the actual for fiscal 1967 and projecting goals for calendar 1970 and 1975, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 42.829 billion dollars to 57.500 billion and then to 67.500 billion; on a per capita basis, they should rise from 198.04 dolla to 275.12 dollars and then to 298.67 dollars; as a percent of total national production, they should rise from 5.71 to 6.55-6.61 and then decline to 6.03-6.22.

For the Economic Opportunity program, progress on other fronts in the years ahead would perhaps reduce the need for this program to less than it would otherwise be. Nonetheless, total Federal Budget outlays for this program should rise from 1.600 billion dollars in 1967 to 3.000 in 1970 and then to 4.000 billion in 1975; on a per capita basis, from $7.39 to $14.36 and then to $17.70; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.21 to 0.34 and then to 0.36-0.38.

For housing and community development, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 0.123 billion dollars to 3.350 and then to 3.800 billion; on a per capita basis, from $0.57 to $16.03 and then to $16.81; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.02 to 0.38, and then decline to 0.34-0.35.

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*See Chart Three.

**Fiscal 1967 portrayals of total outlays are in current dollars. All other portrayals are in 1964 dollars to make them consistent with other phases of the analysis and goals. The ranges for 1970 and 1975 throughout this phase of the discussion are based on the higher and lower projections for total national production (GNP).

For agriculture and natural resources combined, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 6.434 to 10.500 and then to 12.000 billion; on a per capita basis, from $29.75 to $50.24 and then to $53.10; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.86 to 1.20-1.21 and then decline to 1.07-1.11.

For education, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 2.834 to 7.000 and then to 9.500 billion; on a per capita basis from $13.10 to $33.49 and then to $42.04; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.38 to 0.80 and then to 0.85-0.88.

For health services and research, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 3.621 to 4.800 and then to 7.000 billion; on a per capita basis, from $16.74 to $22.97 and then to $30.97; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.48 to 0.55 and then to 0.62-0.65.

For public assistance, and labor, manpower, and other welfare services, total Federal Budget outlays should rise from 4.741 to 6.600, and then to 7.500 billion; on a per capita basis from $21.92 to $31.58 and then to $33.18; and as a percentage of GNP from 0.63 to 0.76 and then decline to 0.67-0.69.*

In order to help provide needed expansion of benefits to the aged under the OASDHI program, without excessive reliance upon regressive payroll taxes, Federal Budget contributions to this program (financed by progressive taxation) should be promptly instituted. These contributions should be at least one billion dollars by 1970, and at least two billion by 1975.

Reasonableness of the Federal Budget projections

There are various ways of measuring the reasonableness of these Federal Budget projections, and indicating that they would neither distort the traditional balance between Federal actions and other public and private actions at all levels, nor impose an excessive strain upon the Federal Budget.

First, the Federal Budget in calendar 1970 would be only 15.38-15.51 percent of projected total national production, and in calendar 1975 would be only 13.84-14.29 percent. This contrasts with an average of 16.16 percent for the fiscal years 1954-1967 (1967 estimated).

Second, looking at the economy as a whole, including non-Federal public outlays, projected public outlays for goods and services at all levels would be 20.4-20.6 percent of GNP in 1970 and 19.6-20.3 percent in 1975, compared with 19.8 percent in 1965. Private consumer outlays would be 63.2-63.3 percent of GNP in 1970 and 63.3-63.5 percent in 1975, compared with 63.7 percent in 1965. And gross private domestic investment would be 16.2-16.3 percent of GNP in 1970 and 16.4-16.9 percent in 1975, compared with 16.5 percent in 1965. These portrayals are for calendar years.**

Third, the total Federal Budget, which stood at 101.4 billion dollars in calendar 1965, would rise to 135 billion in calendar 1970, and 155 billion in calendar 1975. Thus, the Federal Budget in 1975 would be less than 54 billion dollars higher than in

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*See Chart Four.

**See Chart Five.

1965. For the decade as a whole, Federal outlays would aggregate about 330 billion dollars more than if the Federal Budget remained stationary at the 1965 level. This appears to be a quite moderate allocation to the great priorities served by the Federal Budget, as it would be less than one-seventh of the 2,315-2,442 billion dollars by which our total national production in the decade ahead would be in excess of projection ahead at the 1965 level.

Fourth, total Government purchases of goods and services at all levels would rise from 131 billion dollars in 1965 to 220 billion in 1975, an increase of about 90 billion. For the decade as a whole, these outlays would aggregate about 506 billion dollars more than if they remained stationary at the 1965 level. This also seems moderate, coming to not much more than one-fifth of the 2,315-2,442 billion aggregate increment in total national production.

Fifth, these projections strike a fair balance between Federal and State and local responsibilities. While total Federal purchases of goods and services would rise from 64.6 billion dollars in 1965 to 85 billion in 1970 and 100 billion in 1975, State and local would rise from 66.4 billion to 94.0 billion and then to 120.0 billion.

Sixth, from 1962 through 1965, Federal tax reductions and concessions had an annual value in the aggregate of close to 20 billion dollars when fully effective. In the decade ahead, this surrender of Federal revenues would aggregate about 200 billion dollars, without allowing for the fact that a growing economy increases the annual value of given rate reductions in taxes. This allowance might well increase the aggregate cost of these already-enact tax cuts to 300 billion in the decade ahead. Having committed the Federal Budget to this amount of tax reduction, we can certainly afford to increase Federal Budget outlays by only slightly more than this--about 330 billion dollars--in the aggregate in the decade ahead. Fo every dollar of such increased outlays, unlike a dollar of tax reduction, can be pointed directly toward what the nation and the people need most.

Tax implications of the proposed Federal Budget

It is reliably estimated that the increased tax revenues accruing each year to the Federal Government from economic growth at existing tax rates may lift Federal tax collections (Conventional Budget concept) by about 8-10 billion dollars a year on the average during the next ten years. For the decade as a whole, about 400-550 billion dollars more would be collected in Federal taxes than if tax collections remain stationary at the 1965 level--i.e., if the U.S. economy did not grow. This 400-550 billion dollars in increased tax collections would be tremendously in excess of the estimated 330 billion dollars representing aggregate increased Federal outlays over the decade. This huge difference could be devoted in part to properly-placed tax reductions, or to help States and localities which are much harder pressed in financial terms than the Federal Government.

Allowance for excessive optimism in the estimates

It may be argued that the projections for U.S. economic growth are too high, and that therefore there would be less room than has been estimated for utilizing the Federal Budget along the lines indicated above. The first answer to this argument is contained in the demonstration just above, showing the vast margin between estimated increased Federal outlays and estimated increased Federal tax collections at existing tax rates. The second and far more important argument is that the very meaning of priorities is that they should receive first call upon our resources; and there is plenty of room in the national economy--if necessary--to use some properly devised tax increases to cut back on what we need least in order to take care of what we need most. This point is elaborated further in the following discussion of the inflationary problem.

XII. The Moral Aspects Of The Problem Of Inflation

The nature of the resistance in some quarters to the "Freedom Budget" is not unpredictable. Its goals will be accepted as worthy, but held undesirable in part on the ground that they would be "inflationary." It is none too early to provide objective answers to any such doubts about the "Freedom Budget."

A balanced view of the inflationary danger

The desirable purpose of avoiding price increases, and especially those affecting the cost of living, has undoubtedly led to gross exaggeration of inflationary dangers in the U.S. economy. From 1929 through 1965, the average annual increase in consumer prices was about 1.8 percent, in wholesale prices about 2.2 percent, and in industrial prices about 2.1 percent. This has not been a high rate of price advance, when compared either with earlier periods in American history or with experience overseas.

Moreover, the bulk of these price increases occurred during the World War II and reconversion eras, and during 1950-1951 within the Korean war era, when the Chinese intervention led to very drastic and sudden changes in expectancies and to a good deal of scare buying. These two inflationary movements could have been checked much more effectively by higher taxes during World War II and less precipitate abandonment of controls immediately thereafter, and by more prompt imposition of controls during the Korean war. Be that as it may, nobody said in those times that the need to curb inflation should cause us to cut back on what we needed most. Instead, we accelerated what we needed most, and cut back on what we needed least.

Aside from these two wartime eras, which are entirely dissimilar to anything now confronting us, the period from 1929 through 1965 netted virtual stability of consumer, wholesame, and industrial prices.

In addition, experience during the past decade has tended to discredit the classical dogma that there is a necessary and unavoidable direct correlation between the rate of economic growth, and how close we are to full employment, and price inflation. Price inflation was severe on the average during the period 1955-1958, within which we experienced a substantial economic recession, netted practically no economic growth, and witnessed very large increases in unemployment. In contrast, the years 1960-1965, when we accelerated greatly the rate of economic growth, and reduced substantially the amount of unemployment, registered an average annual increase of only 1.3 percent in consumer prices, 0.3 percent in wholesale prices, and 0.2 percent in industrial prices.

It is true that price increases have been considerably larger than this during the past year and in recent months. But these do not yet justify reversion to the classical dogma that periods of stagnation and unemployment in the long-run net less price inflation than periods of optimum economic growth and full employment (short of the hyper-pressures of a full-scale war, or very drastic changes in expectancies, such as during 1950-1951).

Nor have those economists and others who repeat again and again that a moderate amount of price inflation is inequitable, and hurts those most who need help most, attempted any convincing documentation of their thesis. A moderate long-range upward movement of prices is not in itself beneficial. But it may well be argued from U.S. experience that the economic conditions and public programs during such periods have yielded more equity and more improvements in income distribution than those periods where stable prices have been accompanied by neglect of the needs of the nation and the people. Aside from falling farm prices, the period 1922-1929 was characterized by a remarkably stable price level. But sins of commission and omission on public and private fronts steadily worsened income distribution, hurt those who needed help most, and ultimately brought on the Great Depression. The stock market crash was only the spark.

However, it is not the purpose here to get involved in debate as to the relative merits of a stable and moderately rising price level. The "Freedom Budget" is willing to assume that a virtually stable price level may be desirable, and that "inflation," even in small doses, is undesirable. The real economic problem is how we combat inflation or the threat of inflation, and this is at bottom a moral or social question.

The moral or social question

resources will permit at their current state of development, we must obviously cut back on some things. But what should we cut back on?

If the increased expenditures for the Vietnam war in themselves were to place excessive pressure upon our productive resources (which seems unlikely, in that these increases amount to much less than the current economic slack), it would not be the national policy to avoid these increased defense outlays. Instead, through higher taxes, we would cut back on something else. This would amount to saying that the increased defense outlays were a top national priority.

But for reasons stated at the very outset, this is not our only high national priority, and we would come a cropper if we acted as if it were. The other great national priorities set forth in the "Freedom Budget" are also highly important, and far more important than scores of billions of dollars of current consumption for some purposes, and the investments and production facilities utilized to serve such consumption. To reject this thesis in whole or part, in the actual evolution of our national economic policies, would be deciding that the goals of a Great Society should bear the costs of a limited war, while others batten on the even greater "prosperity" which the stimulous of additional war-spending provides.

Expressed differently, while those concerned with the prevention of inflation insist that they want to prevent its cruel ravages upon the least protected and least fortunate, the above-cited method of combating inflation would do just the reverse.

Even before the new situation in Vietnam, some of our national economic policies afford vivid examples of how an avowed campaign against inflation has redistributed income in the wrong direction, hurt those who need help most, and helped those most who need help not at all. It has been estimated that, from 1953 through 1965, the policy of tight money and rising interest rates has transferred about 60 billion dollars on net balance. Most of these transfers have been toward those who did not need this income supplementation. Most of these transfers have been away from those paying the higher rates of interest: the homeowner in the lower half of the income structure, including the poor; the worker buying a second-hand car on time to drive to his place of employment; the family buying a television set on time, so that those among its breadwinners who are not employed may have something to watch; the family borrowing to finance an illness of long duration or to send a child to college; the small businessman and the farmer who are far more dependent upon credit than the industrial giants whose overinvestment programs are not curtailed by tight money or rising interest rates. Even now, the Federal Government is paying out more than 4 billion dollars more in interest payments than if the interest rates of 1952 had been maintained, and this alone comes to about 2½ times the fiscal 1967 Federal Budget item for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The same policy has done even more damage to States and localities endeavoring to perform essential public service.

These excess interest payments during the thirteen-year period 1953-1965 inclusive have involved annual income transfers af about 5½ billion dollars a year. Such income transfers, used in different ways through different programs, could have increased for each of these thirteen years by more than $600 the incomes of all of the families in the U.S. with annual incomes under $3,000, or increased by more than $3,000 in each of these years the incomes of all the families in the U.S. with incomes of under $1,000.

The technical experts may continue to argue whether this monetary policy has helped or hurt the performance of the economy as a whole, with some of them taking the latter view. But we certainly could devise methods to control inflation, more selective in nature, which would accomplish better economic results and not fly in the face of all our social and human purposes.

While the monetary policies have been used to fight inflation, tax cuts having an aggregate annual value of close to 20 billion dollars were undertaken from 1962 through 1965 for the opposite purpose of stimulating the economy. There are differences of viewpoint as to whether this was the most effective way of providing economic stimulation. In the current situation, there is now a growing recognition that the investment boom in plant and equipment has become excessive and is the main danger of an inflationary nature. But regardless of this, a large part of the increased output and job opportunities resulting from the tax cuts served national purpose of far lower priority than those which would have been served by a different balance between tax cuts and increased Federal spending, and this new balance is required in future.

Taking together the interest payment transfers having an average annual value of about 6 billion dollars, and the tax cuts to stimulate investment having an annual value of not far from 9 billion, the total comes to about 15 billion. This is more than the amount that would be required to lift all of the 34 million poor in the U.S. (continued on page 41)

above the poverty-income ceiling. Even allowing for some differences in interpretation, this leaves no room for the argument that we cannot afford to do what we need most.

Under any circumstances, it would be monstrous distortion of our values as a nation and a people to argue that we should balance the desirability of reducing unemployment (and meeting the other priorities of our national needs) against the prospects of some increases in the price level. Nothing could be more unjust than to ask unemployed breadwinners or the inhabitants of the slum ghettos to bear the cost of assuring the affluent against some increases in the prices they pay for a third car in the garage, or another fur coat, or even a few more steak dinners per week. If, in truth, the pressures upon our productive resources became more severe than is now apparent, let us by all means act against inflation--but act with fairness and regard for values.

We may be able to carry forward the great priorities of the "Freedom Budget" without substantial tax increases, which in large measure would merely repeal tax cuts of very low priority. But if not, we should impose the burden where it can easily be borne, instead of fastening it around the necks of the downtrodden.

These deviations from appropriate economic and social policies in the past, and any threat of further deviations in the future, do not result from ill-will. They result because we have not yet made an adequate budget of our needs and resources, identified priorities accordingly, and adjusted policies and programs to meet these goals.

All this the "Freedom Budget" would enable us to do. It would reconfirm our power to act, improve our sense of direction, and fortify our sense of justice. It would rally to the support of its objectives the American people, and their leaders in every walk of life. It would combine economic progress with moral purpose. And that is the true role of our great democracy in a troubled world.

SEE CHARTS ATTACHED

TECHNICAL NOTE

The economic and financial projections in the "Freedom Budget" are based upon a "model" for a comprehensive U.S. economic budget, or balance sheet of our resources and needs. All of the components are reconciled on both the product and income side. As projections of this type involve a quantitative balance sheet which reconciles all items, it is hardly possible to embody in the "Freedom Budget" what might be called "average" projections, including those of several competent organizations interested in this problem. Nonetheless, the projections for overall economic growth in the "Freedom Budget," and correspondingly for some components thereof, are set forth within a band or range which takes account of some of these competent projections.

For example, the "Freedom Budget" projects a 1975 gross national product within a range of from 1,085 billion dollars to 1,120 billion dollars, measured in 1964 dollars. A study entitled The Dollar Costs of Our National Goals, prepared by Leonard A. Lecht and published by the National Planning Association in May 1965, projects for 1975 a gross national product of 981 billion dollars, which would be about 1,010 billion when converted into 1964 dollars. The Conference on Economic Progress, in its studies, projects a 1975 gross national product of 1,120 billion dollars in 1964 dollars. A pioneer and widely-accepted study in 1958 projected an optimum gross national product for 1975 of about 1,050 billion dollars measured in 1957 dollars, which would be 1,173 billion when converted into 1964 dollars.

The varying estimates of our gross national product potential by 1975 result primarily from varying estimates as to the feasible growth in productivity or output per man-hour in the private sector. Some competent estimates on this score have ranged from 3.0 percent to 3.8 percent. The "Freedom Budget" utilizes estimates within a band ranging from about 3 $^1/_4$ percent to about 3 $^3/_4$ percent, consistent with estimated gross national production ranging from 1,085 billion dollars to 1,120 billion in 1975, measured in 1964 dollars.

The probabilities are that any one of the various projections is "valid," depending upon the relative weight attached to the cost of increased exertion and policy efforts, measured against the benefits to be achieved, and this involves taking into account not only purely economic issues but also the feasibility of various ranges of policy endeavors and popular attitudes.

While the "Freedom Budget" projects the 1975 gross national product within the ranges set forth above, it does not correspondingly use ranges in quantifying the great domestic priority objectives. To do so would overcomplicate the entire presentation. Much more important, the "Freedom Budget" is based upon the proposition that the same great domestic priority objective should be sought whichever of the two gross national product targets is chosen, which would mean simply that the choice of the lower GNP target (in contrast with the high GNP target) would require a slightly lower rate of growth in relatively less essential areas of endeavor in order to leave room for the great domestic priority targets. The U.S. economy is now so productive, and its potential for further gains is so immense, that we can afford and cannot afford to neglect these great domestic priority targets, whether the GNP by 1975 grows to 1,085 billion dollars or 1,120 billion, or even only to 1,000 billion.

Indicative of the reasonableness of the great domestic priority targets set forth in the "Freedom Budget" is a comparison of their magnitudes with estimates based on a detailed study prepared by Gerhard Colm and Peter Wagner of the National Planning Association and published by the Brookings Institution. In the following table, column (a) represents the Federal Budget goals of the "Freedom Budget" for 1975. Column (b) presents estimates based on the NPA-Brookings study. Before the two columns can be compared it must be noted that the "Freedom Budget" (column a) is stated is 1964 dollars and in terms of the Conventional Federal Budget, while the NPA projections (column b) are stated in terms of current dollars, assuming an annual price rise of 1.5 percent, and in terms of the Federal Cash Budget. Column (c) presents the Colm-Wagner projections adjusted to achieve comparability with the "Freedom Budget"; that is, they are expressed in 1964 dollars and in terms of the Conventional Federal Budget. This reduces the total from 71.3 billion dollars to 51.5 billion. Actually, the Colm-Wagner projections for 1975 are extrapolations of their estimates for fiscal year 1973. They are the highest of four alternative projections, and are made under the assumption that there will be substantial reduction in arms outlays. With the exception of an alternative of the Colm-Wagner projections which excludes adoption of any new programs, the projected totals based on the other three alternatives would range between 41.0 billion dollars and 51.5 billion shown in the table. Thus, the 45.8 billion dollars total in the "Freedom Budget" for 1975 falls about midway between the lower Colm-Wagner projection of 41.0 billion and the higher Colm-Wagner projection of 51.5 billion.

	(in billions of dollars)		
	(a)	(b)	(c)
Housing and community development	3.8	9.5	6.2
Health services and research	7.0	9.5	7.8
Public welfare: labor and manpower	7.5	19.3	10.4
Contribution to OASDHI	2.0	-	-
Economic Opportunity	4.0	7.0	5.7
Education and research	9.5	16.3	13.8
Agriculture; natural resources	12.0	9.7	7.6
	45.8	71.3	51.5

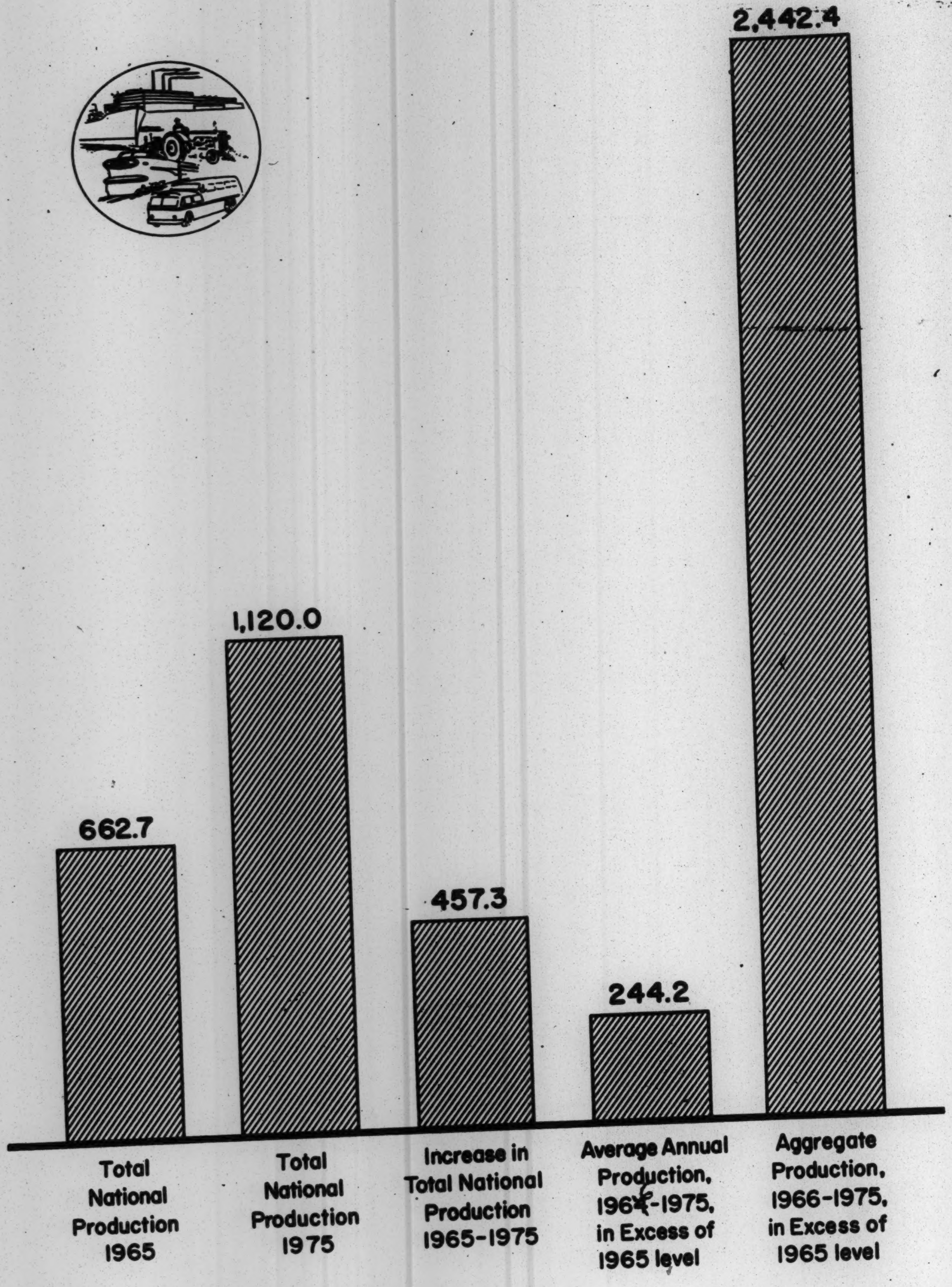
Furthermore, the differences between columns (a) and (c) are probably even less than appear. With respect to housing and community development, for example, it may well be that the difference between the 3.8 billion dollar figure in column (a) and 6.2 billion dollar figure in column (c) is much greater than the difference in the respective programs contemplated, and is to be explained by different methods of financing of the Federal contributions in aid of projects.

It therefore appears that the variations in detail in various competent studies do not substantially affect the validity of the "Freedom Budget," when properly interpreted as a broad expression of our economic capabilities and the goals we should seek.

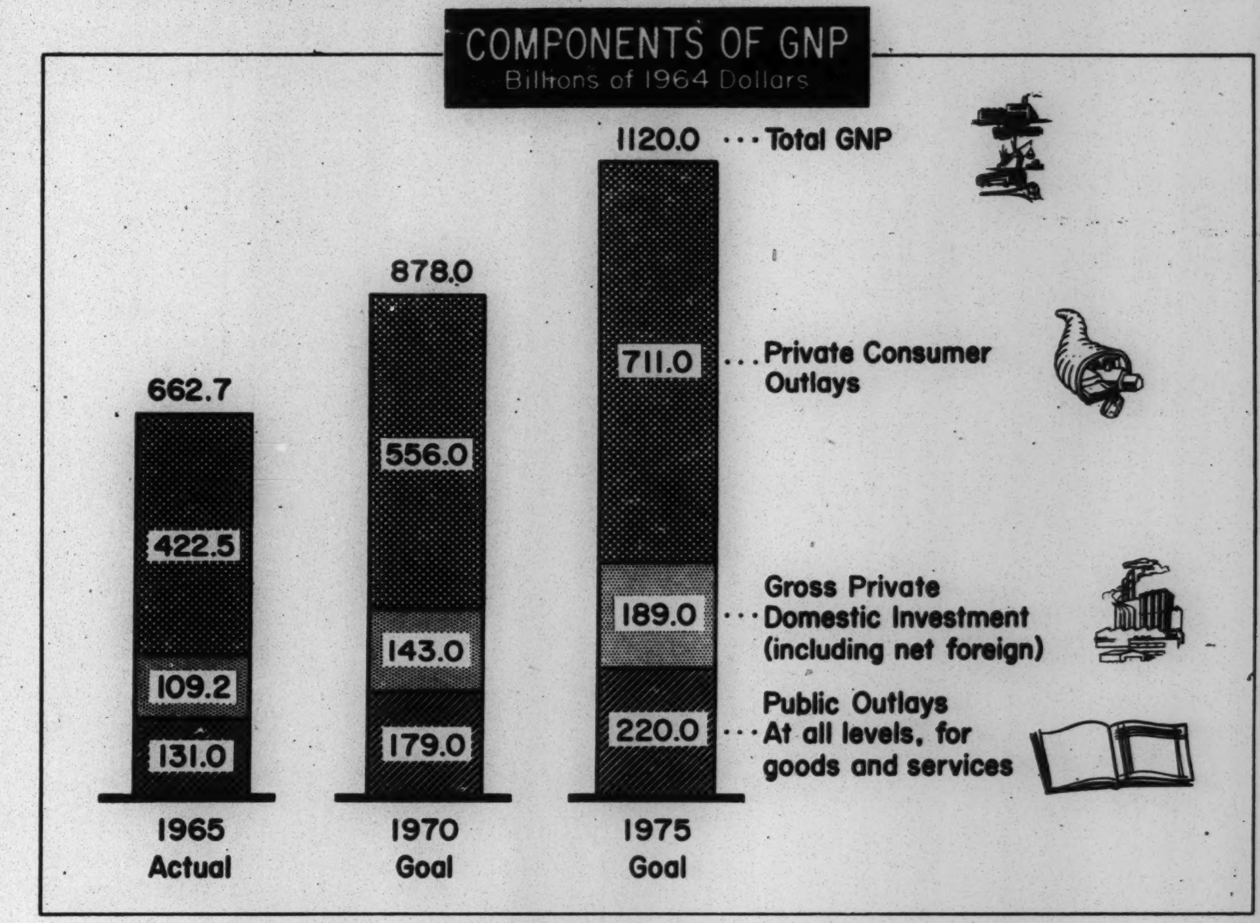
21L

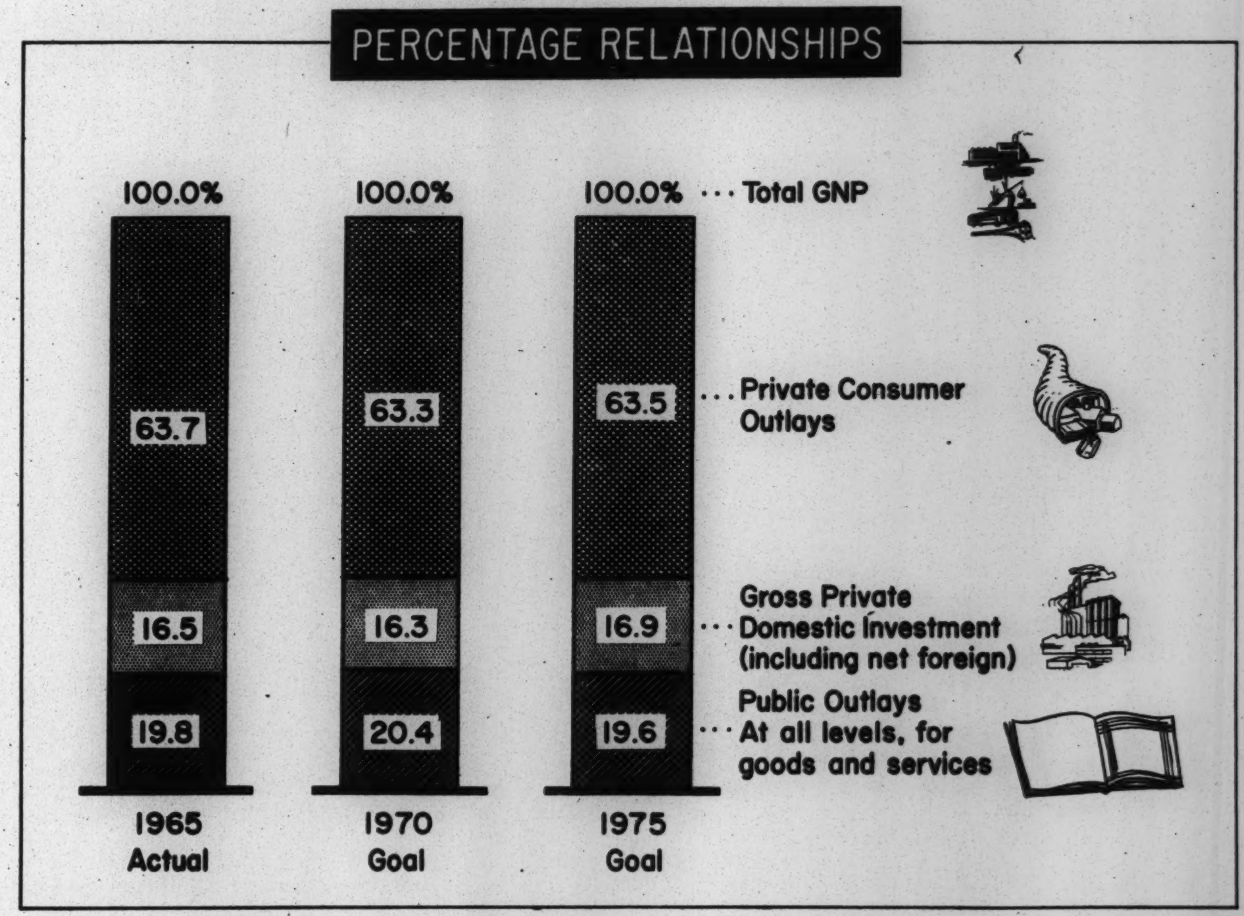
HOW MUCH WE HAVE TO WORK WITH, 1965-1975 BASED ON ECONOMIC GROWTH PROJECTIONS

GNP in Billions of 1964 Dollars



THE "FREEDOM BUDGET" MAINTAINS BALANCE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESPONSIBILITIES





ROLE OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET IN THE "FREEDOM BUDGET"

1967, fiscal year; 1970 and 1975, calendar years
Totals for 1967 in current dollars;
All other dollar figures in 1964 dollars.

ALL FEDERAL OUTLAYS

THE BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	112.847	521.79	15.05
1970 Goal	135.000	645.93	15.38
1975 Goal	155.000	685.84	13.84

NATIONAL DEFENSE, SPACE TECHNOLOGY, & ALL INTERNATIONAL

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	70.018	323.77	9.34
1970 Goal	77.500	370.82	8.83
1975 Goal	87.500	387.17	7.81

ALL DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	42.829	198.04	5.71
1970 Goal	57.500	275.12	6.55
1975 Goal	67.500	298.67	6.03

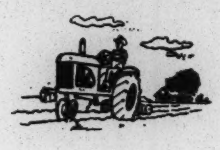
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	1.600	7.39	0.21
1970 Goal	4.000	19.14	0.46
1975 Goal	6.000	26.55	0.54

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	0.123	0.57	0.02
1970 Goal	3.350	16.03	0.38
1975 Goal	3.800	16.81	0.34

AGRICULTURE; AND NATURAL RESOURCES



Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	6.434	29.75	0.86
1970 Goal	10.500	50.24	1.20
1975 Goal	12.000	53.10	1.07

EDUCATION

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	2.834	13.10	0.38
1970 Goal	7.000	33.49	0.80
1975 Goal	9.500	42.04	0.85

HEALTH SERVICES AND RESEARCH

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	3.621	16.74	0.48
1970 Goal	4.800	22.97	0.55
1975 Goal	7.000	30.97	0.62

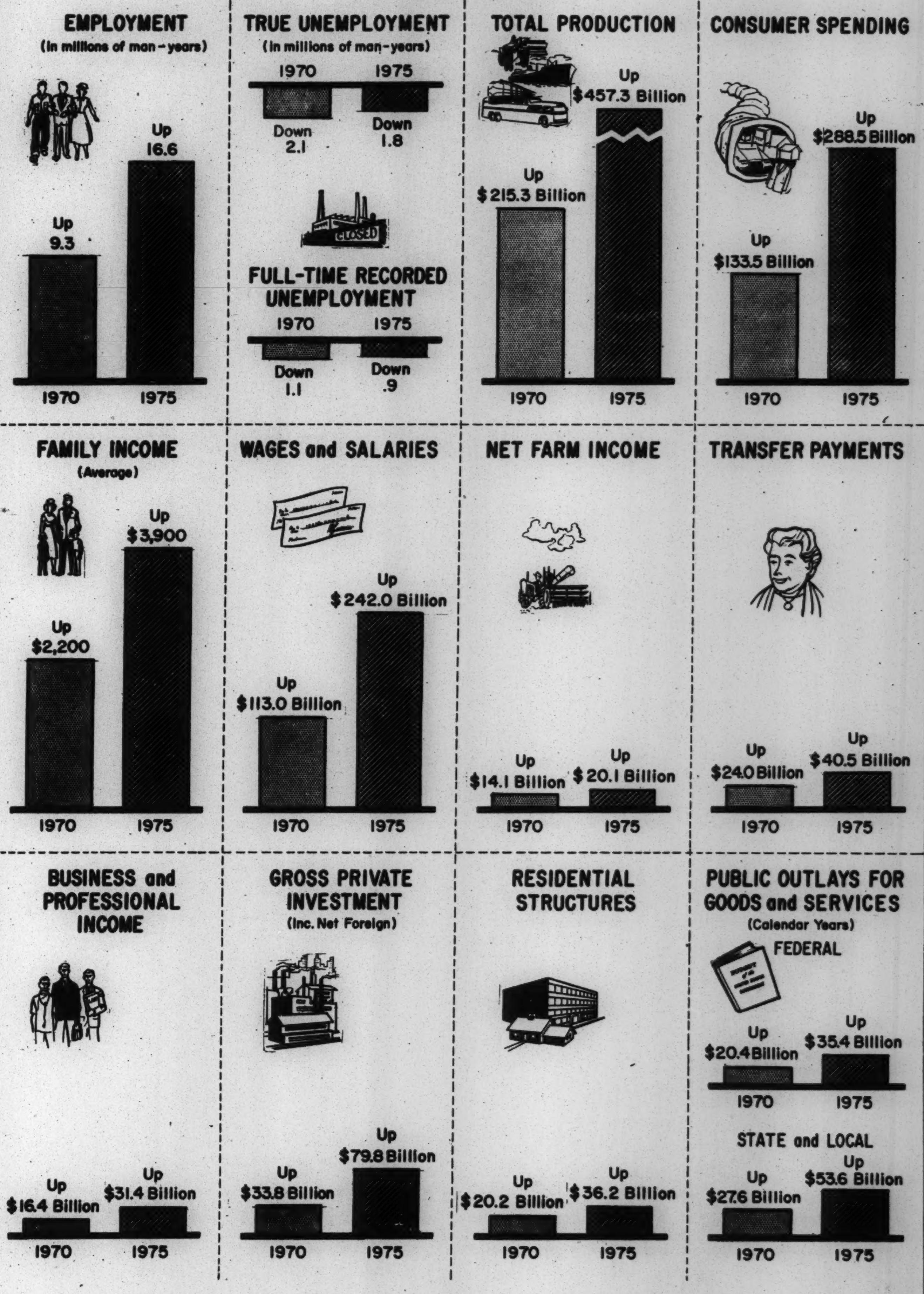
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE; LABOR, MANPOWER, AND OTHER WELFARE SERVICES

Year	Total Expend. (Bil. $)	Per Capita ($)	% of GNP (%)
1967 Adm.[1]	4.741	21.92	0.63
1970 Goal	6.600	31.58	0.76
1975 Goal	7.500	33.18	0.67

[1] Administration's Proposed Budget as of Jan. 23, 1966.

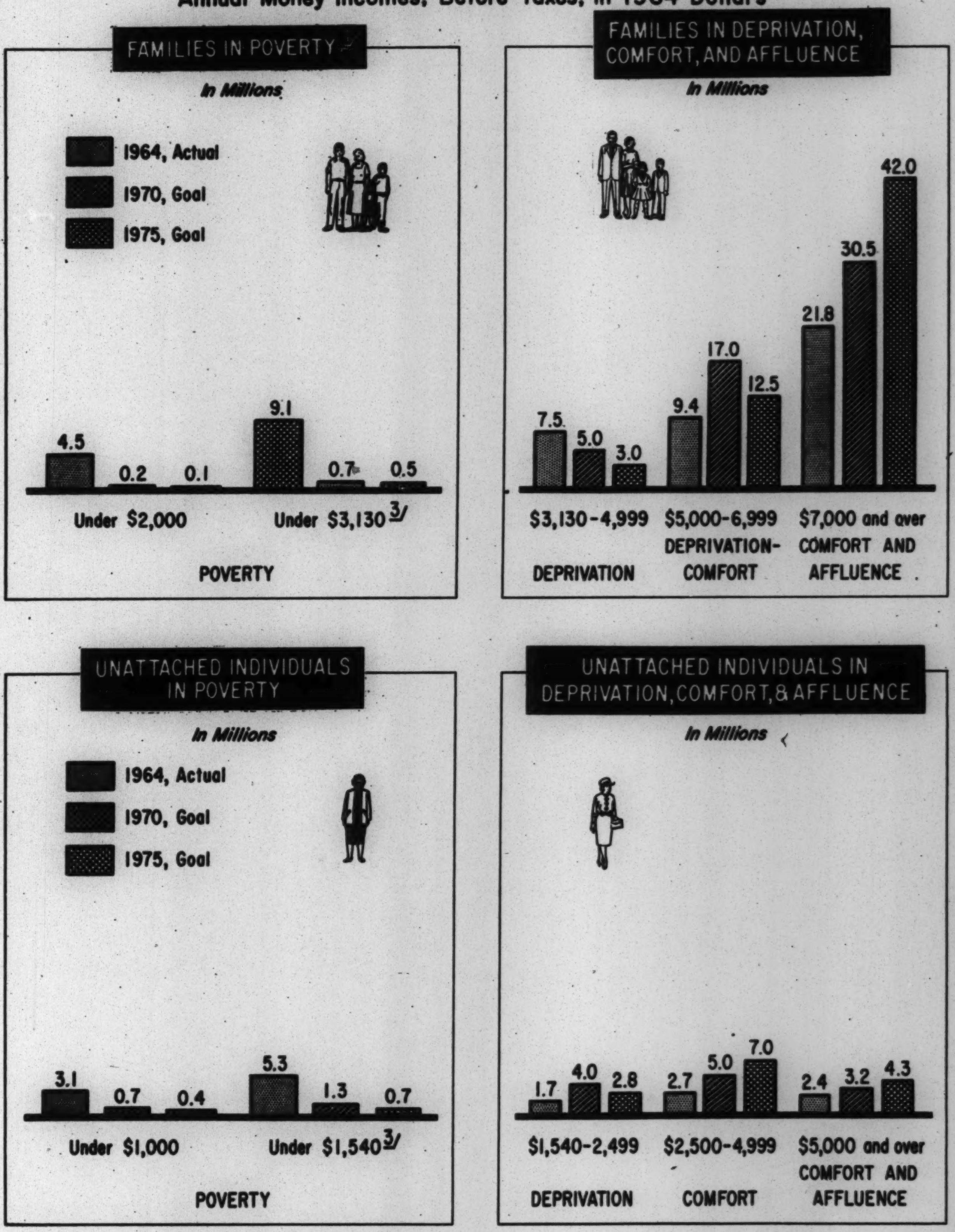
THE "FREEDOM BUDGET," 1970 AND 1975 GOALS EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCT, AND INCOMES PROJECTED FROM LEVELS IN 1965

Dollar Items in 1964 Dollars



NUMBER IN U.S. LIVING IN POVERTY, DEPRIVATION, COMFORT, & AFFLUENCE, 1964, & GOALS FOR 1970 & 1975

Annual Money Incomes, Before Taxes, in 1964 Dollars



1/ The average size of families living in poverty is 3.19, so 9.1 million families involve about 29.0 million people.

2/ The average size of families living above the poverty level is about 3.8.

3/ The figures of $3,130 and $1,540 are the most recent estimates of the Office of Economic Opportunity with respect to the poverty-income ceiling.

Data: 1964: Office of Economic Opportunity and Bureau of the Census; Projections, "Freedom Budget".

FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN MISSISSIPPI, 1964

From the carbon copies of the spring's letters and reports I see what real apprehensions, as well as hopes, the people who dreamed of Freedom Schools had. Out of Charlie Cobb's idea of a situation in which there would be questioning, release from rigid squelching of initiative and expression -- from Charlie Cobb's bitterness about the way the Negro has had to be silent in order to survive in white America, and his vision of the kids' articulateness and reaching for change, meaningful change, in Mississippi -- out of his seeing that the kids are ready to see "the link between a rotting shack and a rotting America" -- came the original plan for Freedom Schools in Mississippi. That it could be an idea that people working desperately on voter registration and on keeping alive in the state could take seriously is perhaps evidence of the validity of Charlie Cobb's dream: Mississippi needed more, needs more, than that all Negroes 21 and over shall have the right to vote. The staff in Mississippi understood what Charlie was dreaming because they, too, were daring to dream that what could be done in Mississippi could be deeper, more fundamental, more far-reaching, more revolutionary than voter registration alone: more personal, and in a sense more transforming, than a political program.

The decision to have Freedom Schools in Mississippi, then, seems to have been a decision to enter into every phase of the lives of the people of Mississippi. It seems to have been a decision to set the people free for politics in the only way that people really can become free, and that is totally. It was an important decision for the staff to be making, and so it is not surprising that the curriculum for the proposed schools became everyone's concern. I understand that Lois Chaffee, Dona Moses, Mendy Samstein, and Casey Hayden as well as Noel Day, Jane Stembridge, and Jack Minnis worked on and argued about what should be taught, and what the realities of Mississippi are, and how these realities affect the kids, and how to get the kids to discover themselves as human beings. And then, I understand, Staughton Lynd came in to impose a kind of beautiful order on the torment that the curriculum was becoming -- torment because it was not just curriculum: it was each person on the staff in Mississippi painfully analyzing what the realities of his world were, and asking himself, with what pain I can only sense, what right he had to let the kids of Mississippi know the truth, and what right he had had to keep it from them until now. And because of these sessions, the whole concept of what could be done in Mississippi must have changed.

In a way, the Freedom Schools began to operate in those planning sessions. A secion of the curriculum called "Poor whites, poor Negroes and their fears," for example, considers the unity of experience between whites and Negroes, as well as the psychological and political barriers. And out of the discussions that produced this part of the curriculum came, perhaps, the idea of a "White Folks Project," and the intense economic orientation of what was begun in Research, and Federal Programs, also new projects. And cut of work with the people day after day in the Freedom Schools emerged medical concerns, and farm league ideas, and the community building of community centers. It was because the people trying to change Mississippi were asking themselves the real questions about what is wrong with Mississippi that the Summer Project in effect touched every aspect of the lives of the Negroes in Mississippi, and started to touch the lives of the whites.

It was the asking of questions, as I see it, that made the Mississippi Summer Project different from other voter registration projects and other civil rights activities everywhere else in the South. And so it is reasonable that the transformations that occurred -- and transformations did occur - - out of the Freedom School experience occurred because for the first time in their lives kids were asking questions.

The way the curriculum finally came out was that it was based on the asking of certain questions, questions which kept being asked through the summer, in connection with the kids' interest in their Freedom School teachers (mostly northern, mostly white, mostly still in college), in connection with Negro history, in connection with African culture, in connection with the academic subjects, as well as in connection with the study of the realities of Mississippi 1964 in the light of Nazi Germany 1935. The so-called "Citizenship Curriculum" set up two sets of questions. The primary set was 1. why are we (teachers and students) in Freedom Schools? 2. what is the Freedom Movement? 3. what alternatives does the Freedom Movement offer us? What was called the secondary set of questions, but what seemed to me the more important, because more personal, set was: 1. what does the majority culture have that we want? 2. what does the majority culture have that we don't want? 3. what do we have that we want to keep?

The answering of these questions, and the continual raising of them in many contexts, may be said perhaps to be what the Freedom Schools were about. This was so because in order to answer anything out of what these questions suggest, it is necessary for the student to confront the question of who he is, and what his world is like, and how he fits into it or is alienated from it.

It was out of the experience of asking these questions that the transformations occurred. At the beginning of the summer, with rare amazing exceptions, the kids who were tentatively exploring us and the Freedom Schools were willing to express about themselves only one thing with honesty and passion, without the characteristic saying of the thing they think the white man wants to hear: that thing was that as soon as they could gather enough money for a ticket they were going off to Chicago, or to California ! To leave the state was their ambition, and about it they were certain, even though they had not thought any further than that, even in terms of where the money was to come from, and certainly not in terms of what they would find there and what they would do there. Some sense of "go home to my Lord and be free" -- some vague hope of a paradise beyond -- seemed to inform their passion for the north, their programless passion.

But by the end of the summer almost all of these kids were planning to stay in Mississippi.

Within the flexible structure of the Freedom School it was natural that a confession of -- an insistence on -- the desire to race northward lead to a discussion of the condition of the Negro in the North, about which most of the teachers could tell specifically. And then came the news stories about Harlmm, and Rochester, and Medford, Massachusetts, and the kids were interested, and worried. But it was not just because the truth about the North began to shatter their dream of it as paradise that the kids changed their minds. The yearning for the North was, of course, the expression of a need to escape the intolerability of the situation in Mississippi. But the nature of their need to escape was that they really did not know what it was about Mississippi that they hated -- or, rather, they felt that what was intolerable for them had somehow to do with the white man, somehow to do with getting only $3.00 a day for 10 hours work chopping a white man's cotton, somehow to do with the police -- but they had not yet articulated, if they knew, the connections among all these things. And they had not, as well, articulated the connections of those things with their experiences of repression at home and in school. And so the very amorphous nature of the enemy was threatening to them.

The experience in the Freedom School was that patterns began to be seen, and patterns were real and could be dealt with. So the kids began to see two things at once: that the North was no real escape, and that the South was not some vague white monster doomed irrationally to crush them. Simultaneously, they began to discover that they themselves could take action against the injustices -- the specific injustices and the condition of injustice -- which kept them unhappy and impotent.

Through the study of Negro History they began to have a sense of themselves as a people who could produce heroes. They saw in the story of Joseph Cinque of the Amisted a parallel to the kinds of revolts that the Movement, as they began to learn about it, represented. They saw that Joseph Cinque, in leading a mutiny on that slave ship instead of asserting his will to freedom by jumping off the ship into the shark-waiting waters, was saying that freedom is something that belongs to life, not to death, and that a man has responsibility for bringing all his people to freedom, not just for his own escaping. Connections between then and now kept being made -- at first by the teachers, very soon by the students: who do you know that is like Joseph Cinque? How is Bob Moses like Moses in the Bible? How is he different? Why did Harriet Tubman go back into the South after she had gotten herself free into the North -- and why so many times? And why doesn't

Mrs. Hamer stay in the North once she gets there to speak, since she doesn't have a job on that man's plantation any more, and since her life is in so much danger? And what do you think about Frederick Douglass's talking so straight to the President of the United States? And how does the picture of Jim Forman in the Emancipation Proclamation issue of Ebony suggest that same kind of straight talking? And who do you think the Movement is proving right - - Booker T. Washington or W. E. B. DuBois? And what comment on your own upbringing is made by the fact that you all know about Booker T. Washington but most of you had never heard of W. E. B. DuBois? And why are the changes of gospel songs into Freedom songs significant? What does "We Shall Overcome" really mean in terms of what we are doing, and what we can do?

Beginning to sense the real potency of organized Negroes in Mississippi, the kids in the Freedom Schools found an immediate area of concern in the Negro schools they attended or had dropped out of: the so-called "public" schools. They had grievances, but had, until drawn into the question-asking, only been able to whine, or to accept passively, or to lash out by dropping out of school or getting themselves expelled. Within the Freedom Schools, especially by comparing the Freedom Schools with the regular schools, they began to become articulate about what was wrong, and the way things should be instead: why don't they do this at our school? was the first question asked, and then there began to be answers, which led to further questions, such as why don't our teachers register to vote, if they presume to teach us about citizenship? and why can't our principal make his own decisions instead of having to follow the orders of the white superintendent? and why do we have no student government, or why doesn't the administration take the existing student government seriously?

This was the main question, which came also out of why there are no art classes, no language classes, why there is no equipment in the science labs, why the library is inadequate and inaccessible, why the classes are overcrowded. The main question was WHY ARE WE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY? which is of course the question that the adults were asking about the city and county and state, and the question the Freedom Democratic Party asked -- and for which the Party demanded an answer -- at the Convention.

The students were taken seriously in the Freedom Schools. They were encouraged to talk, and their talking was listened to. They were assigned to write, and their writing was read with attention to idea and style as well as grammar. They were encouraged to sing, to dance, to draw, to play, to laugh. They were encouraged to think. And all of this was painful as well as releasing because to be taken seriously requires that one take himself seriously, believe in himself, and that requires confrontation. And so Freedom School was painful for the kids who grew the most.

Tangibly, what was set in motion out of this experience of joy and pain was the thing the Mississippi staff had hoped could happen in Mississippi, but could not totally form. In the spring before the summer, SNCC in Mississippi had tried to organize a Mississippi Student Union, bringing together kids from all over the state. And there was good response, but not on the scale the MSU was soon to achieve out of the Freedom Schools. This summer the kids began to talk boycott of the schools, but to be able to discipline their thinking about boycott so that their action would not just be acting out their frustrations but careful, considered, programmed, revolutionary meaningful action along the lines of the Montgomery bus boycott and African revolutionary action. The kids were able to come together in the middle of the summer, in Meridian and draw up a series of resolutions which said with terrible clarity what they felt about their world: what a house should be, what a school should be, what a job should be, what a city should be -- even what the federal government should be. And they were able to ask why it was that the people did not have a voice and to assert that their voices would be heard. The seriousness of their concern for a voice is reflected in the final statement of the list of grievances drawn up by the McComb Freedom School:

> We are 12 Pike County high school students. Until we are assured our parents will not suffer reprisals, until we are sure this list of grievances is met with serious consideration and good will, we will remain anonymous.

The McComb students are sending this list of grievances to the school officials, the city officials, the senators and the newspapers and the President of the United States. Out into the world: Look at me -- I am no longer an invisible man.

And back again into themselves. Whoever the Freedom Schools touched they activated into confronation, with themselves and with the world and back again. On one level, it was the white teacher saying to the Negro girl that nappy hair vs. "good hair" is not a valid distinction: that it is a white man's distinction, and that the queens in Africa -- in Songhai, Mali, Ghana -- in Ethiopia -- had nappy short hair! On another level, it was the Northern Negro student-teacher saying to the kids yearning Northward that he himself had gone to an almost completely (or completely) segregated school, and that his home was in a ghetto. On another, it was a senior, suspended from the split-session summer school for participating in the movement and taking Freedom School academic courses (fully parallel) instead, saying of Robert Frosts' "The Road Not Taken" that the man took the road that needed him more: "because it was grassy and wanted wear ....and that has made all the difference." On another level, it was the white and Negro Freedom School teachers sitting with the adults in the evening classes talking about what kids want and what kids deserve, and hearing the adults express some of their concern for their kids in the forming of a parents' group to support the kids' action against the schools. On still another, it was the junior high school kids in the community coming over in the evening to sit with the adults who were learning their alphabets, one kid to one adult, and both, and the staffs, crying with awe for the beauty and strangeness and naturalness of it. And on all levels, it was the whites, the northerners, listening to the Mississippi Negroes, reading what they wrote, taking them seriously, and learning from them.

Visible results of the Freedom Summer include the kids' drawings on the walls of Freedom Schools and COFO offices all over the state, as well as kids' applications for scholarships (National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students) and even more applications for the Tougaloo Work-Study program, which commits them to staying to work in Mississippi. In addition, there is the real probability that the Negro teachers in the regular schools -- the teachers who have to sign an oath not to participate in civil rights activities or try to vote -- have, this first week of school, begun to experience for the first time in their lives the challenge from a student that is not adolescent testing or insolent acting out but serious demanding that in truth there is freedom and that he will have the truth!

Most significantly, the result of the summer's Freedom Schools is seen in the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the fall, winter, spring, summer plans of the Mississippi Project. Some project directors who had been in Mississippi since 1961 doing the slow sometimes depressing always dangerous serious tiring work of voter registration, first thought of the Freedom Schools as a frill, detrimental to the basic effort. At best, they were a front for the real activity. But Freedom Schools were not just, as the same project directors came to concede, a place where kids could be inducted into the Movement, a convenient source of canvassers. They were something else, and in realizing this the dubious project directors were themselves transformed by the Freedom Schools. They were, instead of anything superficial, and will go on to be, the experience -- not the place -- in which people, because we needed them, emerged as discussion leaders, as teachers, as organizers, as speakers, as friends, as people. I know that this is so because in leaving the Freedom School in Indianola, the county seat of Sunflower County where the Movement had been resisted for three years, and where, when we came in, the people did not know how to cross arm over arm to sing "We Shall Overcome," I learned for the first time in my life that with kids you love to disconnect is to suffer. So the teachers were transformed, too.

The transformation of Mississippi is possible because the transformation of people has begun. And if it can happen in Mississippi, it can happen all over the South. The original hope of the Freedom School plan was that there would be about 1000 students in the state coming to the informal discussion groups and other sessions. It turned out that by the end of the summer the number was closer to 3000, and that the original age expectation of 16-17-18 year olds had to be revised to include pre-school children and all the way up to 70 year old people, all anxious to learn about how to be Free. The subjects ranged from the originally anticipated Negro History, Mississippi Now, and black-white relations to include typing, foreign languages, and other forms of tutoring. In fact, these aspects of the program were so successful that the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the regular academic year will involve a full-scale program of tutorials and independent study as well as exploration in greater intensity of the problems raised in the summer sessions, and longer range work with art, music, and drama.

To think of kids in Mississippi expressing emotion on paper with crayons and in abstract shapes rather than taking knives to each other; to think of their writing and performing plays about the Negro experience in America rather than just sitting in despairing lethargy within that experience; to think of their organizing and running all by themselves a Mississippi Student Union, whose program is not dances and fund-raising but direct action to alleviate serious grievances; to think, even, of their being willing to come to school after school, day after day, when their whole association with school had been at least uncomfortable and dull and at worst tragically crippling -- to think of these things is to think that a total transformation of the young people in an underdeveloped country can take place, and to dare to dream that it can happen all over the South. There are programs now, as well as dreams, and materials, and results to learn from. And it may well be that the very staffs of the Freedom Schools in Louisiana and Georgia,etc., will be the kids who were just this past summer students in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, and discovered themselves there.

Liz Fusco, Coordinator
Freedom Schools
CORE Task Force

June 16, 1965

TO: Alan Gartner
FROM: Val Coleman
RE: Freedom...When?

NOTES ON MEETING WITH RANDOM HOUSE

we to check/see ~~text~~ ?

1) It was agreed that Random House would prepare in print a special insert on the book to be included in our holiday card mailing.

how many?

Is There a minimum number we have to buy? when do we tell Them?

2) It was agreed, pending CORE approval, that we would purchase from Random House a quantity of books at 44-50% discount.(Depending upon quantity.) to service the holiday card mailing. I think we should explore the possibility of having the same mailing house we use for the cards handling the books.

3) The retail price will probably be $4.95. It was suggested that we set a price of $5.00 for regular copies and $7.50 for the autographed copies.for the holiday mailing. Since we buy the books based on a discount on the $4.95 figure, the extra $2.50 for the autographed is our gravy.

? Horton book

4)It is extremely important that there be no other piece of pitch mail in the holiday card mailing other than the holiday card brochure and the holiday card insert.

how about "in practice"? when lock up?

5) Regarding Advertising- I got them to agree in principle with as large a budget as possible. Specifically- ads including full-page ads in the New York Times Book Review section.

June 22, 1965

TO: Alan Gartner
FROM: Val Coleman

RE: Freedom...When?

This is to confirm agreements reached at my luncheon meeting with representatives of Random House.

1) It was agreed that Random House would prepare and print a special insert to be included in our holiday mailing. They understand that the mailing will be somewhere in the 300,000 to 400,000 range. I have agreed to send them a draft of copy for both the book jacket and the insert.

2)It was agreed, pending CORE approval, that we would purchase from Random House a quantity of books at 44-50% discount. (Depending on quantity.) to service the holiday card mailing. I think we should explore the possibility of having the same mailing house we use for handling the cards for the books. My understanding is that we will be commited to purchasing a minimum of number of books and we will pay for these books as money comes in.

3)I am setting up liason with Random House public relations and have agreed to send them a complete breakdown of Farmer's October-November lecture appearances. Also we discussed means of using Farmer's normal press appearances as a means of moving the book-i.e.-planting "book content" questions with reporters. It was firmly understood that all appearances emanating out of Random House would be cleared in front with me.

4) I promised also to hypo Farmer into finishing the fimal two chapters as soon as possible.

5) They are a fine bunch of guys and I honestly think that it's gonna be a pleasure doing business with them.

cc:
Mr Silberman, Random House
Mr Gervasi, Random House

CORE INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date August 6, 1965

To: Val Coleman From: Ben Peterson

Copy/copies to: &

Subject: Flyer on Farmers Book

Is it correct that Random House is to have the flyer ready by August 22nd?

It should be keyed, but I won't have the numbers ready until next week.

Will it be on 60 grade paper. You know this makes a difference to Joe Rosko who does our mailingk

R. S. V. P.

(Make carbon copy/copies for your records)

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

August 11, 1965

AUG 12 1965

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I'm sending herewith a copy of the Introduation to FREEDOM--WHEN? along with the Dedication page. I have not received your written version of the dedication, so I was not completely sure of the spacing. Will you please call me if this is not the way you want it to appear.

Yours sincerely,

Janice Eldon

Janice L. Eldon

Mr. Val Coleman
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

enclosure

To receive notice and/or review copy of James Farmer's FREEDOM WHEN:

① Mr. Glen Douglas ✓
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS
Suite 2273
Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel
34th Street and Broadway
New York, New York 10001

② The Editors ✓
AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS
628 North Utah Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

③ Mr. Joseph H. Rainey
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1820 South Michigan Avenue
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799 Broadway
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Room 906
507 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

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(94) Mr. Herbert Hill
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DEDICATION PAGE

To

My father,
Onewgeneration from bondage
Did he understand?

And my daughters, Tami and Abbey
Will they?

Proposed jacket copy------"Freedom--When?"

~~James Farmer of CORE~~

"As the Civil Rights Revolution~~, as James Farmer of CORE prefers to call it,~~ grinds forward---the chemistry of change; political, social and tactical, is inexorable. Few Negro leaders have faced these changes squarely. ~~preferring often the hot light of public demonstration and martyrdom.~~ "Freedom--When?," by ~~James~~ Farmer, of CORE is ~~probably~~ the revolution's first hard, surgical look, embracing the hysteria of recent history and a mature analysis of where American Negroes are going and what awaits them. With complete candor, Mr. Farmer surveys Mississippi and Harlem, non-violence and black nationalism. XXXXXXXXXX Sharp and ~~ax often~~ sympathetic portraits of Malsolm X and African nationalists are placed alongside candid studies of Dr. King, Roy Wilkins et. al. One of the nation's most eloquent ~~Negro~~ spokemen, James Farmer has herein entered into the public record a chronicle of homicide and hope, violence and the search for sanity."

MARTIN PETROFF

March 11, 1965

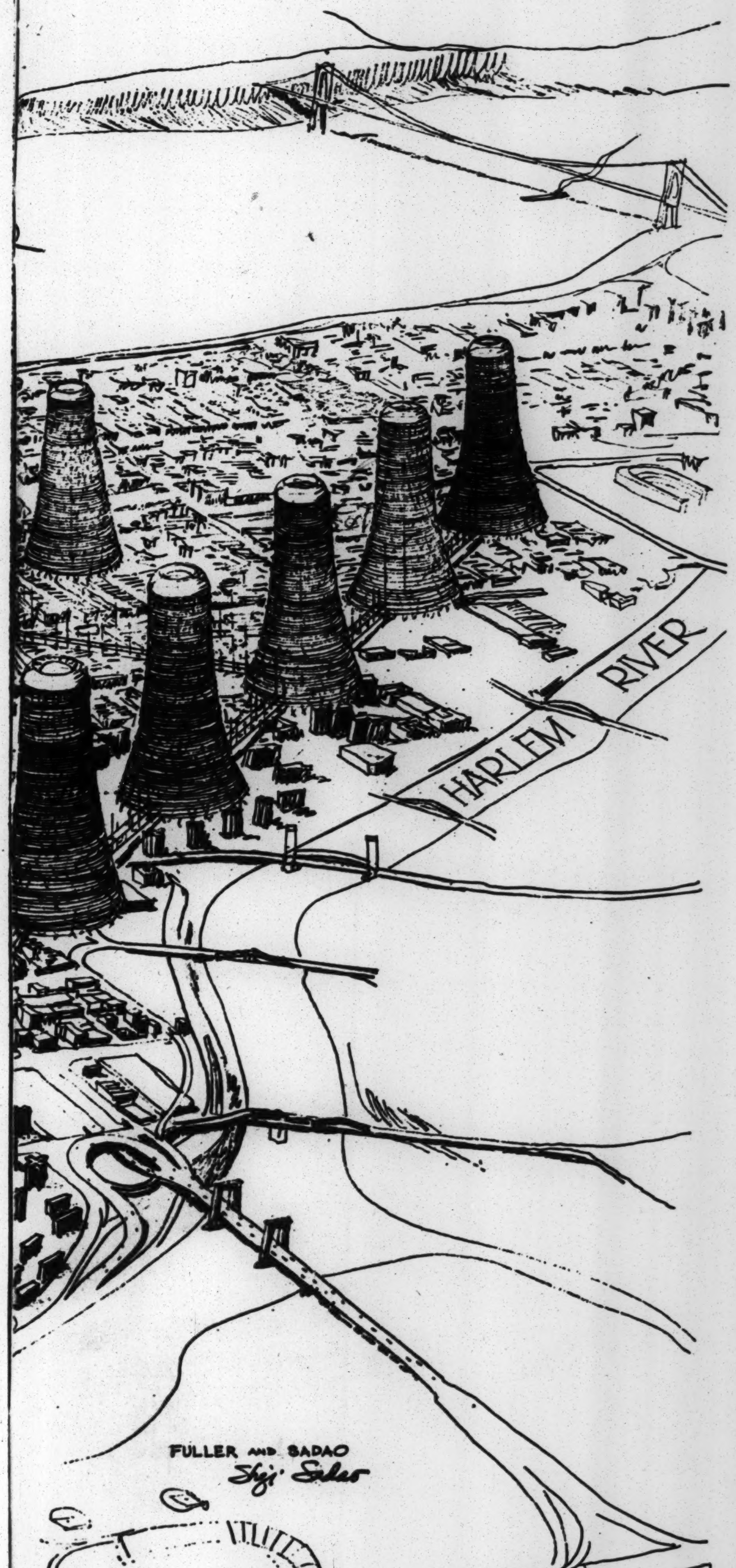
Dear Mr. Cary:

Miss June Meyer asked me to send you the attached article in advance of publication. It will appear in the April issue of Esquire Magazine, which goes on sale March 18.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Publicity



Instant Slum Clearance

by June Meyer

R. Buckminster Fuller designs a total solution
to an American dilemma:
here, for instance, is how it would work for Harlem

Harlem is life dying inside a closet, an excrescence beginning where a green park ends, a self-perpetuating disintegration of walls, ceilings, doorways, lives. It is also, of course, a political embarrassment for which no political solution is adequate. A housing project planted in the middle of a slum is not an answer. Harlem has been much lamented, but these statistics may be less familiar than others:

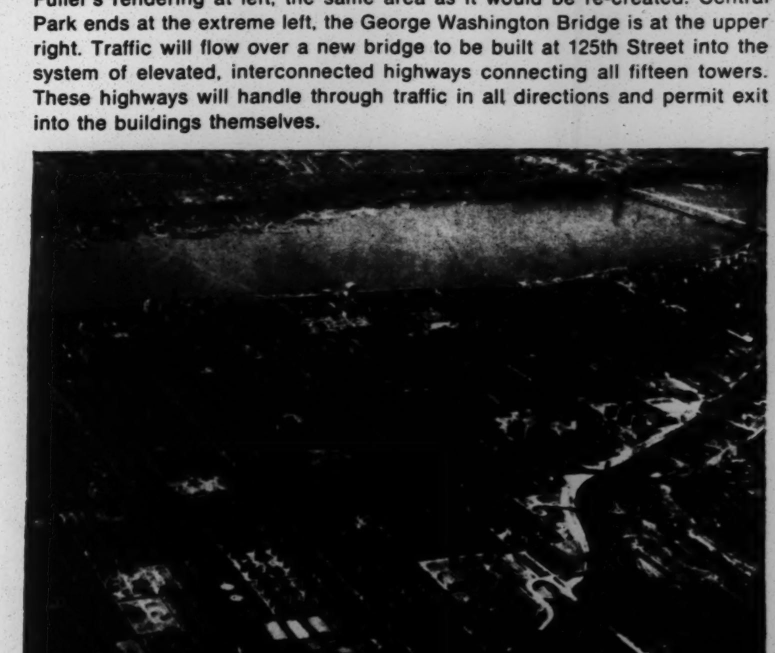
1. A typical Harlem child will score *lower* on an I.Q. test in the sixth grade than he scored three years earlier in the third grade.
2. Nine-tenths of its housing units are more than thirty years old.
3. Half the youngsters live with one parent or with none.
4. Harlem has a population of a quarter of a million, but it doesn't contain a high school.
5. Traffic deaths for Harlem youths appreciably exceed the rate plaguing the whole island of Manhattan.

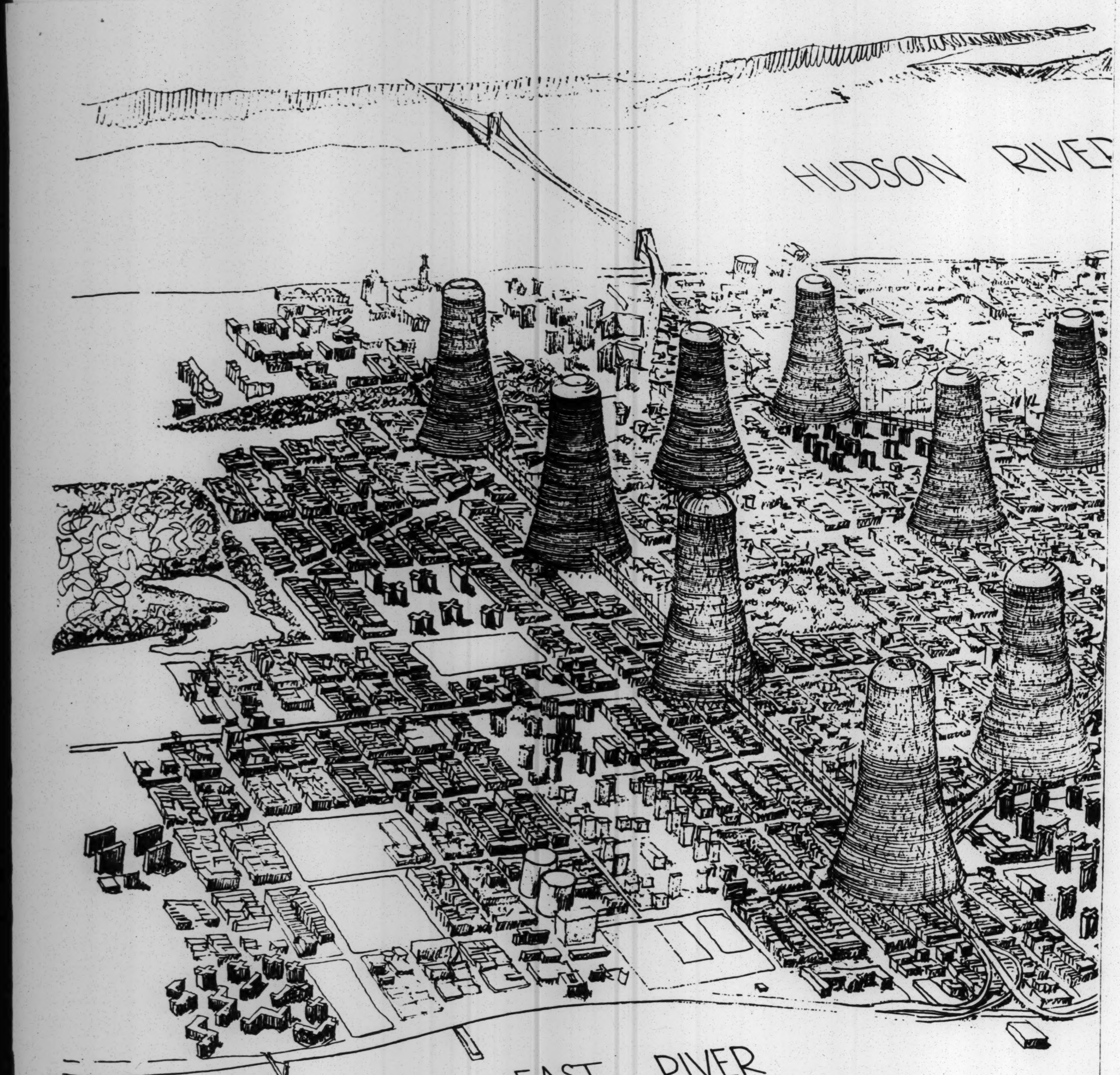
Skyrise for Harlem is a proposal to rescue a quarter million lives by completely transforming their environment. New Harlem will encompass a half million people by removing old limits in exchange for natural boundaries. Harlem will widen from river to river across the island. Its new space will accommodate an additional quarter million residents—everyone willing to participate in the integrated transformation of a ghetto.

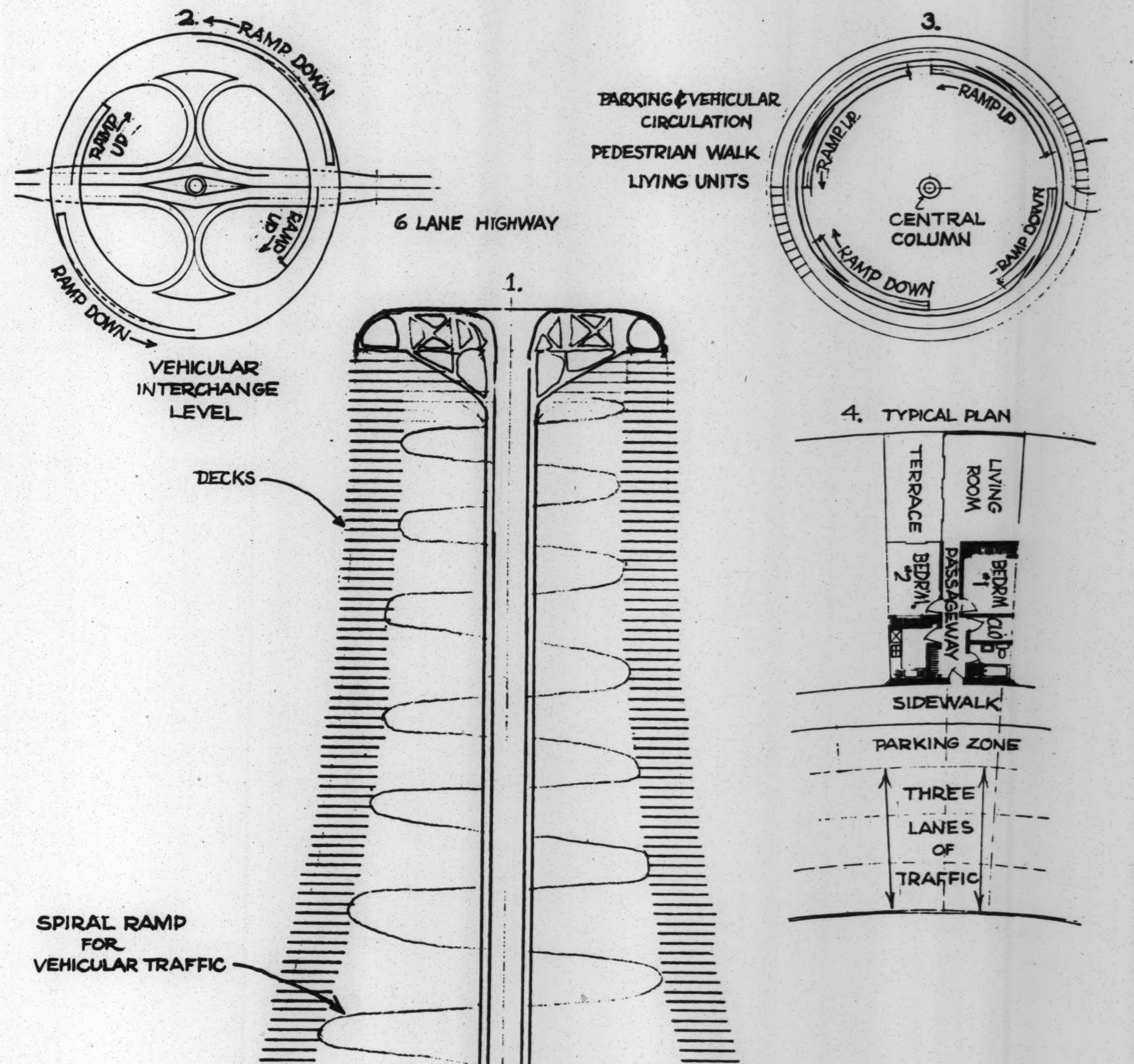
Skyrise for Harlem can be completed in thirty-six months. The first year will be spent in what R. Buckminster Fuller describes as "tooling up": organizing the mass production of structural parts and utility units, including all basic furniture.

Redevelopment generally means the *removal* of slum residents

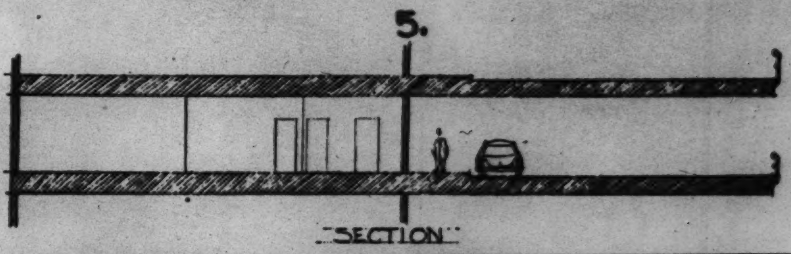
Before and After. In the photograph below, Harlem today. In Buckminster Fuller's rendering at left, the same area as it would be re-created. Central Park ends at the extreme left, the George Washington Bridge is at the upper right. Traffic will flow over a new bridge to be built at 125th Street into the system of elevated, interconnected highways connecting all fifteen towers. These highways will handle through traffic in all directions and permit exit into the buildings themselves.




HUDSON RIVE
EAST RIVER


2.
RAMP DOWN
RAMP UP
RAMP UP
RAMP DOWN
VEHICULAR INTERCHANGE LEVEL
6 LANE HIGHWAY
3.
PARKING & VEHICULAR CIRCULATION
PEDESTRIAN WALK
LIVING UNITS
RAMP UP
RAMP UP
CENTRAL COLUMN
RAMP DOWN
RAMP DOWN
1.
DECKS
SPIRAL RAMP FOR VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
INNER & OUTER SETS OF SUSPENSION CABLES
4. TYPICAL PLAN
TERRACE
LIVING ROOM
BEDRM. 2
BEDRM. 1
PASSAGEWAY
CLO
SIDEWALK
PARKING ZONE
THREE LANES OF TRAFFIC

Utopian Details. On the opposite page: 1. A cross section of one tower showing the spiraling, three-lane ramp reaching from ground level to top of tower; the ramp is edged with walks and parking areas. 2. An overhead view of a tower at the tenth-story level showing the interconnecting elevated highway and the system of interchanges. 3. A cross section showing the relation of the living units at perimeter of tower to the internal roadways. 4. Floor plan of a typical apartment.



Above: 5. Cross section of an apartment with adjacent parking area; exterior wall of tower is at left, center of column at right.

while land is cleared for new buildings and new purposes. In fact, "redevelopment" is frequently a pretext for the permanent expulsion of Negro populations. Fuller's design permits all residents to remain on site while new and vastly improved dwelling facilities rise directly above the old. No one will move anywhere but up. New Harlem will be supported by columns driven into the backyards of the slum, and once the elevated replacement is complete and inhabited, the lower depths will be cleared for roadways and park space. The design will obliterate a valley of shadows: Skyrise for Harlem means literal elevation of Harlem to the level of Morningside Heights. Partial renovation is not enough. Piecemeal healing provides temporary relief at best and may create as many problems as it cures. A half century of despair requires exorcism.

The devastating effects of negligence become easier to understand—if more difficult to forgive—when you consider that New York City itself has been guided by nothing that resembles a master plan since 1811. The city is a model of design by accident, of construction in response to critical demand, high-level payoffs and tax expediencies. Following the Harlem riots of 1964 a profusion of remedies for what was at last accepted as a critical situation appeared everywhere; nowhere, however, was environmental redesign given prime emphasis. Yet it is architecture, conceived of in its fullest meaning as the creation of environment, which may actually determine the pace, pattern and quality of living experience.

An aerial view of New Harlem will disclose a radical landscape: vast, cleared ranges of space with fifteen peaks rising into the sky. These fifteen widely separated conical structures will house a half million people. A cross section of these structures resembles abstract, stylized Christmas trees evenly broadening toward their base with central, supporting trunks. Each tree town is one hundred circular decks high. The lowest level begins ten stories aboveground, above dust level and major cloverleaf-highway systems.

Fuller's circular decked towers are fireproof (concrete and steel cables) and may be delivered in large sections by helicopter. A central supporting mast also functions as the distributing tube for power, light, heat and disposal facilities independent of municipal utilities. The mast is compressional while the decks hang inside a tensional web (i.e., steel supporting cables). Open space between decks avoids a sense of impenetrable mass. From the masthead, lenses capture the light and heat of the sun.

Circling the central mast is a parking system of ramps that never cross. The huge interior space next permits a circling of shops, supermarkets, game rooms and workshops on every deck, plus, on some levels, a cross view of four hundred feet. The penultimate circling of the central mast contains dwelling units which provide an average of 1200 square feet per family as against an average of 720 in today's public housing. This 1200 square feet does not include the parking space given each family nor the balconies which constitute the perimeter of these great wheels of life. Every room has a view. From these hanging gardens, both rivers will be visible.

A comprehensive designer must conserve natural resources and yet control their effects. One of Fuller's solutions for this design problem will be seen in the sky. Protective watersheds will enclose the sky of Harlem like overlapping umbrellas. Rain may cascade visibly from these watersheds to be piped into New York reservoirs. The watersheds float on the strength of transparent truss systems.

Rather than the commonly known sidewalk, there will be wide walkways entirely separate from the cloverleaf ribbonry that will divide the high-speed through traffic from local traffic. Normal grid layout of city blocks will not stifle the reconstructed Harlem. Roughly, eight square city blocks will equal one of the new towering trees of life. Ordinary grid design with its parallel building produces a rigid confrontation of mass-against-mass and rectangular patterns deaden space into a monotonous experience. The circular-decked towers provide tension supports for roads and walkways.

Reconstructed Harlem will increase connections to other communities: 125th Street, as the overloaded thoroughfare of city bus, private car, commercial truck, railroad and subway traffic, now disappears into a coherent organization of goals and rates of approach to these goals. For instance, high-speed traffic from the Triborough Bridge will be separately routed over an arterial system similar to that of the Pulaski Skyway in New Jersey. Various peel-offs into Manhattan give option to the driver. Now it becomes possible to travel from the Triborough nonstop over Manhattan Island and onto a newly created Riverspan Bridge at 125th Street into New Jersey. This bridge multiplies functional reasons for Harlem residents and the other island inhabitants to commingle and cooperate. The inconvenience of having "to go down into the city" in order to leave it will no longer paralyze northern islanders.

Last year, New York City's Planning Commissioner Ballard and Mayor Wagner agreed on a proposal to domesticate the shoreline of New York to permit human beings a share of the river's edge. With Skyrise for Harlem, two marinas will provide recreation and supplement transportation via the river.

Skyrise for Harlem creates cultural centers decked into the sky; cultural centers offering practice studios for musicians, concert halls, theatres, workshops, forums for symposia, dancing pavilions, and athletic fields as well as pathways for strolling under trees. Contemporary sculpture will enrich the open spaces of elevated Harlem. Space will be reserved for the construction of major city institutions such as a Family Court. This accords with the five-year plan promoted by Manhattan Borough President Edward R. Dudley. As Dudley told this writer, the introduction of city institutions into Harlem "would serve to show that their area has not been specifically designed to be set apart."

During the last five years, New York City's Housing Authority has spent $361,407,000 to shelter 30,915 families. Skyrise for Harlem will shelter about 110,000 families at a cost to be determined once the assembly-line manufacturing of all its parts is undertaken by an industry willing to convert, for example, from the furnishings of war to the furnishings of peace. The enormous sum of units entailed by this design assumes the pioneer, belated establishment of housing on a thoroughly industrial basis. One need only consider the economics of mass production and its cost saving per unit (per consumer) in the manufacture of automobiles to realize that the organization of a housing industry is incredibly overdue.

Private financing of Skyrise for Harlem should regard this undertaking as an obvious, regenerative investment. It well might prove possible for private finance to receive government assistance in the form of tax abatement (taxing property at the original value) and deficit subsidy comparable to that enjoyed by public housing.

Where we are physically is enmeshed with our deepest consciousness of self. There is no evading architecture, no meaningful denial of our position. You can build to defend the endurance of man, to protect his existence, to illuminate it. But you cannot build for these purposes merely in spasmodic response to past and present crises, for then crisis, like the poor, will be with us always. If man is to have not only a future but a destiny, it must be consciously and deliberately designed. ⌗

about

CORE

Sponsoring organization for the famous Freedom Rides, CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, and its affiliated local action groups use direct, but peaceful, action to achieve a fully integrated America.

When you use CORE cards, you not only send a message of Brotherhood . . . you *further Brotherhood* by helping finance CORE's interracial work.

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- **$5** also provides food and lodging for one participant in a week-end workshop on non-violence in Louisianna or Mississippi.
- **$10** will pay the bondsmen's fee on a $100 bail bond.
- **$10** provides round-trip bus fare from New Orleans to Meridian, Mississippi for a CORE field worker.
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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 PARK ROW
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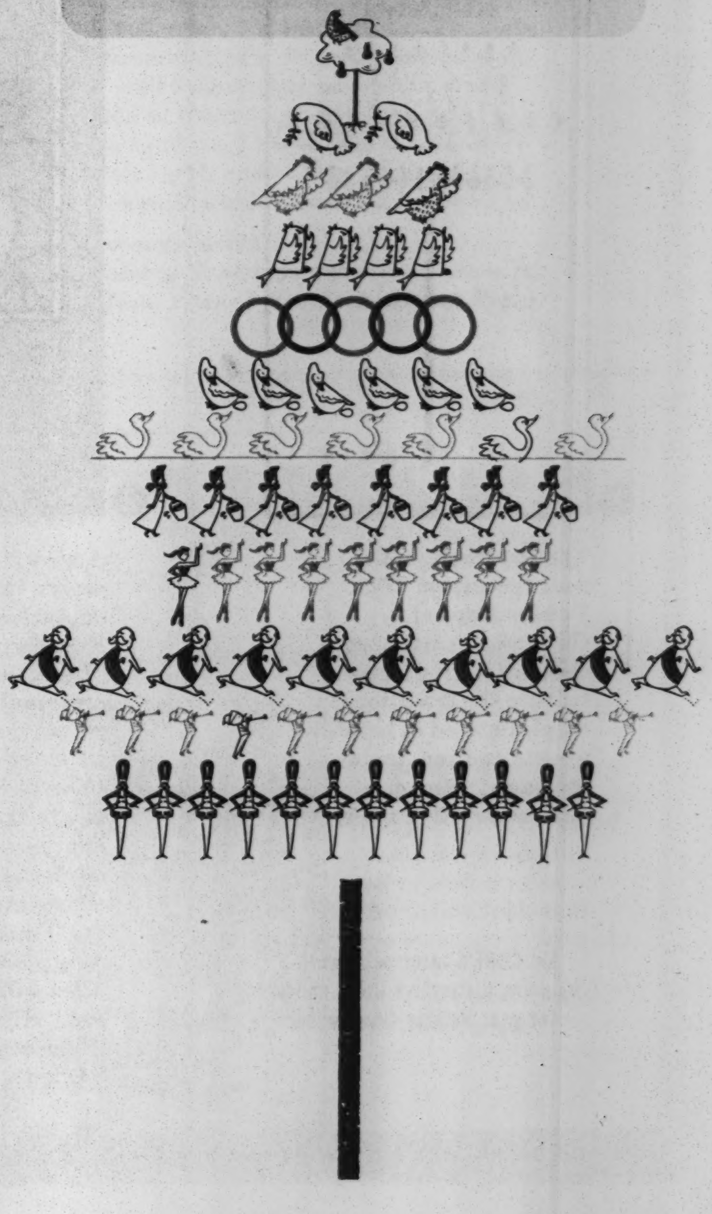
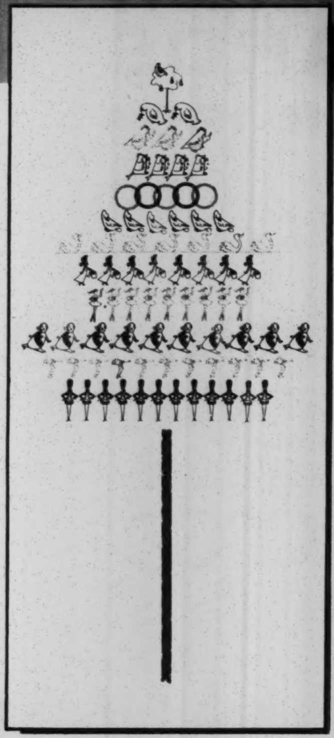


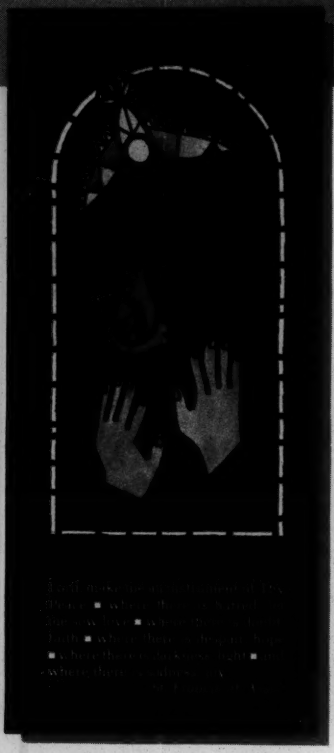
NEW FOR 1964



①

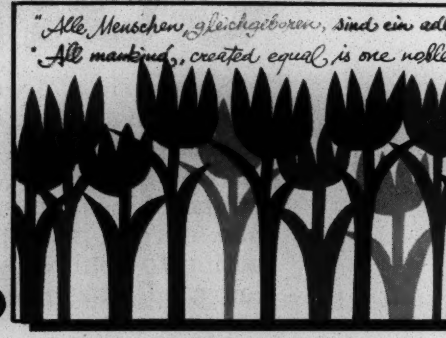
The partridge in the pear tree, from *"The Twelve Days of Christmas"*, sits atop a decorative tree illustrating the traditional carol. Printed in holiday greens and red. Inside message: *"Season's Greetings"*. 3⅝ x 8⅝.

Aid CORE'S interracial work by using distinctive CORE cards for your Holiday Greetings.



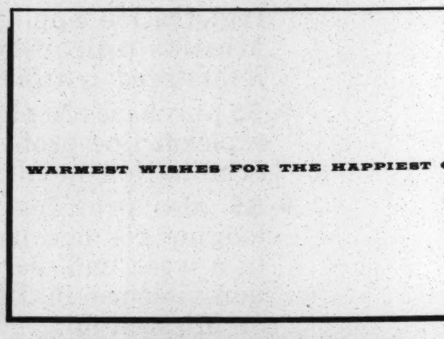
②

A glowing stained glass design inspired by a quotation from St. Francis of Assisi: *"Lord, make me an instrument of Thy Peace; where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy."* Inside message: *May your Holiday be filled with peace and joy."* High quality kromecoat paper. 3⅝ x 8⅝.


"Alle Menschen, gleichgeboren, sind ein ad
"All mankind, created equal, is one noble

③

A quotation from the 19th century l
inspired Rudi Bass to create this un
reflecting the equality of man: *"All*
is one noble human race." The messa
design in both English and the origi
on the inside fold, making this a car
and any occasion.


WARMEST WISHES FOR THE HAPPIEST

④

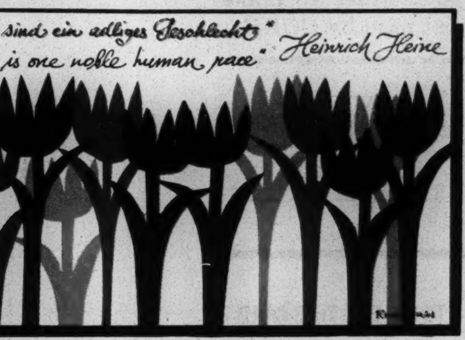
Colorful snowflakes sparkle against
background in this 3½ x 8⅝ design
Quotation on the outside: *"Warmest*
Happiest of Holidays." No message
it is equally appropriate for either Ch
Chanukah greetings.

PLEASE order early and allow several
orders received after December 1st, w
make substitutions even where not ind

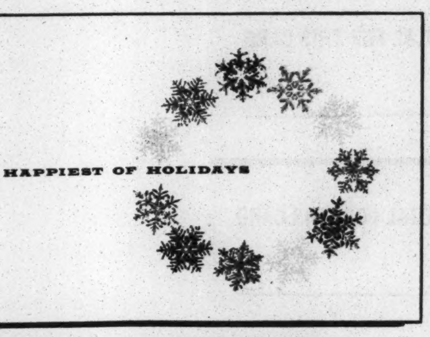
IMPRINTIN

Up to November 15th only, one-line i
be offered at $4.50 for the first 100 ca
successive 100 or part thereof. Please
two extra weeks for imprint orders.

Post-paid prices, with envelopes: small pack (15), $2.25; large pack (50), $5.95; economy pack (100), $9.95. 500 for $45.00;


sind ein adliges Geschlecht"
is one noble human race"
Heinrich Heine

century lyric poet Heinrich Heine
ate this unique 8½ x 3⅝ card
nan: *"All mankind, created equal,*
The message is incorporated into the
l the original German. There is no text
this a card for *all* seasons,


HAPPIEST OF HOLIDAYS

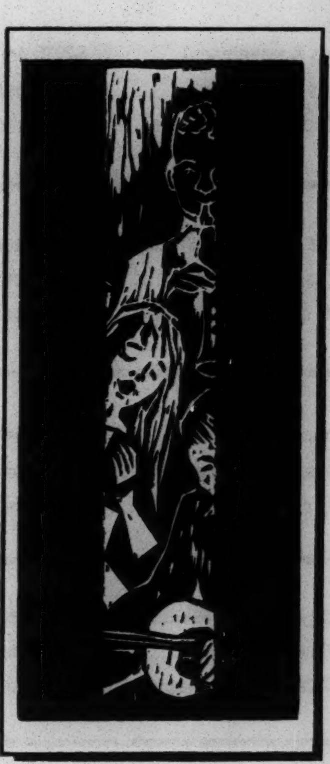
e against a white kromecoat
⅝ design by Jerrold Goldman.
"Warmest Wishes for the
message on the inside,
r either Christmas or

w several weeks for delivery. On
nber 1st, we reserve the right to
ere not indicated.

RINTING

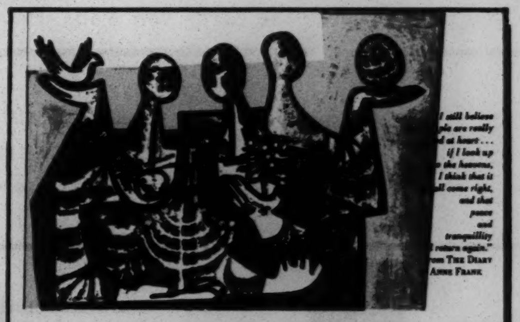
one-line imprinting of name can
rst 100 cards and $1.50 for each
of. Please print clearly and allow
orders.

r $45.00; 1,000 for $85.00. Sold in package units only; no odd quantities.



⑤

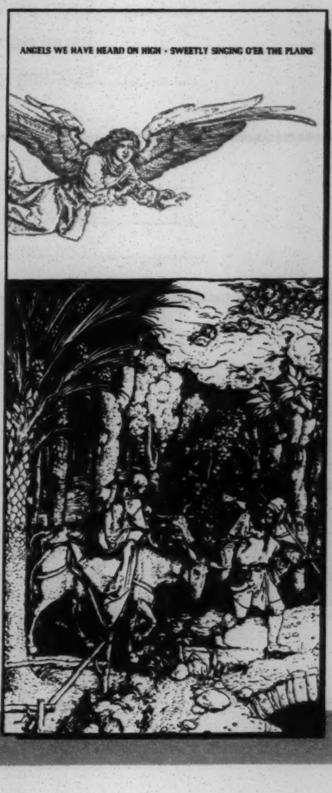
Woodcut, THE MUSIC MAKERS, by Jane Bearman Frances, projects the harmony of various races in the cooperative pursuit of beauty. Printed on delicately woven card stock, 3½ x 8⅝. Appropriate for Christmas or Chanukah. Quotation from the Psalms: *"Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."* Message: *Best wishes for the Holidays and the New Year.*


I still believe
ple are really
d at heart . . .
if I look up
o the heavens,
I think that it
all come right,
and that
peace
and
tranquility
return again."
rom THE DIARY
ANNE FRANK

⑥

CORE's most popular card to date; WORLD BROTHERHOOD painting by Gilbert H. Harris. Reproduced in full color, 7 x 4⅝.
The quotation is from Anne Frank: *"I still believe that people are really good at heart . . . if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, and that peace and tranquility will return again."*

Message inside:
Holiday Greetings and Best Wishes for a New Year of Brotherhood and Peace.


ANGELS WE HAVE HEARD ON HIGH - SWEETLY SINGING O'ER THE PLAINS

⑦

Adapted from woodcuts of Mary, Joseph and angels by Albrecht Dürer, this card illustrates a line from one of the oldest Christmas carols, which is printed on the front: *"Angels we have heard on high, sweetly singing o'er the plains."* The angel motif is repeated in ochre and grey on the inside fold, with the message: *"May the joy of this day be with you throughout the coming year."*

ORDER BLANK

Use this handy order blank and postage-paid envelope. Please write or print clearly and check your order to make certain you have ordered the cards you want. Payment must accompany order. (Ordinary parcel post paid by CORE.)

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____Small packs (15 cards & envelopes)...........@ $2.25 per pack
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TOTAL FOR THIS CARD
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____Small packs (15 cards & envelopes)...........@ $2.25 per pack
____Large packs (50 cards & envelopes)...........@ $5.95 per pack
____Economy packs (100 cards & envelopes)....@ $9.95 per pack

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____Economy packs (100 cards & envelopes)....@ $9.95 per pack

TOTAL FOR THIS CARD
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Number and Street____
City____Zone____
State (spell out)____

Extra for imprinting $____
I am enclosing as a contribution $____
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GRAND TOTAL $____

(Full payment must be enclosed. No charge, no COD)

~~Pt~~ Rinest
NBC. CBS } 2.30 P.M. Jump off.
ABC

Val

ITINERARY - JAMES FARMER

Monday, August 23rd

7:30 A.M. - Leave Newark, TWA flight #421
8:29 - Arrive Chicago
9:30 - Trial; 26th + Calif, Crim. Court Bldg, 4th floor, branch 46, Jury Court
Mr. Schwarzman - 782-9266

Tuesday, August 24th

2 30 P.M.

8:55 A.M. - Leave Chicago, United flight #101
10:45 - Arrive Los Angeles; met at airport by someone from American Federation of Teachers.

12:00 - Talk; AFT Convention, Golden State Room, Statler-Hilton.; no topic; Civil Rights Luncheon, Charles Cogen, President

3:15 - RUTH ASHTON SHOW, station KNX; live; short talk and telephoned questions. Lasts until 3:55. Columbia Sq

Program for Los Angeles CORE; spend night at ~~Don Smith's, 1010 West 21st St.~~ Statler Hilton
Tel: ~~747-8921~~; CORE - 1115 West Venice Blvd., Tel: DU 6-~~[illegible]~~ 1430, ~~DU 9-4444.~~ RES-8276 - Don Smith
938-1155 - Abellera's for cocktails & dinner

Wednesday, August 25th

1:00 - Leave L.A. American flight #44
8:38 - Arrive Washington, Dulles Airport

Thursday, August 26th

11:00 - Board Meeting, Center for Community Action Education; new address: 2900 M Street, N.W.

5:00 - Leave Washington, American flight #987
6:05 - Arrive Cincinnati; someone from CORE will meet you.

Fund raising rally planned. Leonard Ball has made plans for you to spend night at ~~B~~ Terrace Hilton

Friday, August 27th

12:25 - Leave Cincinatti, Lake Central flight #
2:57 - Arrive Akron
3:40 - Leave Akron, United flight #706
4:03 - Arrive Youngstown; met by someone from Warren CORE.

7:00 - Fund raising program, Konold Auditorium, W.G. HArding High School, Elm Rd. N.E.
Spend night ~~either at Motel Warner (392-1556) or Downtown Motel (392-2515)~~
Imperial 400 Motel, 415 E Market, Warren

MONDAY, August 23rd, cont'd.

12:00 - Lunch with Mr. Johnson, 1820 So. Michigan Avenue; tel: CA 5-1000

2:30 - Appointment with Ralph Helstein, Pres., United Packinghouse Workers
608 Dearborn Street; tel: WE 9-5343.

Saturday, August 28, 1965

8:25 A.M. - Leave Youngstown, United flight #698
9:58 - Arrive Newark

29th - Tel Aviv

ITINERARY FOR MR. JAMES FARMER

Date		Flight No.	Time	Accommodation
Jan 4	Dep. New York	PanAm 102	20:00 hrs.	
Jan 5	Arr. London		07:35 hrs.	Carlton Towers
Jan 6	Dep. London	BOAC 165	20:15 hrs.	
Jan 7 6	Arr. Dar Es Salaam		12:40 hrs.	
Jan 7-10	Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania			AGIP Motel
Jan 10	Dep. Dar Es Salaam	Air Mali QM801	12:40 hrs.	
	Arr. Salisbury, Rhodesia		16:25 hrs.	
	Dep. Salisbury	Air Rhodesia 822	18:00 hrs.	
	Arr. Lusaka		19:10 hrs.	
Jan 10-13	Lusaka, Zambia			Ridgeway Hotel
Jan 13	Dep. Lusaka	Air Rhodesia 821	08:20 hrs.	
	Arr. Salisbury		09:20 hrs.	
	Dep. Salisbury	BOAC 116	21:00 hrs.	
Jan 14	Arr. Nairobi		00:35 hrs.	
Jan 14-16	Nairobi, Kenya			New Stanley Hotel
Jan 16	Dep. Nairobi	E. African Airways EC712	23:00 hrs.	
Jan 17	Arr. Entebbe, Uganda		00:01 hrs.	
* Jan 17-19	Kampala, Uganda			Grand Hotel
Jan 19	Dep. Entebbe	EC 016	15:00 hrs.	
	Arr. Nairobi		18:10 hrs.	New Stanley Hotel
Jan 20	Dep. Nairobi	Ethiopian Airways ET792	07:30 hrs.	
	Arr. Addis Ababa		09:05 hrs.	
Jan 20-23	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia			Ghion Hotel

* Bus transportation will be available from Entebbe to Kampala

Jan 23	Dep. Addis Ababa	ET714	12:45 hrs.	
	Arr. Lagos		17:15 hrs.	
Jan 23-26	Lagos, Nigeria			Bristol Hotel
Jan 26	Dep. Lagos	Nigeria Airways WT 959	12:15 hrs.	
	Arr. Accra		13:10 hrs.	
Jan 26-28	Accra, Ghana			Ambassador Hotel
Jan 28	Dep. Accra	Pan Am 151	22:00 hrs.	
	Arr. New York		07:05 hrs.	

A m S of Afr Culture

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JAMES FARMER - ITINERARY

Saturday, July 10th, A.M.

9:15 - Leave Kennedy, Eastern flight #69
10:05 - Arrive New Orleans

Bogalusa

Sunday, July 11th, P.M.

11:35 - Leave New Orleans, Eastern flight #440
4:22 - Arrive Kennedy

Monday, July 12th

1:20 - WCBS radio program on MFDP Challenge. ½ hour interview and questions.
49 East 52nd Street. Jerry Levin. Tel: 765-4321 x2126.

INFLUENCE OF MALCOLM X AND THE MUSLIMS ON AMERICAN BLACK LEADERSHIP TODAY.

by

Gloria I. Joseph : Assistant Dean of Student
Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Is it possible for a white man to understand the black man in America, or is it always a case of alienated knowledge? I say the latter, for it is psychologically impossible for those who haven't suffered the "mark of oppression" (the white man) to fully comprehend the fears and frustations of those who have been systematically excluded and downgraded for over three hundred years. This fundamental premise is finally receiving official recognition and promulgation by some in the black leadership today. The strategy and tactics that must follow from the acceptance of this premise have been daubed, 'Black Power'.

The inertia in the Civil Rights 'Revolution' that has been observed of late is partially the result of the non-recognition of the truthfulness of this basic premise by the middle-class black leadership. How could anyone expect progress in the restoration to the black man of his sense of dignity and humanness by demanding new statutes to enforce attitude changes. These statutes must necessarily be empty of all meaning if the reason for their existence is merely filling the gaps in the cover story of American society and leaving the secret plot to run its merry course. It's the secret plot, the nitty gritty of contemporary American life, that casts the black man as the inferior being, the slave who is not quite human.

The white man, of course, is the star, the director and the producer of the completed play. The play may be advertised (by the N. Y. Times, for instance) as being the embodiment of all the ideals stemming from the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries: freedom and dignity for everyone, equality of opportunity, democracy, etc., but those who live it and act it out know the real truth. Those watching the play from the outside may be fooled as long as they want to be: if they don't want to be fooled a cursory investigation quickly turns up the bald facts of discrimination, slums and hypocrisy.

The black man knows in his soul the part he plays in American society. Granted a few have "made it" and are pointed to with pride as examples of the ideal functioning of the cover story. But even he who has made it knows, deep down, that something is wrong, that in some-way he has been cast as a lollipop to his fellow black men: he knows that he is a pacifier. He'll wrap his sickening sweetness in some gayly colored cellophane, of course, but some can see through the coloring to the essence of his function. Sometimes he even gets glimpses of himself through his protective packaging.

The lack of success of the conventional (or legal) approaches of the Whitney Youngs, the Roy Wilkens' or even the Martin Luther Kings is now becoming apparent to all perceptive observers. Stokely Carmichal is calling everyone's attention to the fact that the Emperor is wearing no clothes. He is shushed, of course, but still others (Floyd Macissick) are beginning to see the same thing and spreading the word. Soon it will be respectable to be pointing out the lack of attire of those who are "in", the liberal white man and his traditional black leadership.

The origin of the premise that the black American has been systematically excluded and downgraded for over three hundred years and thus bears the 'mark of oppression' and cannot be understood by the white man lies not with Stokley Carmichal. The major portion of this credit must go to Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X. This premise was carried more effectively to the black masses by these men.

Elijah Muhammed rejected the white man's Christianity and the part it plays in keeping the black man in a subserviant position. He erected an alternative to this white Christianity, Black Muslim. The separatist ideology inherent in Black Muslim stems both from a firm observation of the workings of white American society and the need for a psychological strategy to rescue the black man from these workings.

By stressing the myth that the black man was once the possessor of a vast and highly developed civilization in ancient times, pride is created. The strength of character needed to cut oneself off from the workings of the contemporary world is enhanced by rigorous rules of behavior. Esprit de corps is inculcated. Tangible evidence of the white man's tarnish is eradicated. Names are dropped; the black man must resist playing the role created for him by the white. He will not buy a Cadillac because a Chevrolet is quite adequate for transportation.

The end object of the Black Muslim movement is to completely sever the black minority from American culture and to live and develop as a separate sub-culture. There is no thought of integration into the greater white culture. It is on this point that Malcolm X made his departure. To Malcolm X, the Black Muslims made themselves irrelevant to the vast majority of American blacks who wished to participate in the greater society and enjoy the fruits of its vast productive capacity.

Malcolm X accepted as legitimate these aspirations and attempted to work with the blacks who wanted the good things of life along with the white Americans. He organized a Black Nationalist movement as his vehicle to promulgate the basic premises of the Black Muslims but stripped bare of their spiritual trappings. He too recognized the essential whiteness of American society and the diverse ways in which this sense of whiteness permeated the black man with a sense of his own inferiority. The tool to overcome this sense of inferiority was to create a basis for black pride. The basis was essentially a humanistic one: the recognition that the black man was in all respects a human being will all the capabilities and potentials that all human beings possess. This of course, is a basic ingredient in the cover story of American society but to fulfill the aspirations of the black man to his essential dignity required more than just inconsequental changes in the statues of law. It required most of all an attack upon the secret plot of American culture, a real threat to the "American Way of Life." Imagine what it would mean to American life to actually practice the preaching of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? It could lead to chaos.

If one adds to this the requirement that only the black man himself must effect the transformation of the cover story to the secret plot, then even the "liberal" starts to fidget nervously. After all isn't it his ordained purpose in life to lead the Negro to his proper station as an equal citizen? The very condensation or patronage that is the hallmark of the Southern way of life is emotionally present in most civil rights workers. How could they escape what has been drilled into them all their lives? If the secret plot calls for the systematic inferiority of the black man, it also calls for the systematic superiority of the white man. Thus the black man had to lead his own restoration to the good life of American society.

Malcolm X preached all these ideas before it became vaguely fashionable to do so. Sometimes his ideas were reported by the press when they weren't busy gossiping about the rift between him and the Black Muslims. The net effect of his death (at least in the Mass Media) was to incite speculation about the hired gunmen of the Black Muslims. The master sighed a breath of relief when he was gone and no longer propagated dangerous philosophies. He had too much power they said for any one person, (they meant Negro) to possess. Blackmen were disturbed. The truth of his position was becoming apparent to many. The Civil Rights "Revolution" was dying. Then, Stokely Carmichal hit the headlines. "The King is dead, long live the King" was heard throughout black America.

Chapter VII

American Liberalism and Higher Education

by

Arnold S. Kaufman
Department of Philosophy
University of Michigan

NOT FOR PUBLICATION IN ANY FORM WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

Chapter 7. American Liberalism and Higher Education

Today the big business of higher education is also big politics. California's Ronald Reagan made disorder on the state's campuses a major issue in his campaign for governor. At his inaugural his hint that established values were being subverted on those campuses produced the occasion's loudest ovation.

Like ghetto-rioting, campus disorder has deepened splits within the liberal community. For liberals are unsure whether these disruptions are tolerable. Their doubt is at least partly due to their unclarity about the aims of higher education in the modern world.

1. Snobbery and Technology

Half a century ago, things were easier for liberals. The basic clash over higher education was between snobbery and practicality. Some thought higher education was pointless unless it was useless; others that useless education was pointless. With lofty disdain Thorstein Veblen described the views of some who sought a classical education because of its "utility as evidence of wasted time and effort and hence of ... pecuniary strength."[1] On the other hand practical men viewed such "waste" as sinful failure to employ existing wealth to acquire more.

In Veblen's time, education for dilettantes had much the better of things. Institutions of higher learning managed to achieve the worst of two possible worlds. For people increasingly dedicated to the forging of a money culture, they produced the refinements of snobbery. And, to add emptiness to hauteur, American snobs mainly lacked the intellectual distinction and civility of typical English counterparts.

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[1] The Theory of the Leisure Class, George Allen and Unwin, London (1925), p. 397.

But technology's movement proved irresistible. It swept through and transformed American universities. After World War II American multiversities that had been in the making emerged as shopping centers for careerists. The prestige of classicists receded. Though higher education was still a commodity the possession of which was mostly restricted to those who could afford it, at least America's burgeoning industrial needs were largely served.

Conventional radicals too easily forget how dependent is the national society upon the university; dependent in ways that makes possible their higher discontents. C. P. Snow, in his novel, The New Men, describes a wartime incident, undoubtedly close to fact, that illustrates the point. Britain's new men were the atomic scientists who, during the early dark days of the war, labored to produce an atomic bomb. At one point they tried desperately to induce the government to permit assignment of thirty or forty more scientists to their project. Hard, drawn out bargaining yielded authorization to add about half the number they sought. Shortly after this modest success, Pearl Harbor was bombed. "Then America came into the war," writes Snow, "and within a few weeks had assigned several thousand scientists to the job."[1]

Britain's present economic failures are in no small measure a function of reluctance to retool her educational machinery so that it could better serve her contemporary industrial needs. It comes as no surprise to men savvy in the ways of industry that corporation executives trained for gentility, used to starting the working day at a decently advanced morning hour, lack the entrepreneural skill to enable their country to keep pace with less class-ridden industrial societies.

I say all this to make it plain that though the criticisms of American higher education that follow are harsh, in making them I finger my ball bearing rosary and count my technological blessings. Yet, in the shifting conflict between gentility and technology, the kind of higher education a liberal society requires, though celebrated in commencement rhetoric, has fared badly.

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[1] Penquin Books, p. 40.

2. Liberal Education

What kind of education is that? Not surprisingly, a liberal education. For what is commonly called, "liberal education," nourishes life freely and deliberatively shaped—the kind of life liberals cherish.

The enemy of such a life is unreflective belief and action; ignorance of what one is and how he has become that way. "Know thyself" the ancients urged. And their modern disciples echo their conviction. Examine the conventional wisdom; examine prevailing institutions; scrutinize whatever shapes life, no matter how sacrosanct it may be. Failing this you cannot know yourself. For before you examine that which has made you, you are largely the unreflective product of unexamined practices. To live freely and deliberatively one must take his life in his own hands. A liberal education helps the individual to do this by equipping him to examine his life and everything that molds it. It helps free the mind.

In so doing liberal education threatens subversion of much that is conventionally revered—perhaps the state itself. But why not subversion that meets the test of reason, of reflective morality? Moreover subversion threatened is not subversion practiced. "Criticism will arise," wrote Bertrand Russell, "only if the state is defended by obscurantism and appeals to irrational passion."[1] But if the institutions of the state, if other traditional practices and beliefs meet the test of sustained examination, then traditionalists who chance subversion will receive a priceless dividend. Whoever accepts a tradition after careful criticism will gain a more rooted, hence more meaningful and stable reverence of it. The idea that reverence requires mystery has always been a prejudice comforting to those who lack ultimate confidence in what they profess.

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[1] The Functions of a Teacher, reprinted in Gentlemen, Scholars and Scoundrels (ed. H. Knowles), Harper, p. 525.

Abstract description of what it is to lead an examined life can never convey the vibrant seriousness of the effort to live one. I knew a Negro poet; a great man, and one of the pioneers of the Civil Rights Movement. In the small, provincial town in which he lived, one room in his house was sacred. He called it, "the Zulu room." In it, he told me, people were encouraged to come and say anything provided only that what was professed was done so freely and authentically, and was willingly submitted to the test of mutual criticism. A university in which all students were encouraged to get a liberal education would pulsate with the spirit of that Zulu room. Learning would be hard work, yes; but high excitement too. The life of reason would be disciplined, yet not always cool; responsible, yet not always cautious. Tenacious determination to think deeply about problems and courage to chance error and criticism would gradually supplant one's natural inclinations to seek instant wisdom, to fear saying the unaccepted thing.

Education for an examined life promotes the disciplines of reason; but more—it induces that of which reason is the most important part, civility. The civil person respects others because they too are capable of rationality, because they too have preferences and claims. He is fair but firm in argument; tolerant without being condescending, supine, or obsequious.

One should not confuse civility with gentility. Indeed, the arts of gentlemen and gentle-women have more to do with gentling people than with the practices of persuasion, criticism, debate that are basic to civility. Gentling people may be appropriate in its season; but it is, all the same, manipulation; hence a violation of that full-blooded conception of respect for human beings that is implicit in civility. Above all, civility should not be confused with that genteel "moderation" which is evasion of one's responsibility to make hard, authentic judgments and decisions —to live as one professes. When good manners are used as reason for compliance with powers or policies that cheapen and corrupt, you can be sure it is convenience, not good breeding, that ultimately controls action.

Liberal education aims at enlarging a student's power to enjoy works of the creative imagination. He has the opportunity to experience that full range of the processes and products of art, exposure to which helps develop sensibility and taste for something other than the commodities typically made available by those who market *entertainment*. In any event, whatever one's aesthetic preferences might be, they would not be formed in ignorance of available alternatives.

The liberally educated person is equipped to advance our critical understanding of things. Armed with "eternal truths" and truths more recent, invested with the disciplines of reason and with developed taste, he is capable of making some contribution to that cumulative product that consists of techniques, information, interpretations, artistic works, and theories that we may comprehensively label "human knowledge." Yet he understands the limits of disciplined inquiry in any sphere. He knows how even the most austere methodological convictions, the very ones that define what it is to be "rational," are influenced by interests, predispositions, modes of being that lie at the core of personality. The very notion men have of "reason" is affected by deep-seated needs and desires.

A liberally educated individual also has an understanding of the limits of education — formal and informal. He knows that little can be taught, though much may be learned. He knows that such things as pleasures of sex, warmth of affection, heartiness of appetite, do not normally result from diligent scholarship or steady inquiry. Through education we can only diminish, never eliminate, the turn of the wheel or the turn of the screw as factors in shaping one's prospects for a satisfying life.

The screw's turn may, it is true, be abated by an education that fits one to fill, competently and responsibly, one of society's countless functional slots. And by making himself valuable to society, the slot-filler increases his "worth." Universities provide one with the means of attaining higher income and status.

3. Public Service, Pursuit of Knowledge, and Inverted Priorities

Unhappily, what passes for higher education in schools that devotedly impart technical skills has increasingly little to do with liberal education. The proliferation of special "professional" schools (becoming "professional" is like transcending salvation through good works by salvation through faith; before you are "a professional" you have to be virtuous; afterwards you need only point to your "code of ethics"), the systematic impoverishment of the parts of the curriculum that serve liberal education in those schools, has accelerated the impoverishment of what is human in an education. The results are bad, not only for the individual, not only for the effort to fashion a liberal society, but also for the production of responsible and creative slot-fillers. For it is liberal education that is designed to enlarge the mind's range, free it of its tendency to move in conventional grooves, make it aware of and sensitive to the moral and aesthetic qualities of remote consequences; human traits upon which responsibility and creativity ultimately depend. Hence, liberal education is an essential component of the higher learning anyone gets—even engineers, army officers, and, heaven help the society in which this needs to be stressed, educators and social workers.

But the training of slot-fillers is not the university's only contribution to the public's welfare. Faculty-members also serve as consultants to business, to government, to every other type of group that seeks advice. On any given day, staff from one of the great multiversities are likely to be spread around the globe, consulting. Or, less directly but no less importantly, they may be hard at work writing manuals intended to help those who fill society's functional-slots to perform their tasks more efficiently and competently.

For these consulting activities, faculty members receive fees. It is never far from the minds of those who manage our universities that these sums help diminish the disparity between the base salaries academic personnel receive and the money they could earn in industry or government. Nor do administrators normally view as unwholesome the massive interpenetration of academic communities with business and political communities that results from consulting activities. Indeed, they are more likely to feel pride that public service is being provided, than fear that the university's integrity is being compromised.

Besides liberal education and public service, universities have a third basic function—the pursuit of knowledge. I have already indicated that encouragement of the quest for knowledge, in an appropriately broadened sense of "knowledge," is a principal aim of liberal education. But, in modern institutions of higher learning, knowledge tends increasingly to be more narrowly construed, its pursuit more heavily institutionalized. The name given these narrower forms of inquiry is "research." Knowledge comes to be regarded as a commodity; the productive processes, an industry; and (it cannot be helped, the metaphor extends itself) the university in which these industrial processes are carried out, a knowledge-factory. There are basic industrial decisions to be made—which of the indefinitely large number of possible commodities to produce; what methods to use in producing them; how to market the products that come from the factory; and so on. Of course, all of these decisions are controlled by the aims of making a profit and building a career. Confronted by alternatives the decision-makers first ask, "Which alternative will help me to gain promotion, income, professional status, access to men of power and influence, social salience?" And second, "Which alternative will bring money, recognition, academic stars to the university?"

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No doubt this description is caricature. The exceptions to it are many and important. The account does not begin to do justice to the scholar who loves truth and tries to penetrate mysteries because he wants to understand the nature of things. Nor have I described the other, more benign motives of those who "do research"; genuine desire to serve others, theoretical commitment uncontaminated by careerism, effort to adhere to high standards of craftsmanship for its own sake. That is, the caricature portrays research as only a job. But for many it is a vocation. (The difference is this: the job-holder works in order to acquire the means for living well; but for the man who has a vocation, his work is an integral part of the well-being he seeks.) For most, research is something of both. My purpose is not to impugn or neglect what is beneficial and noble in research, but to sketch institutional tendencies that increasingly prevail—and for the most part these are not good.

Some refuse to face the reality of these developments. Despite all evidence to the contrary, they blithely go along on the assumption that what is good for education is good for research, and vice versa; that existing evils are neither chronic nor irremediable.[1]

Others face reality, but plead that sociological circumstances beyond anyone's control result in irresistable impulse. Rape is so clearly inevitable, that it is impossible to resist the temptation to volunteer and enjoy it. Yet, there must be quiet moments when even these men acknowledge the extent to which they have violated intellectual ideals that do touch the lives of all scholars in some way and to some extent. Then, perhaps, one is filled with unaccountable remorse—like the woman in the well-known limerick, embellished to fit the case:

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[1] See for example, Education at Berkeley: Report of the Select Committee on Education (more popularly called The Muscatine Report), University of California, March 1966, pp. 5-6. Also James A. Perkins, The University in Transition, Princeton, 1966. For an insightful critique of the latter, see Henry Aiken's The American University: Part I, New York Review of Books, October 20, 1966, pp. 14-16.

There was a young lady from Kent
Who said that she knew what it meant
   When men took her to dine,
   Gave her cocktails and wine;
She knew what it meant—but she went.

When asked why she lent herself so,
She spoke, and her eyes lost joy's glow,
   "My will merely bends
   to pitiless trends,
Though I seem to enjoy it, it's woe."

Perhaps despair is warranted. Some evils in life are tragic necessities. But then William James' wisdom returns to prick us. We wonder, are these things happening only because they are inevitable? Or are they happening in part because we believe them to be inevitable?

There is surely an entire structure of institutional rewards that promotes uncontrolled growth of unwholesome forms of research. Assuming these things are not inevitable, no magic wand of policy will wave them out of existence. There is no way to get at the evil except by dismantling, piece by piece, the institutional support given the existing inversion of morally appropriate priorities. And for one who can neither accept the optimistic view that research rarely interferes with decent education, nor the pessimistic view that it must inevitably interfere, there is the obligation to try to reverse what is happening.

A beginning can be made by emphasizing the centrality of the teaching function, and of liberal education. For liberal education supports the proper aims of all forms of inquiry in three ways; by cultivating the disciplines of reason; by encouraging criticism of methodological fashions inimical to inquiry; by encouraging and supporting inventive minds.

The argument to this point supports this basic conclusion: the quality of undergraduate education, and especially of liberal education, is the principal criterion by which the excellence of any college or university is to be judged. Not only does the good life require this criterion, but its acceptance is also a most important condition of successful inquiry and of responsible and creative acquittal of duty by those who fill society's functional slots.

The other main functions of the university, public service and pursuit of knowledge, are less important than liberal education for undergraduates. But so far from this order of priorities actually holding in our universities, liberal education for undergraduates is typically the thing of least importance. That this is so is a principal cause of campus turbulence — a fact best appreciated in light of the somewhat conflicting claim that unrestricted growth of student enrollments is the principal devil in the piece.

4. Higher Education: Right or Privilege?

Worse, many critics of American higher education contend that the main reason for deteriorating educational standards is this rapid expansion. They accept an iron law of the debasement of quality through quantity; increasing numbers of students _must_ result in worsening education for all. In their view all other causes of higher education's multiple disorders have little importance by comparison.

The tremendous growth of student population is due, according to the critics, primarily to the specious belief that all Americans have a _right_ to higher education. Higher education, they insist, is not a right but a privilege which should be accorded only to qualified students. Already too many undeserving college and university students waste society's resources and bring countless evils to the processes of higher education. Unless the vicious trend is stemmed, today's still remediable educational calamities will become tomorrow's irreversible tragedy.

Not so, says John Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in President Johnson's cabinet. In an essay,[1] important because it is so representative of much current liberal thinking, he challenges important elements of the neo-aristocratic view just described. He flatly denies that mass education is necessarily bad education. America has the resources to maintain standards of excellence despite the present influx of students. It is her failure to employ those resources properly, a lack of the right kind of national will, that has produced whatever depreciation has occurred; not mass education. Moreover, Gardner contends, the country has an obligation to provide everyone with an opportunity to get the best education of which he is capable. Vastly more people are qualified than the nay-sayers would admit.

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[1] In _Excellence_, Harper and Brothers (New York, 1961), chapters vii-ix.

Yet Gardner agrees with the neo-aristocrats in one vital respect. He too denies that a right to higher education exists. Though he throws the net wider, he too insists that only qualified individuals should have the privilege of receiving one.

The existence of a universal right to higher education is denied by Gardner for essentially two reasons. First, many individuals are transparently unfit — the brain-damaged, the genetically incompetent, but especially the "slow learners." To "require" (this is Gardner's term) young people so afflicted to go to college would, however kind-heartedly, cause them more damage than their exclusion. Rejection for which plausible excuse can be conjectured is one thing. But to be tested and found wanting in a situation in which one has been stripped of saving explanation is needlessly destructive of self-esteem.

Gardner thinks that, on the whole, America is doing a tolerably good job of providing higher education to qualified persons. He admits that among the excluded "slow learners" are some who would not be so classified were it not for social and economic handicaps. But he quiets excessive concern by assuring us that for most of them, there is no convincing evidence that social handicaps are a major factor in their academic limitations.[1] Their disqualifying attributes are usually irremediable. Conversely, most qualified students are presumably getting a higher education.

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[1] Ibid., p. 78.

Gardner also argues that the logic of the argument for the existence of a right to higher education would reduce the education given to its lowest common denominator—to the level of summer camp instruction. Note: Gardner does not argue that quantity as such would depreciate standards; only that efforts to educate the apparently ineducable would do so.

Summarizing his views, Gardner embraces a form of educational pluralism. "Properly understood," he holds, "the college or university is the instrument of one kind of further education of those whose capacities fit them for that kind of education."[1] For the unfit other kinds of educational opportunities should be provided—vocational schooling, on-the-job training, and so on. Each of the different kinds of institutions thus devised can meet appropriate, but differing, standards of excellence. Only this pluralistic approach to educational opportunity can result in a proper valuing of human differences as well as similarities.

Though Gardner's views are representative, they are in important respects defective. In probing the defects, the nerve of liberalism's family quarrel about the problems of higher education is exposed.

First, there is a simple, but important, logical confusion about rights in Gardner's argument. The fact that some people are properly denied the freedom to exercise a presumed right does not imply the right's non-existence. The fact that someone may validly be prevented from freedom of political expression under an appropriately stringent "clear and present danger" doctrine does not destroy the right of freedom of speech. Nor does prohibition of ritual human sacrifice destroy the principle of freedom of religion. Human rights are always presumptively applicable to practical action. Exclusion of the brain-damaged from higher learning may be justified without denying that even they have a presumptive right to higher education. One may wonder what the functional point of upholding rights would be when exceptions of these sorts are allowable. The answer is that to maintain the right shifts the burden of proof to the person who denies that a given individual is entitled to higher education. And such shifts are often symptoms of revolutions in moral thought about social policy. We are, I believe, in the midst of such a revolution in American thought about higher education.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 80.

A more basic objection to Gardner's views is that they suggest a defective conception of higher education. Liberal education is essential for the good life and, in general, liberal education requires higher education. That these things are true is quite enough to establish a presumptive right to higher education. That higher education is increasingly also the means to higher status and income, and that those who manage our society are college and university graduates, both of which Gardner acknowledges, seems to clinch the case for the existence of this right. But Gardner does not think so. Nor does he have anything to say about the role of liberal education in higher education. That he denies the right and says little about liberal education suggests that he does not regard liberal education as an essential core of everything properly called "higher education." Gardner's radically pluralistic views about what kind of education people ought to receive deepens the suspicion.

In any event, it is not important whether my exegetical hunch is correct. For against the view Gardner explicitly takes I hold that, with a single class of exceptions, every American is actually entitled to a higher education; because anyone is capable of being liberally educated. The only exceptions justified are the irremediably brain-damaged. Given the present state of the evidence, and provided everyone gets adequate pre-college training, it cannot be convincingly argued that anyone else is incapable of benefitting from a higher education. The hypothesis is, in any event, one on which it is worth basing social policy for a century or two. Waste may result, But, to anticipate a point developed more fully later, it is far better to waste resources than lives.

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[1] A second flaw in the logic of Gardner's argument is the free and easy way in which he moves from acknowledgement of a right to alarms about compulsion. To claim that someone has a right to higher education in no way implies that there is justification to require that he exercise his right (Ibid., p. 78), or that he be "forced" to continue his education (Ibid., p. 80). For to have this right is to possess an opportunity which the individual may or may not exercise—as he decides. Indeed, to compel higher education would go some way to destroying its significance as a means of liberating people.

The implications of this position are momentous. Acceptance would logically compel that the burgeoning system of post-secondary education — vocational schools, junior colleges, community colleges, whatever they may be — ought to have the idea of a liberal education as the core of their program. This by no means implies that different kinds of higher education should not be provided by different schools. For not every institution ought to do everything. But the different programs should build around a basic curriculum that has liberal education as its aim.

That anyone who is capable of benefitting from liberal education is entitled to a higher education points to another fundamental flaw in Gardner's position. It is simply not true that everyone who is able to benefit can, if he wants, secure a higher education. Millions suffer remediable social disabilities that bar them from our colleges and universities altogether. Millions of others are either not receiving an adequate education, or are victimized by evaluative procedures that insure failure. Briefly, forms of discrimination inimical to the idea that everyone is to count for one, none for more than one, lace our educational system. The problem of racial segregation is but a small part of this larger problem of social segregation. A major cause of American society's failure to cope with what I called, in the last chapter, the problem of technical underprivilege is prevailing social segregation.

Social handicaps suffered by the technically underprivileged are very great.

Access to institutions of higher education as well as access to the best of such institutions, is decided on the basis of evaluative instruments that are virtual instruments of class bias. Evidence mounts that criteria of admission and success within our colleges and universities are constructed, as if by design, to favor those who have already received the special advantages of affluence and a low-brow, middle-class family culture. It is as if the American nation is determined to maintain cultural mediocrity so that members of the middle class can preserve both high social status and the illusion of cultural excellence.

The discrimination built into present instruments for measuring aptitude and ability was impressed upon me when I taught in a small Negro college in the South. In a class of about fifty freshmen, one of my few Northern students – a young man who came from a middle-class family background and had received technically superior schooling – scored at or near the top of the class in all the conventional aptitude and achievement tests given. Yet he was my absolutely worst student when measured by all the criteria that really count – motivation, effort, ability to persist in that kind of sustained groping for understanding and intellectual independence that is central to higher education. Conversely, among those of my students who scored at or near the bottom of the class on conventional tests of aptitude and achievement were many who were very able – as capable of benefitting from higher education as any students I have ever had. Yet had these low-scorers tried, they would have been denied admission to schools much better equipped to serve their needs and desires than the one they were at; and had they been admitted, the probability of failure would have been high, so important are technical factors like vocabulary, writing skills, general historical and cultural knowledge, in securing the almighty grades required. Moreover, given the existing pattern of educational discrimination, it is undoubtedly the case that millions like them either fail to get into college or never try.

The evil mainly results from the fact that social resources for the type of pre-college education that might motivate and equip a youngster for college are allocated in ways that favor those who live in relatively affluent communities — suburbs over the inner city, urban over rural areas, and, above all, any white ghetto over any Negro ghetto. The evidence is massive, compelling, frequently cited, and does not require repetition here.

Thus social segregation that already exists reinforces and consolidates itself in ways by which the lesser are made increasingly to feel that they are less. I have already discussed this problem in connection with Black Power. But the same holds, I venture to say, for any group in relation to any other that enjoys higher social status — though surely not with the same raw severity and disastrous impact on mind and spirit that is true in the case of black ghetto-dwellers.

More, this initial pattern of segregation also tends to hold within our colleges and universities. For better faculty and greater resources, both public and private, tend to flow to the schools that are generally accorded higher status. Hence, those who come to colleges and universities already disadvantaged, are given a relatively poor higher education. And this tends especially to be true for the processes of liberal education — the very aspect of higher education which should be of high quality for everyone, but especially for those damaged most by their early life-experiences.

Thus, low-prestige institutions of higher education generally have less money, less dedicated, competent teaching, than more prestigious schools. Therefore, they tend to get less from foundations and government. Moreover, they seem to be more paternal and arbitrary, and to suffer more political interference than the high-prestige institutions. In other words, it is in higher education as it is in our social life generally — to him who has is given more, and the devil take the hindmost.

Beyond the vicious impact on the individual life chances of the technically underprivileged is the social harm done by social segregation. While one cannot justify making each institution of higher learning a melting-pot, there is every reason to create a socially integrated environment in which the true metal of each student can be discovered and refined. For it is only through constant exposure to others under conditions that show them at their best that the kind of mutual respect may be forged on which the strength and welfare of any social group ultimately rests.

It may seem that I here, by implication, contradict what I said in the last chapter about racial integration as an under-examined, overrated ideal. So let me make my meaning clear. I am allowing this exception to what I claimed there. Negroes who are ready for higher education are, in general, more likely to possess resources of mind and spirit that enable them successfully to handle the inevitable tensions and social difficulties that efforts to forge meaningfully integrated communities require. Correspondingly, the probability is higher that white students and teachers will respond sensitively and constructively to problems that inevitably develop. They too will be afforded opportunities for growth. Higher education is, indeed, the main agency by which meaningful social integration can be achieved. In colleges and universities more than anywhere else, the benefits of integration are likely to outweigh its costs.

It follows also that there is a strong case for compensatory programs in higher education. The historic injustices inflicted on the technically underprivileged suggest what the values of socially segregated education confirm—that institutions of higher education should be redesigned so that conventional instruments of admission and evaluation do not reinforce class bias.

Moreover, to do so may actually improve the quality of the liberal education received by even the most technically advantaged students. For by diminishing the extent to which reliance is placed on instruments that are educationally pernicious when used casually -"objective" tests, grading, and auxiliary paraphenalia—schools would be encouraged to attend more diligently to the task of insuring that existing processes provide better education; on those conditions which, in Henry Aiken's words, "delight the spirit, ... enliven the imagination, ... refine and clarify discourse, and ... bring to the whole mind a fuller sense of its inventiveness, singularity, and freedom."[1] Viewed from this perspective, high educational standards depend on challenging students at the level of development they are at so that they can move from where they are to where they can be. Excellence is not primarily a matter of how successfully better trained and better motivated students are induced to take advantage of their educational opportunities; and has nothing at all to do with requirements for admission. But these are admittedly large opinions about complex problems. I do not pretend that the arguments presented are decisive. My aim has been, rather, to suggest radical lines of educational experiment that are rarely considered so pervasive is conservatism about these matters.

In the end, then, Gardner's views unwittingly exemplify the gap between liberal rhetoric and liberal policy that I am primarily concerned to expose. That those who attend institutions of higher learning should have to suffer the anxiety generated by high standards is not in itself a bad thing provided that the tests are not unjustly weighted against them, and provided the basic tasks of creating qualitatively superior conditions of liberal education are performed. To worry that such experiences may adversely affect one's amour propre is often rooted in paternalism or a desire to keep costs down and "undesirables" out.

It is, in any event, cruelly fraudulent to claim that high-quality vocational training, on or off the job, is morally equivalent to that kind of education without which a truly liberal society cannot be built.

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[1] The University II: What is a Liberal Education?, New York Review of Books, November 3, 1966, p. 23.

But, just for purposes of argument, let us grant to skeptics that the experiments proposed will turn out badly. What will have been lost besides physical resources? Certainly the spirit of our people would not be damaged any more than it is by present arrangements. Given the actual conditions of uncertainty about how things might turn out, and viewing matters from the perspective of liberal policy, how much better it would be to waste national resources, even in a problematic effort to educate all our youngsters to the very limit of their ability for the kind of life liberals value, than to squander those resources in ways to which commodity-smothered Americans have become accustomed. For when every day is Christmas, the Christmas season loses all its meaning. From this point of view, the niggardly passions that starve education in order to maintain grossly inequitable standards of consumption is the original social sin that towers over all other iniquities inflicted by those who have too much power and affluence on those who have less of both than is their right. The time has come for affluent America to chance wasted resources, on however massive a scale, rather than chancing further waste of human lives.

5. Campus Disorder

The conception of higher education that has been advanced is one which has as its overarching goal a society in which every man is his own man. While society advances steadily toward a future in which everyone will have a place, colleges and universities are decreasingly able or willing, unable in many cases because unwilling, to provide conditions of adequate liberal education. This neglect is a main cause of campus disorder. For liberal education has never been a matter of such urgent practical concern to so many. Let me explain.

Despite a gloss of religious rhetoric, most Americans have been raised in the expectation that once America became the productive cornucopia it could be, each would achieve a secular salvation. But affluence has not proved redemptive. The resulting disillusion has been greatest amongst those who have always known a life of relatively great affluence; the present students, by and large, in our colleges and universities. (At the University of Michigan and the University of California at Berkeley, the median family income of students is about $16,000 per year. And these are the two major public universities in the land.)

When the receipt of what passes for grace does not result in salvation, one begins to question the efficacy of grace — and to diagnose its failure. That is, social criticism and self criticism become congenial to the very individuals who participate most fully in American wealth. It is wrong to suppose that they are motivated primarily by burning desire to remedy injustice. Their concerns are at least as intensely personal and prudential.

Most of them come to the university expecting that there, at last, they will be initiated into the mysteries of rich and satisfying experience so bafflingly denied them in their prosperous family-life. They find instead a community in which their expectations are not fulfilled. They find an agency in which research, public service, graduate education, and undergraduate education are valued in that order of declining priority; in which careerism is rampant; in which many of the most distinguished faculty-members never teach undergraduates; in which conformist accomodation to power is rewarded, and authentic thought and action penalized; in which money talks — especially federal money; in which the gap between commencement rhetoric and educational practice is enormous; in which commitment to scholarship and research provide a rationale for political irresponsibility; in which, above all, basic decisions about educational processes and about the non-academic lives of students are made by men who know little and care less about these things. Students study their university's master plan with dismay:

> 'So who needs nine-story classroom buildings, TV, and machines that will supposedly do the teaching,' said the president of student government at the University of Buffalo. 'There isn't a word in all this plan about us, here, now, and the needs and aspirations of students over the next few years.'[1]

Under these conditions students who uncomplainingly knuckle under are sheep. They betray dispositions not fit for those supposed to be in training for freedom. Many students see the corruption of the university as merely symptomatic of the disorders of "the system," the hated "establishment." The university is simply its most visible, proximate part. So, frustrated by university life, they turn against it—and raise all kinds of hell.

Students raise various kinds of hell, but almost always loudly. Not for them the life of quiet desperation. Their noisy disturbances have shaken the country. They have also stirred their teachers. More than any other factor, campus disorder has caused faculty to pay attention to legitimate student gripes they typically ignored. The result has been new educational ferment; new willingness on the part of many at least to think about ways of improving the quality of undergraduate education.

Though much of the hell students raise is directed against the university, and much is aimed at nothing very specific—panty-raids, LSD parties, orgies, and so on—students also raise much political hell. They use the campus as a base of operations for guerilla raids against a society they regard as mean and oppressive. Moreover, many of their complaints against the university have to do with the relationship between institutions of higher education and intimidating political forces in the larger society.

Their political involvement is partly due to the fact that their personal distress and long exposure to the rhetoric of American idealism make it particularly easy to fire their moral imaginations. An intense repugnance is evoked by a society that seems increasingly bent on defeating human expectations here and abroad.

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[1] New York's Late-Blooming University, Ronald Gross and Judith Murphy, Harper's Magazine, Dec. 1966, p. 94.

Moreover, their youth permits them to see the reality of their lives and their society. Their need to protect bad investment of their energies by means of illusion is not as insistent as it is for someone who has spent the better part of his life in solid and respectable folly. Student perceptions of things are not yet so contaminated by the responsibilities of careerism. They realize that the celebrated wisdom that comes with age is more likely to make defeat tolerable than to make struggle for a human existence urgent.

Finally, today's students see more clearly than ever how the political myth of university neutrality is used to inhibit political activity harmful to the university's narrowest interests; to see more clearly the innumerable ways in which the university daily violates professed neutrality to gain educationally irrelevant advantages.

6. The Myth of the Neutral University

This last point is important because it raises the fundamental question of the university's political role. The issue sizzles on campuses across the land because of the special problem presently confronting university students – military draft during an expanding war. The draft poses a problem that puts students in an agonizing bind between self-interest and the sense of justice. Almost no one likes the idea of jeopardizing his life in a war that few strongly support. Most hate the idea. But all recognize that at present the burden of the fighting has fallen on those who have the least stake in its prosecution or successful completion. They fully understand that the civil war slogan, "The rich man's money against the poor man's blood," has its counterpart in the present conflict – "The rich man's education against the poor man's blood." Thus the same students who seek in every legal way possible to avoid the draft bitterly protest the injustice of present selective service practices—injustice about which they feel all the more deeply because successful avoidance contributes to its growth. They are filled with a special kind of moral anguish and a correspondingly intense frustration and anger. They condemn a predicament they had no part in making.

So they protest the draft. And they protest the university's compliant involvement in the operations of the selective service system. The university responds to their complaints by cooly proclaiming its political neutrality. Their school, the students are assured, is merely their agent in their efforts to avoid the draft. To the extent that this is true, it only intensifies the anguish. For students know that acquiescence, though serving their interests, also enables the university to avoid challenging the system that feeds it. They recognize that, functionally, the university disclaimer is partly fraudulent.

The students see that the pose of university neutrality in connection with the draft is but an instance of more general tendency to employ the guise of political neutrality in order better to serve political masters. The university is, in all things, neutral; but in some things more neutral than in others. In nothing is it more neutral than when federal money is dangling. And federal bait is plentiful. Clark Kerr, deposed president of the University of California, points out that of the sums expended for university research in 1960 75 percent came from the federal government; 15 percent of total university budgets.[1]

So universities have been neutral on the side of the CIA in some matters; neutral on the side of military training in others; again neutral on the side of the government's desire to exclude "subversives" from federal fellowships; neutral once more in performance of secret research for the Defense Department; neutral, neutral, neutral. And the power that federal money vests in the university is but a fraction of the latter's growing power to affect peoples' lives. Under these circumstances, it is inevitable that all interested parties will scramble for control of the growing concentration of university power; will try to use the myth of university neutrality for their special purposes. Administrators are seldom more likely to be engaged in ideological talk than when they proclaim their university's political neutrality.

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[1] The Uses of the University (Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 53.

Given the existing fight for its power, it is nonsense to suppose that the university can remain politically neutral. No nation of democrats will permit it. Those within the university who think otherwise are like the government officials Thoreau once described as "standing so completely within the institution, (they) never distinctly and nakedly behold it."[1]

The only question that is open is whether universities should brave the inevitable and at least strive to be neutral. Ideally, I think not. Universities should instead encourage skepticism of official action, promote social criticism and dissent, do whatever is consistent with the university's basic functions to reinforce committed, thoughtful, political action. In a phrase, make trouble for the complacent and the powerful if their complacency and power are undeserved.

The role is already implicit in the idea of liberal education with its stress on the importance of the examined life and the examined society. But there is an important, independent line of argument for a conception of the university as agent of social criticism and, the inevitable consequence, social change.

John Stuart Mill once argued that every society should contain "some minds in which caution, and others in which boldness, predominates."[2] Both are needed so "that the tendencies of each may be tempered, insofar as they are excessive, by a due proportion of the other."[3] However, in any society the forces making for caution and conservatism are very powerful. In those groups coincide power and motive to inhibit radical thought and action. In the United States the creature needs of so many are actually satisfied that conservative humors fill every pore of the social organism. Yet, as Mill suggests, both social utility and social justice require encouragement of reflective but bold minds; of willingness to take the axe to the root if doing so can be justified.

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[1] Civil Disobedience, in Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch (Bantam Books, N.Y.), p. 102.

[2] Representative Government, the Library of Liberal Arts, p. 23.

[3] Ibid., p. 23.

Universities are particularly well suited to help fulfill this need. Despite the criticisms made before — these are relative matters — proportionately more individuals devoted to the life of reason are to be found there than anywhere else in society. Those in university life who become thoughtfully radical are, moreover, less subject to retaliation than almost anyone else in American society. In the past few years, for example, the Supreme Court has seen fit to build protection of academic freedom into the nation's basic law — most notably in the decision that struck down the entire New York teacher "loyalty" program.[1]

Nevertheless unless the university community itself acknowledges the social utility of politically bold minds, unless that acceptance is translated into institutional support, unless the arts of reasoned social criticism and the will to dissent are positively encouraged, the kind of political involvement described cannot flourish.

To claim that the university ought to encourage "the seeds of strange thought" is not to claim that it should serve any particular ideology. Socratic audacity is not an ideology. It is first, as Mill suggested, a temper of mind; a set of inclinations; a capacity for daring to question the conventionally inviolable. If this temper of mind is coupled with dissatisfaction about basic social arrangements the result must be radical politics. So be it. For the idea that the university can encourage such a temper of mind, and yet should contain its political consequences for the sake of image and budget is a fantasy that will appeal only to those who do not understand that thought and action must be a seamless web or creative thought about society must perish.

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[1] Keyishian vs. the New York Board of Regents, January, 1967.

On the other hand, it is again worth emphasizing that radicalism is not entailed by the political role described. For established beliefs and institutions that run the gauntlet of sustained reasoned scrutiny must acquire strength and resilience they can gain no other way. And in a society which has few institutional flaws, general strengthening of conservativism would ironically result from a process designed to promote bold thought. In any event, conservatives who have a sporting instinct and the courage of their convictions ought to be willing to help construct a tough-minded testing process for their ideas.

Teachers have a special role to play in the processes which build thoughtful, meaningful political commitment. University students are at the time of life when they actively seek exemplars on which to model themselves. This is true of even the most renegade student radical. Moreover, because a basic aspect of the relationship between student and teacher is unavoidably one of power and authority (the teacher evaluates, recommends, approves changes, counsels, has teaching assistants, grants fellowships, gives the "answers," and so on), the student has a tendency to endow him with virtues larger than life — _infinite_ knowledge, _miraculous_ eloquence, _absolute_ integrity. It is, after all, useful to suppose that those who have such authority and power over one's life are perfect and incorruptible. But let the teacher be thought to betray the mind's-eye construction he has become by even a jot or a tittle, and he lies in ruins, a shattered fink. That the fault may lie mainly in the construction rather than the man is not considered.

Hence, the hard truth is that, in the processes by which universities promote boldness and commitment, the teacher will have a specially heavy obligation to display, in his own behavior, the ways in which intelligence and commitment can be welded together and translated into political action. He has, somehow, to show that the life of reason need not be a life of endless, impotent deliberation.

He must understand that *omitted* action *is* action; it too has consequences. He must recognize that infinite tolerance of evil that only afflicts others is the spiritual root of that impersonal, institutionalized indifference that is the ultimate disorder in our morally bucolic society.

At the same time, one must maintain perspective. I have been discussing *one* function, not *the* function, of the teacher. He is also public servant and investigator, and educates in other ways. From this point of view, the teacher's political obligations are subordinate—but still important. Moreover, the strength of a teacher's obligations to play the kind of political role specified is importantly related to his field of interest. It is easy enough to appreciate why an icthyologist might think that his political obligations are unrelated to his main scholarly interests. It is impossible to appreciate why a political theorist should think so. And there is everything in between.

Teachers who try to meet the obligations described experience a special difficulty. Responsible action of any sort requires skills that are gained in detachment from the world of powers and commodities. Yet application of those skills to cases forces the teacher into that dirty, tumultuous world. The result is one of the tragic ironies of American education. Though incessantly urged to equip the young to make significant and responsible contributions as citizens, teachers who take their obligation seriously and try to fulfill it with integrity, manage to generate massive institutional hostility and restraint. For those who suffer such consequences the experience is often devastating. Many teachers try, fail, and quietly subside; many more never make the initial effort. All comfort themselves with the thought that scholarship and pursuit of truth are nobler than social and political action—less distracting and painful besides. And there is much truth in their beliefs.

Thoreau also claimed that "a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience."[1] The multiversity is living, sprawling proof that in this he was mistaken. There academic men of deepest conscience—men of private virtue—live and labor. They think, discuss, write, and give their last full measure for the committee of their choice. They are, in all things intimate, unfailingly conscientious and concerned. And yet, their very conscientiousness is used to rationalize abdication of social and political responsibility. "Private virtue; public vice," is the warning that should be inscribed on their office doors. Is it any wonder that when young men and women, searching for models, discover this reality, they are enraged and become ripe for participation in guerilla raids against forces within and outside the university that they view as the embodiment of the established evil they find so revolting.

The alternative is this. Students and faculty should be given the widest possible latitude to act on the basis of thoughtful commitment. One practical implication is that use of the university's resources for political purposes is an appropriate part of its total program. Narrow notions of a special range of activities that are properly "educational" are illegitimately restrictive. In particular, the classroom is not the sole sacred theater of higher education; nor are a faculty member's classroom obligations to be equated with his teaching obligations.

The story is told of a dean at a mid-western university who had gained a considerable reputation for his skill in steering a turbulent campus through its first teach-in. An official of an Eastern university phoned to ask the dean whether he thought it proper to provide college facilities free of charge to students and faculty who were planning a teach-in on the Eastern campus. The dean suggested that unless his Eastern friend had lost his mind, he had better not be sticky about meeting the request. Did they want a riot? The dean's advice was good, but not the reason he gave. Use of college facilities for teach-ins and the like is justified, not primarily because that is the way to avoid trouble but because teach-ins are activities that can serve legitimate university functions.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 86.

In so arguing I am fully aware that to act on such a conception is politically perilous; and that, in any event, governance of the university is at least partly, but properly, the job of public representatives who do not usually find such a conception of the university's political role congenial. But I am sketching an ideal at which it is proper to aim. To the extent that those who are charged with responsibility for governing the university feel justified in stopping short of the ideal for expediential reasons, let them do so. But at least let them understand that not everyone is in their position. To expect those not in command positions always to take the point of view of those who are, is to encourage role-playing[1] that does not serve the university well. For if everyone within the university community thinks and acts as if they had to deal with a legislative committee, where would the pressure for desirable change come from?

7. A Constitution for the University

Growth of university power has promoted campus disorder in still another way. Those affected by the use of that power seek to determine not only how it will be used, but who will possess it. It is not surprising that specific political controversy between students and administrators slides very quickly into protest about the right to participate in making university decisions. That is, the focus of protest shifts from the specific grievances that precipitated action to demands for changes in university organization.

To see what role students can properly play in governing a university it will help to describe in a very sketchy way a constitution that might serve as a basis for rather basic reorganization of the university.[1] The suggestions are intended, not to settle matters, but mainly to provoke reconsideration of existing arrangements; as a first, very tentative, word, not the last word, about university organization.

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[1] Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 575-577 for a discussion of role-playing.

The power center of university life is today clearly the administration. This is due in part to historic abdication of responsibility by both public and faculty. Ironically, both have scapegoated administrators in ways that have made it easier for the latter to concentrate power in their hands. For the abuse that is heaped on administrators from all sides strengthens their conviction that they are doing something right; that they are the custodians of the idea of the university, when in fact they are protecting only their idea of the university. They like to think of themselves as benevolent mediators (Clark Kerr likens college presidents to clerks of meetings for Quakers[2]), even while they play a skillful game of balancing external publics off against internal university factions, the better to enhance growth of their own power and status. Thus administrators who should be mere perfunctionaries, as indeed they usually are in all but power, acquire a taste for their enhanced prerogatives. They resist, often manipulatively, threatened erosion of their control of university affairs—all in the spirit of benevolent concern for the welfare of the university's basic community; that is, students and faculty.

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[1] For simplification subsequent remarks are addressed only to the problems of organizing the larger, mainly public, universities. I am fully aware that the suggestions I make require modification before they can properly be applied to very different kinds of colleges and universities; though the difference between large public institutions and large private ones is fast diminishing. For both are "Federal Grant Universities," a phrase Clark Kerr employs in describing the institutions of "the multiveristy," another of the expressions he coined.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 39-40. John Weiss has provided a very perceptive alternative account of related matters in his article, The University as Corporation (in New University Thought, Summer, 1965, pp. 31-45.)

The starting point for any sensible discussion of university organization ought to be acknowledgment of the public's right to participate in the decision-making processes. Not only are general tax funds increasingly important sources of the money universities need, but, more important, the lives of all Americans are increasingly affected by what goes on in institutions of higher education. This last is enough to create a presumption in favor of participation by representatives of the public in the affairs of any university. And this is so even if public particopation threatens to retard advance toward the ideal of a university. The name of the democratic game is willingness to risk certain values for the sake of other more important ones.

The evils of public involvement have, however, been exaggerated. Much of the damage done by public members of the governing boards of universities, is partly due to the fact that these boards are often not sufficiently representative; partly to the fact that the way they function facilitates artful manipulation by administrators. A political alliance between the basic university community and legitimately concerned publics based on common interests might go some way toward diminishing administrative mischief. Though this claim may seem wildly optimistic, there are supporting considerations.

For one thing, as more of America's young men and women pass through its universities, the potential for a politically significant demand for better education increases. The potential can, however, be actualized only if members of the basic university community develop and more vigorously broadcast their ideas about better education. At present they do so only reluctantly, leaving the field largely to administrators.[1]

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[1] Witness the recent spate of books about the significance of higher education by university presidents. Besides the books by Clark Kerr and James Perkins (Cornell) there is Harlan Hatcher's (University of Michigan) *The Persistent Quest for Values: What Are We Seeking?*, University of Missouri Press, 1967.

Moreover, members of the general public tend to be more ambivalent about the ideal of liberal education than is normally supposed. Even anti-intellectuals pay subtle tribute to the power of this ideal, for the hostile effusions of anti-intellectuals usually contain more than a little juice from the sour grape. And those who explicitly talk as if higher education is exclusively a means of securing more income, status, and power, do often resonate, however ambivalently, to its promise as a means of achieving richer human experience.

Finally, good education forces and the technically underprivileged, the very groups whose interests are least represented on the governing boards of universities, have a common cause. For, if my earlier argument is valid, the conditions of qualitatively superior education can also be the conditions most likely to remedy defective elementary and secondary education. The quality of a school is determined by the excellence of its educational processes, not by its standards of admission. And there is no convincing evidence that excellence depends upon admissions standards.

Though the public has a right to participate, it does not have a right of exclusive formal control of universities. Yet governing boards are typically composed solely of members drawn from publics other than the basic university community. However, as faculty and students are the individuals most directly affected by decisions of university policy, they too have some participatory rights. Ideally, they are entitled to significant representation on their university's governing board. Presence of members of the basic community would help diminish danger inherent in participation by representatives of external publics. For joint membership on a university's governing board is a way of institutionalizing firm channels of communication that rarely exist. To the extent that this happens, the public would at least be better informed about the conditions of qualitatively superior higher education, the vacuum that permits administrators to harness power would be partially filled.

If governing boards are working bodies, if membership is not, as is so often the case, the prestigious perquisite of an individual who happens to have made his way in industry, the professions, politics, or High Society, the effect on the present status and power of university presidents would be decisive. A president would have to depend for his influence on the force of his personality, the quality of his arguments, the integrity of his commitment to a worthy ideal of higher education. Stripped of power and institutional status, good rather than predominantly ambitious men would be more likely to become university presidents than is true today.

University fiscal arrangements are also sorely in need of revision. At present operating funds must annually be secured from legislatures, other public agencies, or private foundations. The consequences are educationally pernicious. A university ought to be able to plan five or ten years ahead with reasonable assurance that their fiscal needs will be met. Yearly review and adjustment would not be precluded; but implementation of basic policies would no longer be dependent on the outcome of those deliberations. Thus, for example, the chaos that has resulted from large scale influx of university students everyone anticipated but no one adequately planned to receive was entirely avoidable. The population of our colleges and universities is expected to double in the next decade. Unless this growth is adequately financed, those who are disturbed by present disorder on our campuses will have to be carted to mental institutions in vans.

Moreover, the controlling agencies of the university ought to have the basic say about how the funds they receive are allocated. The system of grants for specific research projects, specific professorial chairs, or specific buildings ought to be held to barest minimum. The fact that the public is well and democratically represented on the governing board, together with the latent power to control that must always reside in the larger community, will assure that over time legitimate social needs will be met.

Freedom from constraining fiscal arrangements could be increased by establishing a system of counterpart federal and state appropriations. The federal government will, as it has and should, become an increasingly important source of funds. Through a system of matching grants to the university's general operating funds the threat of educationally pernicious intervention by state and federal governments can be mitigated.

If fiscal reforms along the lines described were combined with the organizational proposals made, the result would be to diminish further the strategic power of key administrators. For much of that power derives from their activities as fund-raisers and guardians of the public's purse.

8. Student Power

We return, finally, to the problem that has contributed to much current campus discontent--the right of student participation in the decision-making processes of their universities. To understand why students should have a greater say in making university policy than they normally do is to bring into focus all the threads of the preceding discussion.

First, student participation is both an important part of a liberal education, and excellent preparation for their assuming the roles of citizen, ruler, and occupant of countless other functional slots. Individuals do not become responsible until they exercise responsibility. What better place to begin than in the university? Those who complain about student irresponsibility should not be permitted to have it both ways; to insist that students are not capable of acting responsibly, and yet to blame them when they do harmful things. The way one learns to be responsible is to act, make mistakes, be held responsible, and accept the consequences.

Second, students are an important source of information and opinion relevant to determination of the university's academic program. Few are in a better position to judge the quality of courses, the performance of teachers. Yet student expertise in this area is rarely sought; and when it is, is secured in ways least likely to encourage responsible judgment. Consequently, despite a great deal of rhetoric about the importance of teaching, academic rewards are largely assigned on the basis of "hard data"—number and, hopefully, quality of publications, success in the grant-seeking mill, social success, offers from other universities which typically make their judgments on the basis of the same "hard data." And in this entire process, the qualities of the faculty member as teacher—his ability to convey ideas clearly, to incite interest and enthusiasm, to exemplify intellectual and moral integrity—these factors normally enter into the calculations of those who make decisions about salary and promotion, when they come in at all, on the basis of hunch, haphazard anecdote, and vague rumor.

Finally, students simply have a presumptive right to determine rules of student conduct. It has often been said that our society makes a fetish of youth. If so, society's indulgence has not been based on recognition of a person's developing capacity to take charge of his own destiny. The institutions of the university are often shot through with the spirit of paternalism. It is worse than absurd that youngsters old enough to embark on a college career, old enough to fight and die for their country, should be presumed so immature that they are not accorded the right to govern themselves in all non-academic matters.

Functionally, in loco parentis is, in any event, primarily a means of putting students down, not protecting them. Though perhaps not the explicit intent of those who favor paternalism, there is here an attempt to keep tight reign on youths who the compact majority think are insufficiently tamed by careerism, and

are hence likely to swing between subversion and obscenity. That is to say, even the sincere claim that paternalistic institutions are justified because parents demand them or because it does students good to be subjected to them, is ideologically self-deceptive. The myth that university students are children serves a larger political function. It constrains those various types of potential "troublemakers" who threaten the interests or sense of propriety of solid citizens who are never happier than when they are bending the will of others to their own unreflective prejudice.

Administrators, pressed by students who demand a larger role in shaping university policies that affect their lives, often bleat about "beatniks," "vietnicks," "student syndicalists," and other forms of lower university life. Some of these administrators have even been known to incite public wrath by suggesting that sitting in some dark corner are sinister bearded characters who indefatigably plot new ways to make life miserable for everyone—especially university officials. Though not as sinister as these administrators seem to think, the bearded ones are undoubtedly there, sitting and scheming. And until universities meet their fundamental educational responsibilities to students, this is just as it should be.

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THE KU KLUX KLAN

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KU KLUX KLAN

Preface

In a dramatic March 26th afternoon television appearance President Lyndon B. Johnson announced the arrest of four Klansmen in connection with the shooting of Detroit housewife Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker and participant in the historic Selma to Montgomery Alabama protest march. Simultaneously, in manner and tone described by one commentator as "sorrowfully solemn," and with "controlled indignation," he denounced the Ku Klux Klan.

During the course of his report to the Nation the President warned members of that order to get out "before it is too late;" suggested a Congressional investigation of this "hooded society of bigots;" and promised to offer legislation to bring the Ku Klux Klan "under effective control of law."

There is ample evidence that even prior to the President's public declaration of a "get tough" policy towards the Klan, various Federal agencies, notably the F.B.I., had been deeply probing all facets of activities in which the various Klans had been, and are engaged. The House Un-American Activities Committee had, a month previously, announced that it was undertaking a preliminary inquiry before deciding whether to investigate the Ku Klux Klan.

In the wake of the President's angry mood and the Nation's outrage over the cold-blooded murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, the office of the United States Attorney General is currently seeking to develop and submit to the Congress legislation to control the Klan. Thought is also being given to a recommendation that recently came forth from the Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations which would make it a Federal crime to belong to such criminal societies as the Mafia in the hope that the Committee's recommendation might be broadened so as to have the proposed law include Klan activities.

The House-Un American Activities Committee is proceeding with its own investigation in the anticipation that its findings will enable the Committee to recommend anti-Klan legislation.

Observers of the Washington scene state that it is impossible at this point to predict what form the anti-Klan legislation will take. They point out it will be difficult to draft legislation that does not impinge on the Constitutionally protected rights of free assembly and association, but it does appear that the various Federal agencies concerned with the problem are thinking in terms of legislation that would make it a Federal crime to belong to a society that advocates crime and violence.

We have been confidentially and informatively advised that Congressional investigators have to date encountered no difficulties in linking individual Klansmen to countless acts of terror, violence and intimidation, but have run into a serious snag in securing firm evidence that such acts were undertaken in pursuance of Klan directives or orders.

* * *

Introduction

It is hoped that the following brief report on the current Klan will be informative and helpful as background information.

The Ku Klux Klan* was revived in its present amorphous state after World War II. It gathered momentum after the Supreme Court's May, 1954 decision which outlawed public school segregation. Its growth and activity accelerated perceptively after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. However, the Klan did not emerge as a single, monolithic organization, but as a host of splinter groups competing with each other.

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* On April 29, 1953 the Attorney General, purcuant to Executive Order 10450 (established security requirements for Government employment) listed the KKK, Associated Klans of America, Association of Georgia Klans and the Original Southern Klans, Inc. as "organizations which have adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the U.S."

Along with its image of terrorism the Klan has assumed the mantle of "patriotism." It now uses fighting Communism as a smokescreen to achieve its goal of maintaining segregation and, in many ways, has embraced the philosophy of the radical right.

Who Joins The Klan?

The composition of Klan membership and support indicates a predisposition towards violence. Many news and other sources have reported, during the past year, that the Klan's membership is composed, to a great extent, of those at the very bottom of the social ladder, of fanatics with limited education who have spent most of their lives in rural areas or small towns in the South. For the most part, they are laborers, small farmers, service station attendants, salesmen and others with small businesses. Hoodlums and sadists are also said, by authoritative sources, to be members of the various Klan groups. The New York World Telegram of March 13, 1965 stated that the Klan has even tried to recruit members from a county prison.

A former Grand Dragon of the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Bill Hendrix, when interviewed by a reporter for the N.Y. Journal American (6/5/64) emphasized he dissolved his Klan because of "criminal elements" within it and declared that these "elements are taking over Shelton's Klan* right now." "There is no way of keeping them out. You can't watch every member all the time."

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* United Klans of America,Inc.

A former Mississippi Klan leader, J. Emmet Thornhill, who was affiliated with the United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, said when interviewed as to why he quit the Klan, that he deplored the hoodlum tactics of Pike County (Miss.) segregationists and racists because such an element has begun to dominate the local Klan.

* * *

During the last few years there has been a tendency by the mass media to overestimate Klan strength, thereby giving them an aura of success. Klan leaders such as Robert Shelton have used these news stories of Klan success for fund-raising and to persuade people to join by intimating that a mass uprising is taking place in the South and they had better join the Klan or else!

Organization and Membership

The Klan consists of approximately 14 independent groups of varying sizes. Total Klan membership is secret, but estimates in the past five years range from 35,000 to 65,000. Recent authoritative reports indicate that the total "hard core" membership is approximately 10,000. These same sources do point out, however, that some 50,000 others may work with the Klan, and an indeterminable number of people sympathize with Klan aims and activities.

Membership of individual Klan units generally range from 10 to 100 and many have been formed without any charter from state or other Klan organizations.

United Klans of America, Inc.

Of the four largest Klans, Robert Shelton's United Klans of America,Inc., with headquarters in Alabama, is the most significant. It has the largest membership, and an Imperial Wizard with a flair for public relations. It has made hugh strides in Alabama and attempts to organize outside its own state have met with some success.

A relatively new group, this Klan was born in February, 1963 when the then-dominant U.S. Klans was badly split by an internal struggle for leadership. Calvin Craig, the Grand Dragon of Georgia, first sought unsuccessfully to oust Imperial Wizard Robert "Wild Bill" Davidson and then left the U.S. Klans to organize a competing group, the United Klans of America. Within a short time Robert Shelton, leader of the then-unaffiliated Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, joined Craig and brought his membership with him. Shelton also seems to have had some success in bringing together other fragmented Klan groups.

Robert Shelton is a native of Tuscaloosa, where his grandfather was a farmer and his father is now a retired merchant. He graduated from high school, took some correspondence college courses and worked at a local rubber company.* At 36, the most vocal of all Klan leaders, Shelton is a short man with quiet demeanor and a great voice. He gives the impression of being a sober, thoughtful individual and is completely dedicated to the Klan. He has no hobbies, does not indulge in sports and has no other interests.

During the past two years Shelton has been trying to do a "public relations" job for the United Klans. He tried to change its public image from that of instigators of violence to promoters of patriotism. Repeatedly, he has issued statements concerning the United Klans "non-violent" look. Nevertheless, contradictory statements made by him and others in the Klan during the past two years have slipped out. For example, the Atlanta Constitution (2/8/65) quoted Shelton: "The Klan is taking its gloves off in a 'direct action' attack against integrationists in Georgia..." U.S. News and World Report (October 19, 1964) reports him as saying the Klan will "take all measures necessary to preserve Alabama customs" and "I think there is going to be a lot of bloodshed."

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* He served three years in the Army in Berlin, during the airlift, at the time of desegregation in the armed services. He is married and the father of three children.

It is the United Klans contention that "the Civil Rights movement is Communist infiltrated, oriented and led." Furthermore, it maintains that: "Communism is being taught in the public schools and colleges; Communists have key positions in some of the labor unions; Communists have infiltrated key government positions; Communist ideas are being fed through T.V. and motion pictures; and that some preachers are including Communist ideas in their sermons."

"The thing we've got to do," Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton has said, "is shock people into reality."

As part of that program to "shock people into reality" members of the United Klans have been involved in a number of acts of violence during the recent past, the latest of which was the murder of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo.

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

On April 10, 1964 the Atlanta Journal reported that a small Atlanta Klan group had operated under four different names: The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klans,Inc., Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Committee of One Million Caucasions to March on Congress, Christian Voters and Buyers League.

James Venable, an attorney who heads this Klan, has defended professionally not only members of the Ku Klux Klan but also members of the black supremist Black Muslims.

Venable has a long history as an extreme racist. Allied with Venable in his Georgia-based Klan are veteran Klansman William Hugh Morris of Buchanan and Robert Hodges of Columbia, South Carolina. Venable and Morris were scheduled speakers at a proposed Memorial Day weekend rally in Southern Ohio.

White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Mississippi

Although there are many splinter groups in Mississippi the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is regarded as the largest and most powerful organization in the state. During the past decade the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi were so effective in their economic boycotts and other drastic measures against moderates and pro-integrationists that there was no necessity for other segregationist groups in that State.

However, when Byron de la Beckwith was arrested for the murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers, the Klan became more aggressive. On April 10, 1964, during de la Beckwith's second trial, 10 crosses were burned in the Jackson area. On April 11, many individuals linked to the Klan appeared as spectators at the trial, and a rash of cross burnings, generally attributed to the Klan, also occurred in Natchez, and in the Mississippi Delta in the vicinity of de la Beckwith's Greenwood residence.

With the announcement by civil-rights groups last year that a massive effort would be made to register Negro voters throughout the South, and particularly in Mississippi, the Mississippi Klan began to grow.

Although Robert Shelton takes credit for organizing a number of Klaverns in that State, much of the local recruiting literature was signed by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, a group which denies affiliation with any outside organization. Led by Sam Bowers of McGee, Mississippi, the Klan is believed responsible for cross burnings in 64 of the State's 84 counties last year.

The White Knights of the KKK is more secretive and more inclined towards violence than most other Klan organizations. Prior to a crackdown by State authorities many of its sympathizers and some of its members were members of local law enforcement agencies. Six alleged members of the White Knights were among the twenty one men taken into custody by the F.B.I. in December, 1964 in connection with the murder of civil rights workers James Chaney,Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman.

Recruiting posters displayed at county courthouses by the White Knights of the KKK emphasized that the Klan did not accept "Jews, Papists, Mongols, Turks, Tarters, Orientals and Negroes."

Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Louisiana
Knights of the Old Original Ku Klux Klan - Louisiana

During the past year the Louisiana Klan has grown at a rapid rate, but it remains a group of competing organizations rather than a monolithic body.

The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is a major Klan group in Louisiana. It is particularly active near the Mississippi border in Bogalusa, a city of 22,000 which has been dubbed the "Klan capital." Many die-hard segregationists see the Klan's terroristic tactics in this city as a final effort to preserve white supremacy. And, in the State of Louisiana, the Klan's methods are being increasingly directed against "moderate whites" as well as Negroes. Its emphasis on arms and ammunition is particularly disturbing. Many units in the State are known to be "armed to the teeth."

The history of violence in Louisiana leaves no doubt that Klan mobs have been on a rampage in that State.

During 1964, at least three white men in the Bogalusa area were flogged. In April of that year, three men in black hoods abducted Jerry J. Varnado, a 26-year-old mill worker, accused him of failing to support his child, took him to a wooded area, struck him with a pistol and whipped him.

A student from Tulane University who had participated in sit-ins in New Orleans was flogged so severely he required surgery. A short time later his father moved the family to another State.

A banjo player accused of participating in a hootenanny with Negroes was also beaten.

Cross burnings continue unabated, as on a weekend in mid January, 1964 when more than 150 were ignited in the Southeast section of Louisiana alone.

And a Bogalusa City ordinance which prohibits the wearing of masks in public except for special occasions such as mardi gras or during religious ceremonies is easily circumvented by Klan officials claiming that their meetings are religous observances.

Bogalusa is also an illustration of what happens when a small group of whites attempt to inject moderation into a smoldering racial atmosphere. When a group of six citizens including three ministers, an attorney, a radio station owner and a newspaper publisher invited former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays to speak in Bogalusa on how the town could accomplish peaceful compliance with the Civil Rights Act, the Klan immediately went into action. The Wall Street Journal, on April 1, 1965, wrote:

> The Klan hastily went into action, burning crosses around the town at night and openly

> distributing literature which branded the six as 'integrationists' who want white children to 'sit by filthy, runny nosed ragged, ugly little niggers,' in Bogalusa's still integrated schools.

The local Klan also served notice that it had members in "every conceivable business in this area" and warned that persons who attended the Hays meeting "would be dealt with accordingly." The meeting was called off when Bogalusa's civic leaders declined to support it.

Harassment of these individuals nevertheless continues in the form of intermittent phone threats on their lives, damaged automobiles, rocks tossed through their windows and tacks strewn under the tires of their automobiles. Gun shots fired at the transmitting station owned by one of the six prompted the station's engineer to quit. Advertisers on this radio station (W.B.O.X.) have also been harassed and threatened with economic boycott to such an extent that 70 out of 75 sponsors withdrew their commercials.

Similar situations, if less flagrant, are found in other Southern communities. There are active Klan organizations in Florida, the Carolinas and other Southern areas.

Attempts purportedly have been made to organize Klans in Northern and Western communities. The N.Y. World Telegram on March 10, 1965 reported: "They're nurturing revivals in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, West Virginia, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and California."

It should be pointed out that with the exception of Ohio, there is no available evidence to prove that the Klan has gained a foothold in these states.

Klan Violence

One of the most disturbing aspects of Klan activity has been its predilection for violence. Evidence of Klan arms caches has been produced on numerous occasions during the past few years. The following public reports are representative.

From the N.Y. Times of October 2, 1964, "...three white men were arrested in connection with the recent bombings of two Negro homes in McComb, Miss."

"...Authorities took from one of the suspects a store of arms, ammunition and two membership cards, one in the KKK and the other in Americans for the Preservation of the White Race."

From the Cincinnati Post Times Star of August 7, 1964 "When police arrested [Klansmen] Clarence Brandenburg of Cincinnati, there were several charges against him. One of these was that he advocated violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing political reforms. At this time police confiscated a .32 caliber rifle, a 16-gauge shotgun and a .32 caliber pistol, all of them loaded..."

From the N.Y. Telegram and Sun of March 13, 1965, "When the F.B.I. arrested suspects for questioning about a cross burning incident in Griffin, Ga., last year, they uncovered an arsenal of 5 machine guns, 7 shotguns, rifles, pistols and ammunition..."

"...In Mississippi, investigators reported Klansmen drew slips of paper from a hat to decide who would hurl a dynamite charge. One Klansman still had the slip when arrested."

It has nevertheless been extremely difficult to positively identify the Klan as the entity guilty of planning and executing the Southern bombings, murders, cross-burnings and harassments. Federal authorities are inclined to believe that within some Klans, notably Mississippi's White Knights of the KKK, there exists action groups. These units reportedly are growing and either with or without the authorization of the local Klan hierarchy committed to perform acts of terrorism and violence. Their existence allegedly is kept secret from the membership at large. Their composition consists of cadres of three to ten Klansmen in a Klavern, and it is these units which bear such colorful names as "The Terrors," "Holy Terrors," "Execution Squad," "Secret Six" and "Knock-off Squads." They are believed to be responsible for the violence and lawlessness generally attributed to the Klan at large. It should be noted, however, that in several instances the Klan has posted bail for those arrested and that known Klan lawyers have appeared to represent the accused.

Klan Finances

The secrecy maintained by various Klans concerning some phases of their activity, size of membership, growth of Klaverns, etc. also extends to its accounting of funds. The Klans do not make public the amounts of monies collected or reveal how they are spent, and under whose names bank accounts are maintained. Individual leaders make no disclosures as to salaries and expense accounts.

Sources of Klan funds generally include initiation fees, which vary from $10 to $15 depending on the particular Klan involved and whether the initiate is employed or unemployed. Annual dues vary with the Klan and range from $2 to $5 to $12. At rallies and meetings a collection basket is usually passed around and members are expected to contribute.

Still another source for raising funds is the sale of Klan uniforms for $15 -- which cost approximately $5 --

thereby earning a tidy profit for the organization. Special arm patches, badges and buttons are extra and they too bring a profit.

Collections are made from time to time for such special purposes as the recent purchase of a $6,000 Cadillac for Grand Dragon J. Robert Jones of the United Klans of North Carolina. Other Klans assess members $1 when a Klansman dies, the money allegedly going to a widow's benevolent fund. Usually no accounting is given as to the status of the fund or when each Klansman is taxed $1 for a legal defense fund when one of the members gets in trouble with the law.

The Klan and Other Hate Organizations

A Ku Klux Klan flirtation with Nazis goes back some 25 years. Prior to World War II the Klan maintained a friendly relationship with the German-American Bund. During the late thirties and in 1940 the Bund permitted the Klan to hold rallies at its Camp Nordland in Andover, N.J. At one such rally, held August 18, 1940, Bundist August Klaprott's introductory remarks were friendly to the Klan, and a principal speaker was the then Grand Dragon of the New Jersey Realm of the Ku Klux Klan.

Currently, there is evidence of a similar warm relationship with George Lincoln Rockwell, fuehrer of the American Nazi Party. In the May, 1964 issue of a newsletter to his membership it was revealed that he had spoken at a Klan meeting in Jacksonville, Florida. Additionally, an abortive "March on Washington," scheduled to occur on July 4, 1964, under the auspices of the "One Million Caucasions to March on Washington" was in fact a joint venture of Rockwell's American Nazi Party and James Venable's National Knights of the KKK, Inc.

In the latter part of 1964, a Cincinnati TV repairman, Clarence Bradenberg, an admitted member of the same National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, when questioned by police authorities in connection with his arrest on charges of "advocating violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing political reform," revealed that he was "an associate member" of the American Nazi Party. One Jerald T. Walraven, who in the early part of 1965 attempted to organize a Klan in Houston, Texas also acted as chauffeur and bodyguard for Rockwell when the Nazi leader visited that City.

A marked inter-relationship exists between the Klan and the National States Rights Party. Both groups embrace a philosophy of hatred towards minority groups. Leaders belong to, or work with, both organizations and attorneys such as J.B. Stoner and Matt Murphy defend individuals arrested in both organizations. Both men have further shown their sympathies by participating in and speaking to both groups.

J.B. Stoner is counsel for the National States Rights Party and was its nominee for Vice President last year. He is also counsel to several Klan groups. During the late 40's, at the age of 18, he became a "Kleagle" when he organized the Klan in Tennessee. Frequently, dressed in various Klan regalia, Stoner has harangued at cross-burnings and other Klan functions.

Rev. Charles Conley (Connie) Lynch, a 52-year-old self- proclaimed evangelist and California organizer for the National States Rights Party, has in company with J.B. Stoner travelled across the country seeking to gain recruits for the Klan.

The close relationship between the Klan and the National States Rights Party is further demonstrated by the organizational activity of a 56-year-old Birmingham attorney, Matt H. Murphy, Jr., who handles some legal matters for both the Klan and the N.S.R.P. On occasion he has also worked with J.B. Stoner. Murphy has not only appeared at meetings and spoken before both groups, but he has also served as chairman at such affairs.

During October, 1964, at a weekend meeting of the United Klans of Birmingham, Alabama, to which came more than 500 persons including delegates and Grand Dragons from Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Murphy and Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton were featured speakers.

In May, 1965 Murphy achieved Nationwide notoriety for his defense of the Klansmen accused of the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. During the course of the Liuzzo trial Murphy gratuitously injected anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-Catholic remarks.

The Klan and the John Birch Society

Although spokesmen for the John Birch Society have vehemently denied any connection with the Klan, it would appear that their common belief that the American Negroes struggle for justice and equality,is all part of a Communist plot,brought about a regional cooperation. Calvin Craig, Georgia Grand Dragon of the United Klans, in an interview with the Atlanta Constitution, which appeared on April 5, 1965, declared that the United Klans is allied with the John Birch Society - a statement repeated by Imperial Wizard Shelton when interviewed by a N.Y. Times reporter later that month. "We work closely with the John Birch Society and similar groups" said Shelton. Oddly enough there is a persistent report to the effect that James Venable broke with former allies Shelton and Craig over his objections to the Klans active association with the John Birch Society because the latter has some Negro members.

Political

Although the Ku Klux Klan does not have the membership, status or respectability it had in the 20's, it nevertheless does have some political influence today, primarily, in small communities.

It is worth noting that Alabama's Attorney General Richard Flowers was quoted by the Associated Press on May 19, 1965 as having said that members of the order "definitely are a political force in certain areas of the state" ..."They are well organized and they are the type of people who will work night and day. They not only will work for the candidates they like, but they are even more effective against those they don't like."

Despite its spotty political strength in Alabama, a surprisingly strong race made by Calvin Craig for a Democratic State Senate nomination in Georgia in the Summer of 1964, the Klan is not likely to have any meaningful political impact on the national picture in the forseeable future.

* * *

Conclusion

It is difficult to generalize about the Ku Klux Klan, because as has been noted, there are many Klan organizations, each with its own policies and its own Imperial Wizard.

However, most Klan organizations have certain basic views. They are anti-Negro, anti-Jewish as well as anti-Catholic. They preach, essentially, that Jews and Catholics are allied with Negroes in a massive conspiracy against white Protestants.

The relentless pursuit by Federal investigators and an aroused public opinion will, in all probability, stunt the recent Klan growth. Indeed, it is anticipated that many current members will quit the ranks of the hooded order when the findings of the probers, about the true nature of the Klan and the machinations of its leaders, become a matter of public knowledge.

However widespread the condemnation and rejection of the Klan and what it symbolizes, by the overwhelming majority of Southerners, it must be borne in mind that even a furtive handful of terrorists are capable of inflicting harm and anguish. The Klan's capacity for evil cannot be gauged solely by its numerical strength.

A hard core of adherents, addicted to violence and terror as a way of halting the forward march of the Negro in the South, will in all likelihood tenaciously cling to the Klan as a vehicle through which their hostilities may be channeled. If need be, the Klan will go underground and from there go forth to kill, to maim and to harass until finally the violators are brought to justice.

While the zenith of present day Klan strength may already have been reached, and an inevitable decline will follow, we cannot yet foresee the time when we can discount the Klan completely as a divisive, disruptive force with a capacity to engender violence.

Appendix

I. Klan Membership

A breakdown of the 10,000 figure reveals:

United Klans of America, Inc.	about	5,000	members
Mississippi White Knights	"	2,000	"
Original Knights of the KKK, (La.)	"	1,000	"
United Florida KKK	less than	1,000	"
Association of South Carolina Klans	" "	500	"

Splinter groups make up the remaining membership.

An estimated breakdown by states:

Mississippi	3,000
Louisiana	3,000
Alabama	1,000
Georgia	less than 1,000
South Carolina	" " 1,000
North Carolina	" " 1,000
Other states	The remainder

II. Major Klan Organizations

1. United Klans of America, Inc.
   Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
2. United Knights of North Carolina
3. National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Ga.)

4. Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy (Ala.)
5. White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi
6. "White Caps" of Mississippi
7. United Florida Ku Klux Klan
8. Association of Georgia Klans
9. Association of South Carolina Klans
10. Association of Arkansas Klans
11. Improved Order of U.S. Klans
12. Original Knights of the KKK, Louisiana
13. Knights of the Old Original KKK, Louisiana
14. Knights of the Golden Eagle
15. Texas Klan
16. Razorback Klan, Arkansas
17. Oklahoma Klan

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the ACLU
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) YU 9-7530

Manual for the LCDC Volunteer Lawyer

1. Things to take along.

(a) Some cash or traveler's checks (about $150 would be sensible).

(b) Evidence of your admission to the State bar and to the U.S. District Court (if applicable). All our work will take place in the ambit of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. If you are admitted to a U.S. District Court, you may find it useful to write ahead to the Clerk of the Fifth Circuit (U.S. Court House, New Orleans, Louisiana), asking for the forms to be admitted to that Circuit. The fee is about $10 or $20, depending upon the number of years you have practiced law. Admission there will give you at least some standing in the Federal courts in the South.

(c) Credit cards.

(d) Driver's license.

(e) Literature previously sent you by LCDC and the enclosed material.

2. Notify office of your arrival. When you have made your travel arrangements, please advise (if necessary by wire) the Southern LCDC office for which you are headed of the means and time of your arrival. If possible, they will pick you up at the airport. If no one meets you, call the office from the airport, take the limousine into town and a cab to the LCDC office.

3. Accommodations. Every LCDC volunteer lawyer sleeps in a bed somewhere. The bed may be in an LCDC residence, or in a motel, or in a Freedom House, or in the local Negro community. You'll find out about your accommodations when you get onto the scene. They range from air-conditioned comfort to lovingly offered primitivity. We try to balance the obligation to function effectively as lawyers with the need not to have too great a gulf between our own conditions of life and those of the people whose rights and dignity we are committed to secure.

4. New York contacts. I enclose also a list of LCDC names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Please note that I have given you office and home phones for the New York contacts -- we want you to be able to reach us at any time of day or night if the need arises.

IMPORTANT: We have a WATS-line (Wide Area Telephone Service) in New York. When calling the New York office, please call me person-to-person collect, leaving your name and whereabouts. I shall refuse the call and promptly return it on the WATS-line. It's a little cheaper than regular long-distance calling, but it still costs a lot of money, so use your best discretion about calls!

4a. Calls home. When you call home, please call collect. Our telephone bills are astronomical. We want you to be in touch with your family, but regrettably we cannot afford 100 volunteer lawyers calling all over the country every week to bring wives and friends up to date on their well-being.

5. Expenses. If you want us to reimburse you for your expenses, please keep track of them. I enclose an expense statement, which I would ask you to fill out at the end of your tour of service (or earlier, if you need reimbursement while you are in the South). If you will pay your own expenses, it may still be important for you to note them carefully, since LCDC is a tax-deductible organization and you can presumably list your expenses as a donation. (If you want to bill us for the expenses and send an equivalent amount as a contribution in order to simplify your tax-return, we'll be glad to cooperate.) The field offices generally have a local bank account and will be able to cash a check for you. If you need air-fare in advance from us, please send us timely notice.

In all cases, please remember that (a) LCDC, like all civil-rights organizations, already spends more money than it has and is in very perilous financial shape, and (b) the civil-rights movement is a great but not always comfortable cause. Our offices are not comparable to those of Sullivan & Cromwell, nor are our living conditions supposed to vie with the Hilton Hotel. You may be assured (and embarrassed) that the conditions under which you will work and live are greatly superior to those of the civil-rights workers in the field.

6. LCDC Southern offices. The addresses and phone numbers for all our Southern offices are enclosed on a separate sheet.

All LCDC offices in the tri-state Mississippi-Alabama-Louisiana area will be under the supervision of our permanent Southern office in Jackson and our chief staff counsel, Alvin J. Bronstein. There will be a resident LCDC staff lawyer in charge of the summer offices in Shreveport (with responsibility also for Monroe) and in Montgomery.

Volunteers whose assignment reads "Louisiana" are attached to the Shreveport office. Monroe will be staffed out of Shreveport.

LCDC lawyers assigned to New Orleans will work out of the two offices listed and will cooperate closely with the law firm of Collins, Douglas & Elie, who are the CORE lawyers in Louisiana, and with the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union.

Volunteers whose assignment reads "Florida" will go to Tallahassee, where we will work with John D. Due, Jr., Esq., an attorney on the staff of the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund.

7. Local Counsel. In each of the states, we have local counsel who act as attorneys-of-record for cases in the state courts, with whom we are associated as out-of-state lawyers, and who will introduce us to the courts when necessary. The precise needs and arrangements are best known to our own staff counsel on the scene. The local attorneys are:

in Mississippi: R. Jess Brown, Jackson

in Louisiana : Collins, Douglas & Elie, New Orleans, and
in northern Louisiana: Jesse Stone, Shreveport

in Alabama : Charles Morgan, Jr., Atlanta (a member of the Alabama bar), and Fred D. Gray and Solomon Seay, Montgomery

in Florida : John D. Due Jr., Tallahassee

8. Appearances in court. The question of appearance in state courts varies from county to county and from time to time, and it cannot be dealt with adequately here. Suffice it to say that LCDC lawyers have conducted scores of trials in the Mississippi courts during the past year. Generally, the issue has not been raised by the courts. The right of our clients to counsel of their choice is one element, the overwhelming work-load of the local civil-rights lawyers is another, the unwillingness of Southern white lawyers to handle civil-rights cases is a third. The rules of the Federal district courts also vary. Let the local LCDC staff counsel guide you in this important area.

9. Pleadings. In cases that are an LCDC responsibility, please consult Al Bronstein in Jackson or the staff counsel on the scene about legal tactics, pleadings, etc. before you act. This is especially true for appellate work and affirmative lawsuits.

10. Law libraries. Our own offices, the local civil-rights attorneys with whom we work, and the offices of the other civil-rights law groups all have basic working civil-rights libraries, as well as civil-rights law handbooks, forms, and sample briefs. The libraries of the state and Federal courts will also be available in some measure.

11. Defendants' bail. We endeavor to provide every legal service to the civil-rights movement, but LCDC cannot provide bail for defendants. (Exceptional emergency situations must be cleared through New York.) The defendants themselves, the local Negro community, or the civil-rights organizations have to provide the cash bail, the bail bond, or the real property bond. Bail is often used as a punitive or deterrent weapon against civil-rights people, in violation of every proper doctrine of bail. U.S. courts, once a case is removed to the Federal jurisdiction, will often reduce bail, but removal is not a cure-all for civil-rights cases and must be used judiciously and in consultation with our staff counsel.

12. Bail for you. You are going South as a civil-rights movement lawyer, not as a demonstrator or voter-registration worker. We would not want you to stay away from civil-rights rallies or other exciting movement events (time permitting), but we do not want you to get arrested. In jail, you are a client of ours rather than a lawyer, and your usefulness to the movement and to LCDC is sharply reduced.

Nonetheless, the South is a very unpredictable place, and you just might find yourself in jail. Please try to arrange for your family or office or someone else to have quick access to as much as $500 for cash bail. It hasn't happened yet, but it might come in handy. (If you are as innocent of the charge as you look now, the bail ought to be returnable after protracted litigation in your behalf!)

13. Security. The South, as I have said, is an unpredictable place, especially for people involved in civil-rights. Do not be paranoid: Probably not every man who walks behind you will shoot you in the back. Do not ever be reckless: Let our office know where you are at all times, check out when you leave the office (even for a short time), check in when you get to your destination, let the office know when you're coming back, and check in when you get back. Having to mobilize the FBI and the State Highway Patrol, the Justice Department and the press, about your unexplained absence simply because of your carelessness costs a lot of tax money. Besides, my own nerves are not what they were a few years ago, before I got into the movement.

Do not take any weapons or any implements that can be fairly described as a weapon, such as a pen-knife. Your safety lies in not having such instruments with you. Any weapon you have can provide a "self-defense" argument for an unfriendly Southern sheriff or basis for a charge of carrying "concealed weapons."

Be tough but courteous -- to law-enforcement officers, county attorneys, justices of the peace, businessmen, and other Southerners on the other side of the fence. Surrender absolutely no rights that you and your clients should have if you can help it, but do not on your own create incidents that can lead to trouble where they do not help the movement.

Be guided by our staff counsel or by the local civil-rights lawyers and leaders about security behavior. In some places, it's not a good idea to drive alone at night in the outlying counties; in other areas, this is not a big problem. You may safely assume that everyone will know who you are and what you are doing within five minutes of your getting into a town. Don't think you'll be taken for a tourist. Whenever you are away from the Negro community, you are in a hostile environment; act with appropriate prudence. You will live and work in the Negro community. If you are white, this makes you a traitor to your race, an outside agitator, an especially hated target. But the Negro community is your haven and home, where you are welcomed and protected, needed and admired -- even loved.

I do not here need to tell you that there are risks involved. LCDC's experience is pretty good -- we have not lost any lawyers and we have had very few physically assaulted or arrested. We do not think the risks are very great for you. But there is every likelihood that Chaney, Goodman, Schwerner, Col. Penn, Rev. Reeb, Jimmie Lee Jackson, Mrs. Liuzzo, Dep. Sheriff Moore, will not be the last names on the list of martyrs to this cause. That's the country we live in and the conditions you are going to help change.

14. Local transportation. There will generally be staff cars or rental cars available. Civil-rights law in the South involves a great deal of driving. The State of Mississippi turns out to be very big when you have to drive from Jackson to Holly Springs for a 15-minute proceeding in the J.P. court. Last year, we spent close to $20,000 on car rentals -- so do not rent cars except with the approval of the local LCDC office.

15. The Law Students Civil-Rights Research Council (LSCRRC) has assigned one or more law students to all our offices. They are law clerks and researchers, but they will also help with any other chore within reason. They will be South for longer than you and may know more civil-rights law and local procedure than you. Let them help you, but don't let them (or make them) practice law. You will find them most valuable.

16. Civil-rights organizations. Here is a run-down of the most important civil-rights action groups:

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), has chapters in most cities, often includes the Negro middle class. Is running summer projects with volunteers in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and elsewhere. Head: Roy Wilkins, New York.

CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), largely Northern city and campus-based, but with continuing Southern projects in Mississippi, Louisiana, northern Florida, South Carolina and other states. Head: James Farmer, New York.

SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee), entirely Southern, devoted to mobilizing the Southern rural Negro in the change of his own condition, decentralized, anti-establishmentarian, very militant (often radical). Heads: John Lewis, James Forman, Atlanta.

SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), headed mainly by Southern Negro clergymen. Its SCOPE (Summer Community Organization and Political Education) project will have volunteers working in about six Southern states. Head: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Atlanta.

COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) is a coordinating body for civil-rights action in Mississippi, now consisting effectively of SNCC and CORE. It runs Freedom Houses and Freedom Schools, and provides the nucleus around which the Mississippi Negro community has been organized.

MFDP (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), a political party, presently largely Negro, that is an alternative to the racist Democratic Party and is challenging the "regularly elected" congressmen of that State. It will have volunteers doing organizing and political education. It operates in close coordination with COFO and SNCC. (The formation of a Louisiana Freedom Democratic Party may be in the making). Head: Laurence Guyot, Jackson.

MSU (Mississippi Student Union), an MFDP for teen-agers, increasingly active in organizing demonstrations and educational projects.

The Deacons (for Defense and Justice) are a group of Negroes in Louisiana and elsewhere who are armed for the protection of the Negro community and the civil-rights movement. In a society where the police and the Klan often overlap, it ill behooves us to deny people the right to defend themselves against physical violence, whether from mobs or under color of law.

17. Other civil-rights legal groups. There are several other civil-rights legal groups active in the South (plus the LSCRRC, see item #15). They differ in function, emphasis, sometimes in their civil-rights orientation. In the field, they all tend to work together harmoniously, and that's the way it should be. Please leave any organization problems and conflicts to the New York office!

ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), a well-established organization with which LCDC is closely associated. Has a Southern Regional Office in Atlanta, affiliates in Louisiana, Alabama, and other Southern states. Carries on major civil-liberties and civil-rights litigation. Staff heads: John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., New York; Legal Director, Melvin L. Wulf, New York.

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. ("Inc. Fund"). A score of professional civil-rights lawyers in New York and an office in Jackson, largely devoted to "policy" cases and broad desegregation suits. Many cooperating local attorneys in the South. Head: Jack Greenberg, New York.

LCCRUL (Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, called "The President's Committee"), close to the ABA, high-level bar sponsorship, financially more secure than LCDC, will operate almost exclusively in Mississippi, where it has a Jackson office. Hopes to persuade the Mississippi bar to live up to its responsibilities. Heads: Harrison Tweed, New York; Bernard Segal, Philadelphia; Berl I. Bernhard, Washington.

NLG (National Lawyers Guild) has a small Jackson office, a longer history of volunteer lawyer involvement in Mississippi than the others. Will not have an in-the-field legal defense program this year, but will pursue large-scale, countywide desegregation suits and the like. Head: Ernest Goodman, Detroit.

18. Governmental and organizational contacts. Enclosed is a list of addresses and phone numbers for various civil-rights offices and governmental organizations.

Do not call the U.S. Department of Justice or the FBI in Washington or in the South except by direction of the Jackson office. Relations with these agencies are very important to the movement, and they will be severely jeopardized if the agencies receive random calls from every lawyer who wants to complain, or urge some course of action, or report an incident. Our staff lawyers have established relations with these agencies and have more experienced judgment than visitors about what matters ought to be brought to their attention.

19. The Movement as client. The practice of civil-rights law in the South is very unlike the law you practice at home. In the South, when it comes to civil-rights, due process is often a bizarre notion, the Constitution an unknown document, the Supreme Court of the United States considered a hostile power, the courts part of a repressive system, the police a front for the Klan, the juries a conspiracy to deprive people of their civil-rights.

As civil-rights lawyers, your client is the civil-rights movement. The individuals whom you may have occasion to represent will need legal counsel because of their involvement with the movement and will usually not want you to embark upon a course of legal action that is contrary to the movement's needs and policies. For example: you might think that pleading to a lesser charge is the most efficient way of disposing of some harassment charge; the movement might agree, but it may more likely consider that it is more important to teach the law-enforcement agencies that the law is not their private toy, to be abused at will. They may not want any compromise with racial persecution, and they may want to imbue local Negroes with the sense that we will fight for their rights rather than make simple dispositions of their cases.

The following is of the utmost importance and cannot be strongly enough stressed or firmly enough heeded: The volunteer civil-rights lawyer is not a leader of the civil-rights movement. We are there to help the movement with legal counsel and representation, not to tell the movement what it should do. You may, if asked, suggest what the legal consequences of a course of action might be, but you may not tell them whether or not they should embark on it. They have more experience than you at civil-rights work in the South, and they are responsible for the action program. Even if they make mistakes, they are theirs to make; your task is to defend their every constitutional and legal right as resourcefully and committedly as you can, even if they have made a mistake. Until the time comes when they ask us to lead the movement, do not be misled by any advantage of education, worldly experience, legal knowledge, or even common sense, into thinking that your function is to tell them what they should do. The one thing that the Negro leadership in the South is rightly disinclined to accept is white people telling them any further what to do and what not to do, even well-meaning and committed white, liberal Northerners. The leadership is theirs, so are the choices. Our function is to see that their rights are defended, quite irrespective of the wisdom of any particular act that brought them into conflict with Southern law.

HS:hdl
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LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) YU 9-7530

Executive Secretary : Henry Schwarzschild
Office: (212) YU 9-7530
(212) OR 5-5990
Home : (914) WH 8-4787

Secretary : Melvin L. Wulf, Legal Director, American Civil Liberties Union
Office: (212) OR 5-5990
Home : (212) AL 5-3057

Vice President : Carl Rachlin, General Counsel, Congress of Racial Equality
Office: (212) CO 7-6270
(212) LT 1-8700
Home : (212) PR 4-7918

Field Offices

Mississippi : Jackson : Alvin J. Bronstein, Chief Staff Counsel
Julie N. Barrows, Executive Assistant
Office: 603 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
(601) 948-4191
Home : (601) 352-0144
(601) 355-3265

Louisiana : Shreveport : Alan H. Levine, Staff Counsel
Hellen O'Neal, Secretary
Office: 515 Pierre Avenue
Shreveport, Louisiana 71103
(318) 423-9683
Home : (318)

Monroe : Office: 103 North 10th Street
Monroe, Louisiana 71204
(318) 325-7953

New Orleans: c/o Collins, Douglas & Elie
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113
(504) 523-5197

c/o Louisiana Civil Liberties Union
Steven H. Rubin, President
1911 Terpsichore Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113
Office: (504) 522-5825
Home : (504) UN 6-9793

Florida : Tallahassee: c/o CORE-SEDF, John D. Due Jr., Staff Counsel
540½ West Brevard Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32301
Office: (305) 222-2317
Home : (305)

Alabama : Montgomery : Bruce Rogow, Staff Counsel
Mary Gibson, Secretary
(Address and phone numbers to come)

Georgia : Atlanta : c/o American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Regional Office, Charles Morgan Jr., Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Office: (404) 523-2721
Home : (404) 636-3294

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE of ACLU

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) YU 9-7530

U. S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Washington, D.C. 20530, (202) RE 7-8200
The Hon. John Doar, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights
Stephen Pollack, First Assistant
Robert Owens, Chief, Southwest Section (Mississippi, Louisiana)
David Norman, Chief, Southeast Section (Alabama, Georgia, Florida)

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. 20535, (202) EX 3-7100
Atlanta: (404) JA 1-3900
Birmingham: (205) 322-7711
Jackson: (601) 948-5000
New Orleans: (504) JA 2-4671
Jacksonville: (305) 355-1401

-O-

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
National Office: 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038, (212) CO 7-6270
Southern Office: 2211 Dryades Street, New Orleans, La. 70113, (504) 523-7625
Monroe Office : 103 North 10th Street, Monroe, La. 71204, (318) 325-7610
Mississippi Office: General Delivery, Philadelphia, Miss., (601) 656-9924

Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Miss. 39202
(601) 948-4038 (If no answer, IN EMERGENCY ONLY: 355-9227)

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), same as COFO

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
(404) 688-0331
Montgomery Office: 908 High Street, Montgomery, Ala., (205) 262-8381
Selma Office: 31½ Franklin Street, Selma, Ala., (205) 872-1426

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
(404) 522-1420
SCOPE office: 563 Johnson Street, Atlanta, Ga., (404) 522-2023

Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), 211 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Jackson Office: 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Miss., (601) 355-6466
Baton Rouge Office: 1501½ East Boulevard, Baton Rouge, La., (504) 343-4934
Montgomery Office 455 Jackson Street, Montgomery, Ala., (205)

Other civil-rights law organizations in Jackson, Miss.:
Inc. Fund: 538½ North Farish Street, (601) 355-3874
President's Committee: 233 North Farish Street, (601) 948-5400
Lawyers Guild: 507½ North Farish Street, (601) 352-8062

AN OPEN LETTER TO CANDIDATE JOHN LINDSAY

June 23, 1965

Hon. John V. Lindsay
30 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Congressman Lindsay:

We roundly denoance the stand of your campaign manager, Senator Javits, on the issue of reapportionment and openly challenge you to repudiate him. Javits' position, revealed today, allows for reapportionment on the basis of geography in addition to population---an open invitation to racist gerrymadering, both South and North. This position on the federal reapportionment legislation now before Congress is in direct contradiction to your often-repeated anti-racist views. We strongly urge that you accept this challenge and repudiate the Javit's position.

James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

SATURDAY REVIEW
NEW YORK, N.Y.
W. 299,174

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TV AND RADIO

Lessons in Documentary

A TELEVISION documentary called *Louisiana Diary* concerns a CORE voter registration drive among Negroes in a rural parish. The film unit of KQED, San Francisco's community TV station, shot it last summer; it is currently being shown on National Educational Television. Few viewers sympathetic to the civil rights struggle will watch it without being moved by its account of the ordeal certain Americans must endure to win a fundamental birthright guaranteed them by our Constitution.

The CORE drive involved training parish residents who would seek to register as voters. The visiting task force drilled the volunteers to meet the formal requirements of voter registration, but they also prepared them to do so without resisting the physical and psychological brutality they might encounter. Hands covered their heads to protect them from mock blows that must actually have hurt; knees were pulled up as they rolled on the floor. Civil rights fighters learn from experience how to defend themselves against dogs, fire hoses, and cattle prodders; the techniques of nonviolent resistance in mass situations were taught like a military maneuver.

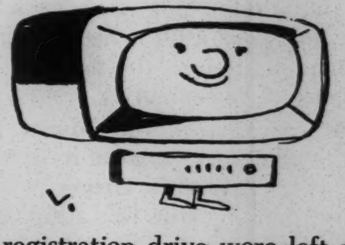
One memorable scene showed the training given to an individual volunteer who might be subjected to isolated questioning. A young Negro woman sat in a chair. Two other young women of her own race spoke sharply to her, deliberately insulting, slapping her, seizing her hair painfully, moving a lighted cigarette end very close to her face. It was a training situation. These were her friends—yet the simulated aggression and submission suddenly took on a kinetic reality. The blows seemed sadistic, the fear of the victim passed the tenuous boundary between make-believe and fact. For the audience, the scene becomes almost unbearable.

What makes the incident memorable is that the camera transcended the act of reporting to achieve insight into the behavior of human beings caught in the subtle, cruel ambivalence of suffering and unconsciously wanting to inflict pain. The objective of the CORE training in Louisiana was to insure successful response to situations by anticipating them.

Louisiana Diary illustrates a challenge to makers of documentaries. One follows a series of unfolding events with the camera. These events exist on different levels: their surface actuality and their deeper meaning or latent possibilities. If one is lucky (as with the training scene above), the two levels meet. If they do not (and this is mostly the case), then one must have immediate, imaginative discernment to shoot not what seems to be happening, but some aspect of deeper truth in the concrete scene. The ability to capture such moments of truth is rare among even the finest cameramen and directors. The next best thing is to use strategy that tries to anticipate situations relevant to the documentary subject and to plan responses to them. Under ideal conditions, therefore, one makes full use of the opportunity for advance research and thought-taking. Fiction-makers do this when they construct each shot of a screenplay carefully in advance.

Irving Saraf and Philip Green, the KQED film unit cameramen, "winged" most of their film in trade jargon—"shot from the hip," we might say. The entire crew was emotionally involved to a man. In the heat of fast-breaking events, they tended to commit the common error of equating the excitement of their personal involvement with excitement for an audience. This is not to carp at their work. We are talking about that elusive ideal in documentary-making that successfully blends art with truth —a difficult achievement.

Louisiana Diary is longer on truth than on art. The film, as finally edited, was too long. Scenes shot with unsteady, hand-held cameras were often out of focus. Questions about the voter registration drive were left unanswered. Why did some volunteers succeed in registering while others failed? Does registration guarantee voting rights? Some Negroes refused when CORE representatives asked them to volunteer. The camera failed to hint why, to reveal their fear or ignorance. Too often, it accepted face values of people and events.



Louisiana Diary does transmit the raw emotional impact of bravery in the face of injustice. It is probably the most courageous television documentary yet made by noncommercial broadcasters. It is also a useful object lesson in the tricky art of detachment while making a currently topical documentary.

—ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON.

cc: Val Coleman
Jim Peck
Ed Hollander

July 6, 1965

TO: Ralph Rojas

FROM: Alan Gartner

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Sylvia Richards	3479382 ~~EX67046 (Mod~~)		
✓ Harrison Brown Pasedena	7906130	Paul Schrade	seeing
✓ Wayne Williams Pasedena	SY99188 MU2-3334	Schrade	seeing
⊗ Tom Carvey CDC 850 South Hill	MA79887	Schrade	FR84756
Bill Lawrenece		Schrade	Longshorement
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✓ Victor Carter ✓	2762033 CR62033	Sperling	(call on Monday) 2.30 PM
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Beverly Hilton Hotel	274 7777		
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Call Helen Pedotti ?

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HO23111

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- contact Lenore Barrett - (Mrs. Brown -) Lillian Way

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100.	Paul Schrade 1927 W. 9th St.	381 6561	Monroe	At AC Convem-- Hit April 1
	Joe Shane	CR46393	Roos and Stan Gewirt	Big loot -- call using names
	[redacted]			
	Rabbi Woolf Ast. to Rabbi Magnin		Roos	Good guy no loot
	Stanley Gewirtz	GL44062 -h OL21680 -o	Levy	"
	Maury Segal	HO96161		
	Samuel Briskind Rabbi Nussbaum		call Roos soon re these guys	
	Norton Simon Hunt Tomatoes guy	[redacted]	Roos	Call Marv again re Cousins appraoach
	Eason Monroe ACLU	323 W. Fifth	6265156	
	Paul Albert Cal. for Lib Repubs.		Paul Jackson	??????????
	Mary Clarke	CR69917		Call ~~today~~ Monday AM! re Pauling
500?	✓ Francis McAllister 1024 Armada Drive	792-0025	Ester Byrne	good contacts
	✓ Mrs. K. Johnson 525 South Grand Pasedena	SY68435	McAllister	Seeing Fr.
	✓ Ruth McLaine Belfontaine, Pasedena	7993501	McAllister	call today
	Margery Wyatt 1100 Armada, Pasedena		McAllister	contacts, little loot
	Margery Dickinson Bellmore		McAllister	check NY for thank yous
	Katherine Fels 634 14th St. Manhattan Beach	FR91463	McAllister	little loot but try

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Nevada State Journal
401 W. Second Street
Reno, Nevada

City Desk
Reno Gazette
401 W. Second Street
Reno, Nevada

City Desk
Manchester Union Leader
37 S. Amherst Street
Manchester, New Hampshire

City Desk
Manchester News
37 Amherst Street
Manchester, New Hampshire

City Desk
Portsmouth Herald
82 Congress Street
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

City Desk
Atlantic City Press
1900 Atlantic Avenue
Atlantic City, New Jersey

2
City Desk
Asbury Park Press
Press Plaza
Asbury Park, New Jersey

City Desk
Camden Courier-Post
Camden 1, New Jersey

City Desk
Elizabeth Journal
295-99 N. Broad Street
Elizabeth, New Jersey

City Desk
The Bergen Evening Record
150 River Street
Hackensack, New Jersey

City Desk
Jersey Journal
30 Journal Square
Jersey City 6, New Jersey

City Desk
Newark News
215-221 Market Street
Newark 1, New Jersey

VP3

City Desk
Newark Star-Ledger
217 Halsey Street
Newark 1, New Jersey

City Desk
Paterson Call
33 Church Street
Paterson, New Jersey

City Desk
Paterson News
143 Ellison Street
Paterson 1, New Jersey

City Desk
Plainfield Courier-News
201 Church Street
Plainfield, New Jersey

City Desk
Trenton Times
500 Perry Street
Trenton 5, New Jersey

City Desk
Trenton Times-Advertiser
500 Perry Street
Trenton 5, New Jersey

City Desk
Trentonian
306 East Front Street
Trenton, New Jersey

City Desk
Albuquerque Journal
701 Silver S.W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Ctiy Desk
Albuquerque Tribune
701 Silver S. W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

City Desk
Albany Times-Union
24-30 Sheridan Avenue
Albany 1, New York

City Desk
Knickerbocker News
24-30 Sheridan Avenue
Albany 1, New York

City Desk
Buffalo Courier-Express
787 Main Street
Buffalo 5, New York

City Desk
Buffalo News
218 Main Street
Buffalo 5, New York

City Desk
Newsday
550 Stewart Avenue
Garden City, New York

City Desk
Wall Street Journal
44 Broad Street
New York, New York 10004

City Desk
Long Island Press
92-20 168th Street
Jamaica 33, New York

City Desk
Long Island Star-Journal
Star Square
Long Island City 1, New York

City Desk
Staten Island Advance
950 Fingerboard Road
Staten Island 5, New York

City Desk
Niagara Falls Gazette
310 Niagara Street
Niagara Falls, New York

VP.3

City Desk
Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
55 Exchange Street
Rochester 14, New York

City Desk
Rochester Times-Union
55 Exchange Street
Rochester 14, New York

City Desk
Schenectady Gazette
334 State Street
Schenectady, New York

City Desk
Schenectady Union-Star
211 Clinton Street
Schenectady 5, New York

City Desk
Syracuse Herald-Journal
220 Herald Place
Syracuse 1, New York

City Desk
Syracuse Herald-American
220 Herald Place
Syracuse 1, New York

City Desk
Syracuse Post-Standard
300 E. Fayette Street
Syracuse 1, New York

City Desk
Utica Press
221 Oriskany Plaza
Utica 2, New York

City Desk
Utica Observer-Dispatch
221 Oriskany Plaza
Utica 2, New York

City Desk
Durham Herald
115 Market
Durham 1, North Carolina

City Desk
Durham Sun
115 Market
Durham 1, North Carolina

City Desk
Raleigh News-Observer
215 S. McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

City Desk
Raleigh Times
215 S. McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

City Desk
Grand Forks Herald
114-120 N. 4th Street
Grand Forks, North Dakota

City Desk
Arkron Beacon Journal
44 East Exchange Street
Akron, Ohio

City Desk
Canton Repository
500 Market Avenue South
Canton, Ohio

City Desk
Celina Standard
East Market Street
Celina, Ohio

City Desk
Cincinnati Post and Times-Star
800 Broadway Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

City Desk
Cleveland Plain Dealer
1801 Superior Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

City Desk
Cleveland Press and News
901 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

City Desk
Columbus Citizen-Journal
34 South 3rd Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

City Desk
Columbus Dispatch
34 East 3rd Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

VP3

City Desk
Dayton Journal Herald
4th and Ludlow Streets
Dayton, Ohio

City Desk
Dayton News
4th and Ludlow Streets
Dayton, Ohio

City Desk
Sandusky Register
Market and Jackson Streets
Sandusky, Ohio

City Desk
Springfield Sun
202 N. Limestone
Springfield, Ohio

City Desk
Springfield News
202 N. Limestone
Springfield, Ohio

City Desk
Springfield News-Sun
202 N. Limestone
Springfield, Ohio

City Desk
Toledo Times
541 Superior Street
Toledo 4, Ohio

City Desk
Toledo Blade
541 Superior Street
Toledo, Ohio

City Desk
Oklahoma City Oklahoman
500 North Broadway
Oklahoma City 1, Oklahama

City Desk
Oklahoma City Times
500 N. Broadway
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

City Desk
Tulsa World
315 South Boulder Avenue
Tulsa, Oklahoma

City Desk
Tulsa Tribune
315 S. Boulder Avenue
Tulsa, Oklahoma

City Desk
Eugene Register-Guard
975 High St
Eugene, Ore.

City Desk
Oregon City Enterprise-Courier
10th and Railroad Avenues
Oregon City, Ore.

City Desk
Journal of Commerce
711 SW14 Avenue
Portland, Ore.

City Desk
Portland Oregonian
1320 SW Broadway
Portland 1, Ore.

City Desk
Allentown Call
6th and Linden Streets
Allentown, Pa.

City Desk
Allentown Chronicle
6th and Linden Streets
Allentown, Pa.

City Desk
Allentown Call-Chronicle
6th and Linden Streets
Allentown, Pa.

City Desk
Harrisburg Patriot
812 Market Street
Harrisburg, Pa.

City Desk
Harrisburg News
812 Market Street
Harrisburg, Pa

City Desk
Harrisburg Patriot-News
812Market Street
Harrisburg, Pa.

VP3

City Desk
Lancaster Intelligencer Journal
8 W. King St.
Lancaster, Pa.

City Desk
Lancaster New Era
8 W. King Street
Lancaster, Pa.

City Desk
Lancaster News
8 West King Street
Lancaster, Pa.

City Desk
Philadlephia Bulletin
30th and Market Streets
Philadelphia, Pa.

City Desk
Philadelphia Inguirer
400 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

City Desk
Philadelphia News
22nd and Arch
Philadelphia, Pa

City Desk
Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch
1414 South Penn. Square
Philadelphia, Pa.

City Desk
Pittsburgh Post-Gazetter
Gazette Square
Pittsburgh, Pa.

City Desk
Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph
Gazette Square
Pittsburgh, Pa.

City Desk
Pittsburgh Press
Blvd. of Allies
Pittsburgh, Pa.

City Desk
Scranton Times
Penn and Spruce
Scranton, Pa.

City Desk
Scranton Tribune
338 North Washington Avenue
Scranton, Pa.

City Desk
Scranton Scrantonian
338 North Washington Avenue
Scranton, Pa.

City Desk
Newport News
140 Thames Street
Newport, R.I.

City Desk
Pawtucket Times
23 Exchange Street
Pawtucket, R.I.

City Desk
Providence Journal
75 Fountain Street
Providence 2, R.I.

City Desk
Providence Bulletin
75 Fountain Street
Providence, R.I.

City Desk
Sumter Item
124 E. Hampton Avenue
Sumter, S.C.

City Desk
Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
200 S. Minnesota
Sioux Falls, S.D.

City Desk
Chattanooga Times
117 E. 10th Street
Chattanooga, Tenn.

City Desk
Chattanooga News-Free Press
117 E. 10th Street
Chattanooga, Tenn.

City Desk
Knoxville Journal
208 West Church Avenue
Knoxville, Tenn.

City Desk
Knoxville, News-Sentinel
208 W. Church Avenue
Knoxville, Tenn.

City Desk
Memphis Commericial Appeal
495 Union Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

UP3

City Desk
Memphis Press-Scimitar
495 Union Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

City Desk
Nashville Banner
1100Broadway
Nashville, Tenn.

City Desk
Nashville Tennessean
1100 Broadway
Nashville 3, Tenn.

City Desk
Austin American
308 Guadulupe
Austin, Texas

City Desk
Austin Statesman
308 Guadulupe
Austin, Texas

City Desk
Austin American-Statesman
308 Guadalupe
Austin, Texas

City Desk
Dallas News
Young at Houston
Dallas, Texas

City Desk
Dallas Times-Herald
Herald Square
Dallas, Texas

City Desk
Houston Chronicle
512-20 Travis Street
Houston 2, Texas.

City Desk
Houston Post
2410 Polk Ave
Houston 1, Texas

City Desk
Houston Press
2001 Rusk Ave
Huston, Texas

City Desk
Marshall News Messenger
505 North Washington
Marshall, Texas

City Desk
Salt Lake City Deseret News
33 Richards street
Salt Lake City, Utah

City Desk
Salt Lake City Telegram
33 Richards Street
Salt Lake City, Utah

City Desk
Salt Lake City Tribune
143 South Main Street
Salt Lake City, Utah

City Desk
Bennington Banner
425 Main Street
Bennington, Vt.

City Desk
Alexandria Gazette
317 King Street
Alexandria, Va.

City Desk
Alington Nothern Virginia Sun
3409 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Va.

City Desk
Richmond Times-Dispatch
110NN. 4th Street
Richmond, Va.

City Desk
Richmond News Leader
110 N. 4th Street
Richmond, Va.

City Desk
Roanoke Times
201-09 W. Campbell Avenue
Roanoke, Va.

City Desk
Roanoke World-News
201-09 W. Campbell Avenue
Roanoke, Va.

City Desk
Seattle Journal of Commerce and
Northwest Construction Record
83 Columbia Street
Seattle, Wash.

City Desk
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
6th and Wall
Seattle, Washington

~~List~~ UP3

City Desk
Seattle Times
Fairview Avenue North and John
Seattle 11, Washington

City Desk
Spokane Spokesman-Review
926 Spraque West
Spokane 10, Washington

City Desk
Spokane Chronicle
926 Spraque West
Spokane 10, Washington

City Desk
Charleston Gazette
✓ 1001 Virginia Street E.
Charleston, W. Va.

City Desk
Charleston Gazette-Mail
✓ 1001 Virginia Street E.
Charleston, W. Va.

City Desk
Charleston Mail
✓ 1001 Virgimia Street E.
Charleston, W. Va.

\ City Desk
Wheeling Intelligencer
1500 Main Street
Wheeling, W. Va.

\ City Desk
Wheeling News-Register
1500 Main Street
Wheeling, W. Va.

City Desk
✓ Wisconsin State Journal
115 S. Carroll Street
Madison, Wisconsin

City Desk
✓ Madison Capital Times
115 S. Carroll Street
Madison, Wisconsin

City Desk
Milwaukee Journal
333 W. State
Milwaukee 1, Wis.

City Desk
Milwaukee Sentinel
540 N. Plankinton St.
Milwaukee, Wis.

~~City Desk~~

ADD- City Desk
New Orleans Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La

July 9, 1965

TO: CORE Chapter Chairmen

RE: Tools to Fight _De Facto_ Segregation

New York Times story, 8 July indicates increased pressure on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for action against northern and western _de facto_ school segregation. Complaints have been filed in Boston, Chester, Pa., Chicago, and San Francisco. In Boston, the complaint filed by Boston CORE, has already resulted in the holding up of federal funds pending completion of an Office of Education investigation.

The Office of Education has money available for school systems to "assist in dealing with the problems incident to desegregation." The money may be used for "giving teachers and other school personnel in-service training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation." For school systems which are sympathetic or which plead they do not have the money to act, this may be a source of funds. The person to contact is David S. Seeley, Director, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Val Coleman

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
Current Monthy Program Costs*
Prepared by George Wiley, Associate National Director
July 13, 1965

SOUTHERN PROGRAM	PAYROLL	RENT, PHONE TRANSPORTATION LEGAL SERVICE SUPPLIES, ETC.	TOTAL
SOUTHERN PROGRAM**			23,500
LOUISIANA	2,200	4,600	6,800
MISS. (4th. Cong. District)	2,100	4,300	6,400
SOUTH CAROLINA	2,200	2,900	5,100
FLORIDA	700	1,800	2,500
NORTH CAROLINA	880	800	1,680
TEXAS	470	550	1,020
NORTHERN PROGRAM	2,700	7,100	9,800
NATIONAL PROGRAM	2,600	3,000	5,600
ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNMENT	500	2,100	2,500
PUBLIC INFORMATION & EDUCATION	3,800	4,700	8,500
	20,900	28,900	50,000
Additional Monthly Costs for Summer Projects, (June, July, August)			10,000
TOTAL			60,000

* Do not include emergency costs (e.g. bail, fines, medical), special national projects, training, membership recruitment, membership maintenance or fund-raising costs.

** This includes support for about 75 full-time workers including 50 task force workers who get subsistence. It does not include extra costs of over $10,000 a month incurred in the support of over 100 summer volunteers working in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida.

July 30, 1965

TO: Val Coleman, Ralph Rojas, Carlos Rijos, George Wiley

FROM: Alan Gartner

As of Monday, August 2, press releases will go out every Monday instead of Wednesday. In addition to the number run for the press, we'll run an additional 200 so that the releases can be included in the mailing to chapters.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ralph [illegible] -

859 9944

MEMORANDUM

To: All office personnel
From: Ed Day, Business Manager
RE: AIR MAIL LETTERS: MIALING EARLY: BIG MIMEOGRAPH RUNS

PLEASE PLACE ALL AIR MAIL LETTERS IN AIR MAIL ENVELOPES (THE ONES WITH THE RED, WHITE, AND BLUE STRIPES ARROUND THE EDGES). LETTERS WHICH ARE ONLY MARKED "AIR MAIL" ON THEIR FRONTS ARE NOT INFREQUENTLY "MISSED" BY THE STOCK ROOM.... END UP WITH A FIVE CENT STAMP ON THEM.... AND THEN COME BACK TO US SEVERAL DAYS LATTER FROM THE POST OFFICE WITH A REQUEST FOR THE ADDITIONAL THREE CENTS.... THAT DOES NOT LEAD TO VERY FAST MAIL SERVICE FOR YOU... SO HELP YOUR SELF BY PUTTING THE AIR MAIL LETTER IN AIR MAIL ENVELOPES SO THEY WILL FOR SURE GO OUT AIR MAIL.........

ALSO..........

IF YOU HAVE SOME MAIL THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO GO OUT BEFORE THE REGULAR PICK UP AT 5:00........(E.G. IN THE MORNING) DEPOSIT SUCH MAIL IN THE BASKET ON THE CARD TABLE IN THE RECEPTION ROOM.... THIS MAIL GOES OUT PERIODICLY DURRING THE DAY.....

ALSO........

IF YOU HAVE A LARGE MIMEOGRAPH RUN, BE SURE TO LET THE STOCK ROOM KNOW AS FAR IN ADVANCE AS BOSSIBLE (NOT JUST WHEN THE STENCILS ARE DONE) SO THEY CAN PLAN AHEAD. AND GET IT DONE

July 30, 1965

TO: Val Coleman, Ralph Rojas, Carlos Rijos, George Wiley

FROM: Alan Gartner

As of Monday, August 2, press releases will go out every Monday instead of Wednesday. In addition to the number run for the press, we'll run an additional 200 so that the releases can be included in the mailing to chapters.

859 9944

Ralph [illegible]

[illegible]

AUG 1 2 1965

MEMORANDUM

August 10, 1965

TO: Alan Gartner

FROM: Marvin Rich MR

As you know, the House Labor Sub-Committee has just voted to raise the mimimum wage to $1.75 an hour, and to extend coverage to 6,100,000 workers. The additional coverage is particularly important since it is in fields where significant numbers of Negroes work. Seven hundred thousand (700,000) are farm workers. Many of these farm workers are Negroes and we should be particularly concerned about including these.

Of ~~The~~ the 47.3 million workers holding non-supervisory jobs in private industry, only 29.6 million are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. The other 17.7 million are denied full mimimum wage protection. Of the 17.7 million, nearly two million are farm workers and another two and one-half million are domestic servants.

Retail Trade

Out of six million retail workers, two and one-half million are now covered by mimimum wage, while three and one-half million are uncovered.

Restaurants

There are now 1,750,000 workers in restaurants who are not covered by the mimimum wage. The proposal of the House Labor Sub-Committee would cover 625,000 of these workers. Again, many of these are Negroes.

Hotels and Motels

There are 549,000 workers in the hotel and motel industry. This bill would cover 275,000 of these workers in the larger motels and hotels. Wage surveys made by the Labor Department show chamber maids in some cities earning less than 50 cents an hour in 1963. In New Orleans, the average earnings of such workers have risen from 29 cents in July, 1948, to only 50 cents in July 1961--an increase of 21 cents in a 13-year period.

Hospitals

The President's proposal would extend the Fair Labor Standards Act protection to about 890,000 workers in non governmental hospitals, nursing homes, and homes for the aged. According to the Department

- more -

of Labor, about 29 percent of all hospital workers earned less than $1.25 in June, 1963. Among the lowest paid hospital workers are dishwashers, porters, maids, and laundry workers.

Extension of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act is important to the Negro community. It is also important to the trade union movement. In any material which we prepare, we should make some mention of the fact that the major burden of the lobbying effort has been carried by the trade movement. It is important also to emphasize that we are to accept our own responsibility and to carry our share of the load.

MR/hm

¶ The Civil Rights Bill of last year and the Voting Rights Bill of this year are fine -- they were long overdue. Bur rights without a decent paying job means means very little. And its just those jobs where most of the workers are Negroes which are left uncovered by the federal minimum wage laws.

¶ There are nearly 30 million workers covered by the minimum wage laws, and nearly 18 million uncovered. Where are most of the uncovered workers: in retail sotres, restaurants, hotels and motels, hospitals, farm, and domestic workers.

In the Congress, the House Labor Sub-Committee has just voted to increase the minimum wage to $1.75 -- we wanted it up to $2.00 an hour -- and to increase the coverage of the law to an additional six million workers. This would include nearly a million 700,000 farm workers, hospital workers, over half of a million restaurant workers, and more than a quarter of a million hotel and motel workers. One example of what would change under this law is seen in New Orleans where the latets figures show that the avaerge wages of chamber maids is 50¢ an hour.

There has been much talk about how the black people and union people can get together. Much of this talk has been nonsese. But here is an area where we can and must work together. Labor wants a higher minimum wage and so do we. Labor wants more workers covered by the minimum wage laws, and so do we.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row New York, N.Y. 10038

TO: Contact List

FROM: James Farmer, National director

SUBJ: Mississippi Project

Enclosed are two important items that require careful attention:

1. A financial statement cover ing CORE's Mississippi Bank account for the period from July 1 through September 25. You will note that the statement does not include money sent directly to COFO, or program planning, legal and administrative expenses assumed directly by the national and southern offices. Nor does it include money spent by the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund on its federal programs project nor money raised by them for the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerener Memorial Center in Meridian.

2. A list of newly hired members of the CORE Task Force and their responsibilities. All of these were placed on the payroll after September 25. We are proud that we have been able to secure such an able contingent to assist us.

You will note that for July, August and September income and expense just about balanced. The direct salary cost, even at $25 per week, the expansion comes to $22,100 per year. Further, it has been our experience that salary is only 30% of actual field expenses. These two statements indicate that we are now spending at the rate of $200,000 per year in Mississippi.
Thus, it is obvious that CORE chapters must continue to support the Mississippi project. In fact this support must be greatly expanded; three chapters -- Bergen County,Cleveland, and Northwest N.Y. -- have provided more than half the income from chapters. Other chapters must assume more of the responsibility.

The national office will continue to raise money through benefits and various projects. However, it cannot divert money from operating funds. Other commitments in the South include:

1.) Expansion of staff and program in the Southern Office
2.) Expansion of the Louisiana Task Force
3.) Expansion of the Northern Florida staff
4.) $85,000 expansion of our legal staff in the south

These are direct costs only and do not include the indirect costs of administration, court costs, etc. Thus, it is evident that we must all work together.

CORE chapters should send money to: CORE Mississippi Freedom Fund
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Send application for the task force to: Richard Haley,
Southern Director
2211 Dryades St., New Orleans, La.

Do not send individuals to Mississippi who have not been approved by our Southern staff.

Food and clothing should be sent directly to:

CORE Community Center
838 Lutz Street
Canton, Mississippi

CORE Community Center
2505½ Fifth Street
Meridian, Mississippi

CORE -- Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 10038

Mississippi CORE Staff

Paid Mississippi CORE staff as of September 21, 1964

1. David Dennis	Jackson	CORE Field Secretary & ass't Proj. Dir. COFO
2. Dick Jewett	Jackson	CORE Field Secretary
3. Lois Chaffee	Jackson	State Community Center Director
4. George Raymond	Canton	Project Director
5. Annie Devine	Canton	Political Program Director
6. Joe Lee Watts	Canton	Political Programs
7. C. O. Chinn	Canton	In Jail
8. Theodis Hewitt	Leake Co.	Project Director
9. James Collier	Philadelphia	Project Director
10.Preston Ponder	Meridian	Project Co-Director
11.Matteo Suarez	Meridian	Project Co-Director
12.Alma Bosley	Jackson	Field Worker
13.Eric Weinberger	Meridian	Director, Community Center
14.Elaine Weinberger	Meridian	Community Center

Task Force members added to staff after Sept. 21

1. Eric Morton	Jackson	St. Welfare Distribution Director
2. Elizabeth Fusco	Jackson	St. Director of Freedom Schools
3. Chris Rainone	Clark Co.	Political Programs
4. Karen Duncan	Madison Co.	Political Programs
5. Mary Ann Shupenko	Madison Co.	Officer Manager
6. Houston Howard	Rankin Co.	Field Organizer
7. Randy Glenn	Keake Co.	Field Organizer
8. Jennie Franklin	Clarke Co.	Field Organizer and Freedom Schools
9. Jo Ann Ooiman	Madison Co.	Freedom Schools
10.Gladys Freeman	Rankin Co.	Field Organizer
11.Marjorie Henderson	Meridian	Freedom Schools
12.Joe Morse	Meridian	Political Programs
13.Sandra Watts	Meridian	Office Manager
14.George Smith	Philadelphia	Field Organizer
15.Richard Tinsley	Philadelphia	Field Organizer
16.Alan Schiffman	Philadelphia	Freedom Schools
17.Martha Wright	Madison Co.	Director, Community Center

The 17 people added to the Task Force may be adopted by an individual, CORE Chapter or other group. Others who will later be added to staff may also be adopted.

The Adopt A Worker Program means that the individual CORE Task Force member will send letters (honestly, some write more than others), photos, and periodic reports to their sponsor. The cost is $1,300 per year which provides basic subsistence for the worker.

Correspondence about the program should be sent to: Richard Haley
CORE, Southern Director
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

October 9, 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equali
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.10038

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT
Financial Statement July 1 thru Sept. 25, 1964

Income

West Coast	$10,368.42
CORE Chapters	13,987.69
Organizations	3,182.00
Rallies and Benefits (non CORE)	4,416.15
Miscellaneous	1,392.25
*TOTAL INCOME	$33,346.51

EXPENSE

Community Centers	$ 2,270.00
Mrs. Chaney-Funeral, personal	1,710.16
Convention Challenge	3,698.35
Program	4,640.21
Staff Salary	8,869.29
Staff Expenses	1,525.00
Car Expenses	6,691.80
Fund Raising	2,465.00
Fines	500.00
**TOTAL EXPENSE	$29,404.81

BALANCE AS OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1964............$ 3,941.70

* Does not include money sent directly to COFO

**Does not include program planning, legal expenses and administrative expenses assumed by the CORE Southern Office or by the National Office.

Note: The above does not reflect funds raised by the CORE-SEDF for the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerner Community Center. Nor does it include funds spent in Mississippi by CORE-SEDF directly, or costs borne directly by chapters in collecting and shipping food and clothing to welfare centers.

Val
for Wash. area press

TELEGRAM

WILLIAM E. ROYER
DIRECTOR, MONTGOMERY COUNTY WELFARE BOARD
COUNTY OFFICE BUILDING
ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND

VIGOROUSLY PROTEST FIRING OF MR. MICHAEL TABER WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE NO CAUSE OTHER THAN HIS PARTICIPATION IN PEACEFUL PROTEST ACTIVITIES. URGE HIS IMMEDIATE REINSTATEMENT.

APRIL 30, 1965

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

GOLDEN KNIGHTS

Greetings from the Golden Knights

We of the Golden Knights are honored in being the host team today, and in having had the opportunity to work with the Brooklyn Branch N.A.A.C.P. in sponsoring this worthy program.

Our team is composed of young men from various sections of the country and the Greater New York area. It is most fitting that in playing a benefit game for an organization which stands for Brotherhood and Civil Rights, that our team does, and has always in its player representation epitomized both of these values.

hood and Civil Rights, that our team does, and has always in its player representation epitomized both of these values.

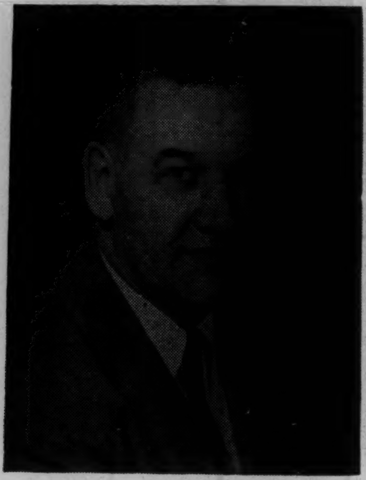
— GOLDEN KNIGHTS FOOTBALL ORGANIZATION —

EARL G. GRAVES, JR.	Executive Administrator
ALLEN SULKIS	President
JAMES ADAMS	Vice President
JOHN MORANO	Field Manager
LOUIS BARRINGTON	Business Manager
LARRY MOSELY	Treasurer
ROSS GRIFFIN, Lt. Col., U.S.A.R.	Head Coach
RAY JENNINGS	Defensive Coach
FRED KING	Line Coach

For when the "One Great Scorer" comes to mark against your name . . . He writes - not that you won or lost—but how you played the game.

R. RISLEY DENT, JR.

President



It was Abraham Lincoln who once said, "Those who deny freedom to others do not deserve it themselves." These words, perhaps more than any others, tell why there is an NAACP. It is because our organization is concerned with the future of our nation that it struggles so diligently to stamp out discrimination and deprivation of human rights wherever such infringements are found.

Still, this is not a job for organizations alone, it is rather the responsibility of each and every citizen of this country. It is rather the responsibility of each and every man and woman who believes in the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. Part of this responsibility is voting, for this is something effective that each and every one of us can and should do. More than ever before it is up to us to see to it that America lives up to its fullest potential. It is up to us to choose leaders and representatives with the vision to lead us through the murky and troublesome times ahead. We can blame only ourselves if we permit our Constitution to protect some, but not all. We can blame only ourselves if the United States becomes a symbol of oppression instead of the symbol of freedom that it has always been.

The eyes of the world are upon us and our most glaring weakness is the fact that we have not stamped out the remaining vestiges of racial and religious discrimination. We cannot remain a symbol of hope if others can point out our flaw and rejoice in our slowness in correcting it. Time is no longer on our side. Gradualism will be fatal and there is too much at stake.

GREETINGS . . .

LUCILLE ROSE

BARBARA MOORE

There is no short cut, no easy road to freedom and equality. Freedom is a responsibility as well as a right and it must be shared by all for a better world to live in. We seldom take time to express our gratitude for freedom-loving and freedom-seeking people.

We are grateful to the General Committee, its co-chairmen, its committee members, and its lovely contestants and their sponsors who have worked so harmoniously together to make this 2nd Annual Benefit Football Affair possible. We are grateful to our invited guests, our two great football teams, to our advertisers in our Journal and to you our patrons—for without you our labors would have been in vain, and this affair would not have been a reality.

We need your continued support to meet our new challenges, new responsibilities and pressing needs for a better tomorrow.

LUCILLE ROSE

BARBARA MOORE, Co-Chairman

GOLDEN KNIGHTS

Golden Knights Line-up

JOE JENNINGS, LE	HOWIE HENRY, RE
AL. SULKIS, LT	WILLIE SPENCER, QB
JAS. DURANT, LG	BILLIE JOHN, LH
FRED KING, C	LOU BARRINGTON, RH
TED McLURKIN, RG	WALT HARRISON, FB
JOHN MORANO, RT	

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NICKNAME DEFENSIVE TEAM — "HEAD HUNTERS"

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Golden Knights Squad Roster

No.	Name	Pos.	Wt.	Ht.
23	CORNEL ADAMS	HB	170	5′ 7″
26	JIMMY ADAMS	END	175	5′ 9″
64	SAM ALSTON	GUARD	200	5′ 8″
35	LOU BARRINGTON	HB	175	5′ 8″
91	THOMAS BESHARS	GUARD	265	5′ 8″
15	WILLIE DAVIS	QB	170	5′ 9″
10	DAN DeBERRY	TACKLE	195	6′ 1″
98	JIM DURANT	GUARD	190	5′ 9″
21	AL EVANS	QB	185	5′11″
65	EARL GRAVES	Def. LB	225	6′ 2″
49	JIM GREEN	Def. LB	198	5′ 9″
44	WALTER HARRISON	FB	220	5′11″
88	HOWIE HENRY	END	194	6′ 2″
72	CLAUDE HUGHES	TACKLE	205	6′ 0″
80	JOE JENNINGS	END	194	6′ 2″
28	BILLY JOHN	HB	200	5′ 9″
13	BOOKER KING	HB	169	5′ 7″
37	FRED KING	LB	220	5′ 8′
99	TED McLURKINS	GUARD	185	5′ 8″
66	JOHN MORANO	TACKLE	220	6′ 3″
41	LARRY MOSELY	HB	165	5′ 7″
32	VICTOR PAMPHIEL	FB	183	5′10″
67	JIM PEARSON	TACKLE	194	5′ 9″
73	LEE SAMUELS	TACKLE	240	6′ 3″
55	NELSON SLAUGHTER	CENTER	195	5′10″
25	WILLIE SPENCER	QB	180	5′11″
61	ALLEN SULKIS	TACKLE	295	6′ 3″
63	JIM TEEL	GUARD	190	5′11″
77	BOB TYLER	CENTER	230	6′ 2″
70	HARRY VICKS	HB	170	5′ 9″
81	ART WEINER	END	198	5′11″
92	AL WILSON	HB	185	5′10″
76	THOMAS LASKER	GUARD	233	5′11″
58	HAROLD McKENNEY	GUARD	225	5′11″
40	AL GLASCOE	FB	240	6′ 0″
11	ROBERT SCHNEIDER	QB	190	5′11″
85	ROOSEVELT HINES	HB	165	5′ 9″

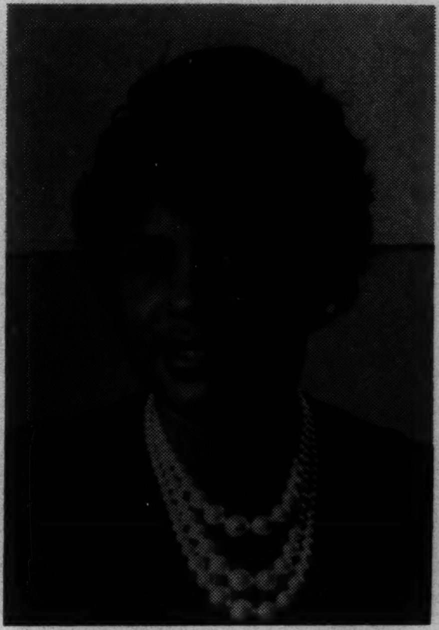
Program of Events

1. 1:00 P.M. PARADE FROM BRANCH OFFICE TO
   BOYS HIGH FIELD
   GRAND MARSHALL WINSTON CRAIG

2. 1:45 P.M. INTRODUCTION OF PLAYERS

3. 2:00 P.M. "KICK OFF"

4. HALF TIME SHOW
   MISTRESS OF CEREMONIES — MRS. LUCILLE ROSE
   a. WYNN CENTER P.A.L. PRECISION MARCHING BAND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF LEON PALMER
   b. CROWNING OF MISS N. A. A. C. P. GOLDEN KNIGHTS FOOTBALL QUEEN



Ella George

Ella, a freshman at Brooklyn College, is a graduate of Franklin K. Lane High School. She was offered a full scholarship to Howard University, Washington, D. C., but declined it, however, to accept a Regents State Scholarship. She has not as yet decided what she would like to major in, but most likely it will be in the field of mathematics.

She is in the Intermediate Choir at Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church. A member of the Echo staff of the church magazine, Echo, she also participates in the tutoring program there. Her favorite pasttime is sewing. She is also enjoying learning how to swim and bowl.

The Brooklyn College Chapter of the NAACP, of which she is a member, is sponsoring her. This group is very active on campus. It has this term sponsored a Freedom Song Fest, and a talk by Drs. James and Joseph Kennedy on the Negroes' relationship to the new Africa. It is at present trying to organize a tutoring service for students in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

Alma Christene Hall

School: G. O. Representative in Wingate H. S.
Wingate Girls' Volley Ball Team
Wingate's Mixed Chorus

Club Membership: St. Philip's Episcopal Young Churchmen Girls' Choir
Delta Phi Epsilons Sorority

Hobbies: Dancing, Piano, Singing, Sewing, All Outdoor Sports, Collecting Afro Figure Heads

Ambition: Teaching (College)

SHIRLEY THERESE FAUNTLEROY

Attended St. Joseph's Commercial H. S. Active in NAACP Labor & Industry Committee. Studying Music and Modeling. Active in Social and Church Benefits. Hobbies: Dancing, Singing and Piano. Participated in Youth March to Washington, D. C. Hostess for NAACP Labor and Industry Awards Dinner.

JEWEL ALMOND

Born and educated in Atlanta, Georgia.

Member of Brooklyn Branch N.A.A.C.P. and the Lewis Howard Progressive Association.

Miss Almond is a member of "The Washington Temple Church of God in Christ, Inc," where Bishop F. D. Washington is the Pastor and Founder.

Member of Young Women's Usher Board and Original Nurses Unit of above Church.

Carol Clarke

Carol is a senior student at Erasmus Hall High School.

She is a member of the Choral Club, Tennis Club, Volley Ball Team, Leaders Club, Basketball Team and the Bowling Club with an average of 160.

Her ambition is to join her brother in the entertainment world. She sings.

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HERMIONE GROSS

Attended Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk, Va.

Member of Zion Baptist Church, sings in Young People Choir.

Appointed Secretary for the Young Adult Council of N.A.A.C.P.

She now is studying voice under Prof. L. Cardwell.

Her Ambition is to be a Concert Singer.

Her Hobbies are Ice Skating and Singing.

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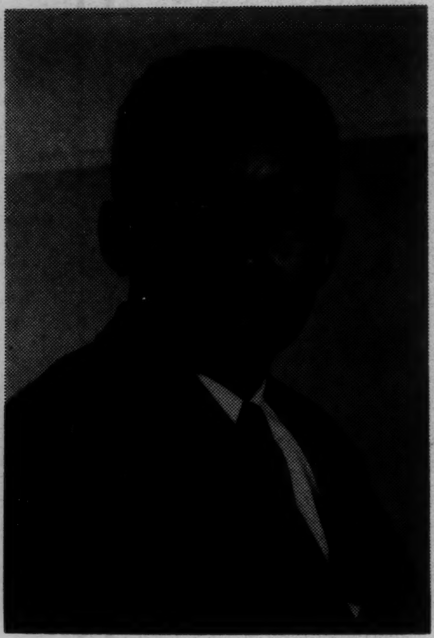
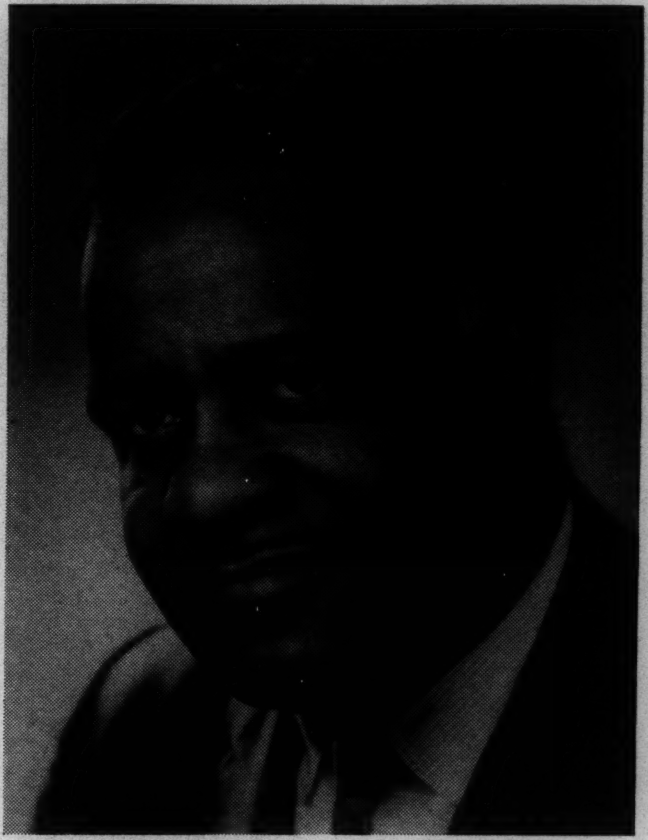


Constatine Hall

Graduate of Brooklyn College. Member of Paragon, Jamaica Progressive League, The Voter's Club and a Patron of the Fulton Art Fair. Employed with Office of William Smull, Architect, as a designer-draftsman.



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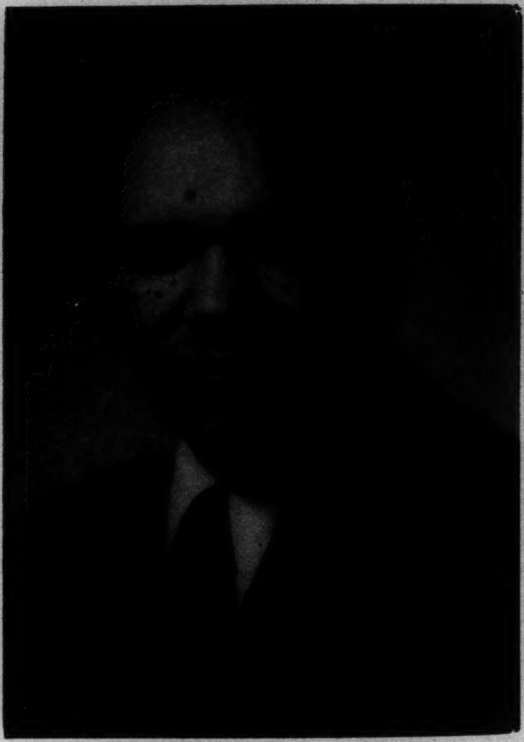

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NEWS BULLETIN

BROOKLYN BRANCH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1722 FULTON STREET BROOKLYN 33, N.Y.

FEBRUARY, 1963 HY 3-1671

THE BROOKLYN BRANCH N.A.A.C.P. PRESENTS:

LANGSTON HUGHES
AND
DIANA SANDS
STAR OF "RAISIN IN THE SUN"

IN

FRIDAY EVE. "SING FOR FREEDOM" FEB. 8th, 8 P.M.

A CENTENNIAL SONG PLAY

FEATURING:
THE CHOIRS OF
MT. LEBANON AND BETHANY BAPTIST CHURCHES

MRS. JEANETTE DAVIS & MR. JAY SANFORD, MINISTERS OF MUSIC
AND
LORENZ GRAHAM, FOLK SINGER
AND
"INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS BY THE REVEREND LAWS."
SPLENDID MEMORALBE EVENING PROMISED

FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 8, AT 8 P.M. SHARP

MT. LEBANON BAPTIST CHURCH - 230 DECATUR ST. (at LEWIS AVE)
ADMISSION FREE! COME OUT & JOIN US IN OUR EMANCIPATION PROGRAM.

OUR PROBLEM

The condition of whibh Mr. Aaron E. Henry, President of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations tell us about now is probably difficult for you to understand. Suppose you were in a situation where your last pay check came to you in early November 1962 and you will not get another until late in May 1963. This is the predicament many, many Negro farm workers find themselves in this year. Automation is taking the place of the workers to gather the crops. Many Negro workers lives have been spent in this form of occupation. While Automation is the greatest contributing factor,the Negroes that have been involved in the Freedom Movement are the first and the most severely victimized by the misery of hunger and cold.

There are many families without fire during this cold winter, many of the children have no shoes for their cold feet. Perhaps worst of all many go to bed every night hungry and cold. Clarksdale, Mississippi need your help in trying to ease this human misery. If you can help, please contact Mr. Aaron E. Henry, President Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations 400 Yazoo Ave., Clarksdale, Mississippi.

1963 - 1964
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WE NEED YOUR COOPERATION AND WE WILL MAKE THE BROOKLYN BRANCH BIGGER AND BETTER THAN EVER.

JOIN THE NAACP TO-DAY

NEWS BULLETIN
WARREN J. BUNN.....PRESIDENT
LUCILLE ROSE.......SECRETARY

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

The NAACP has served to unite people of all groups with a program that meets the need of everyone regardless of race, creed or color. The Brooklyn community today has need for an effective NAACP program as never before in our existence. Toward this end, I pledge myself, to do all I can to project a program to cover Legal, Labor, Education, and Housing problems. The Legal Redress Committee has been enlarged and now has more lawyers to cover local cases. The education committee will pool its efforts with other groups for an all out attack on education ills in our borough. The Labor Committee of the NAACP, Messers Fauntleroy, Joe Lewis and Griers co-chairmen will intensify the fight against discrimination by employers and unions alike. Legislative Chairman, George Fleary, Esq. and Bishop Washington have formed a committee, The Brooklyn NAACP Committee for Active Citizenship to activate the Voter Registration Campaign throughout the Borough. Miss Alma Bailey, Fund Raising Chairman, will soon start a series of Fund Raising Projects to Finance the Branch Activities. The Branch Office will be open from Monday to Friday 3P.M. to 10 P.M. to aid the community in every way possible. We need your help. Please come out and be an active member. Rev. Lowry and Mrs. Tatem will lead the Church Work Committee.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FEBRUARY 1, 1963
Mr. John Killens, James Baldwin, and Louis Lomax will appear on the "Today" program, February 1, 1963 from 7:30 AM to 8:30 AM.

FEBRUARY 5, 1963
Metropolitan meeting of membership chairmen and officers at New York Branch Office 125th St. at 7:30 P.M.

FEBRUARY 8, 1963
Emancipation Centennial Program at Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church 230 Decatur St. Enjoyable Program. Every member should attend. Come and bring all of your friends. Admission Free. Program starts at 8 P.M. sharp.

FEBRUARY 14, 1963
Executive Board Meeting at Branch Office 8:30 P.M. sharp.

FEBRUARY 28, 1963 at 8:30 P.M. regular membership meeting of the Brooklyn Branch NAACP at the Paragon Hall 4 Bklyn Ave.

MARCH 5, 1963
Centennial Legislative Mobilization to Albany, N.Y. All members urged to join George Fleary Legislative Chairman and other leaders to get Civil Rights Legislation passed. For information call MA 2-2591.

Books Audited by
Hannibal Herring
3070 3rd Ave. N Y

TREASURER'S REPORT
BROOKLYN BRANCH N.A.A.C.P.
FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1962

Lewis L.Doug
Tres

We received cash as follows:		
Memberships(inc. inst. on Life Memberships)...	$12,600.55	
We received from:		
Golden Knights Football Game (Gross)..........	1,137.45	
Labor Committee Awards Dinner(Gross)..........	1,585.40	
Theater Parties(Net)	320.00	
Gifts and Contributions.........................	814.32	
*Exchanges--see disburseme nts................	2,536.55	
Total Cash Received..............................		$18,999.47
We had cashin Banks on Jan. 1, 1962..............		337.17
Total Cash Available.............................		19,336.64
We Paid as follows:		
Young Adults......................................	57.60	
Youth Council.....................................	95.50	
National Office...................................	6,934.90	
Taxes...	31.11	
Postage...	333.00	
Stationery & Printing............................	626.46	
Rent..	1,064.50	
Salaries an d Wages...............................	787.27	
Electricity.......................................	427.64	
Telephone...	450.00	
Contribution to Freedom Fund......................	1,000.00	
Miscellaneous Contributions.......................	20.00	
Convention Expenses...............................	50.00	
* Exchanges(see receipts).........................	2,536.55	
Miscellaneous Expenses............................	1,119.34	
We paid out a total of............................		$15,580.84
Leaving us cash on hand and in Bank of............		3,755.80

Lafayette National Bank Bal. 12/31/62	$1134.25
Manufacture Hanover Trust Co. Bal.	2621.55

New York Post
D. 329,523 SUN. 251,119

JUL 1 1965

Junior CORE

Children at civil rights rally in Newark last night when CORE demanded a civilian police review board. Feared disorders did not materialize.

Post Photo by Engel

The Denver Post
The Voice of the
Rocky Mountain Empire
D. 257,481 SUN. 347,033

JUL 13 1965 Burrelle's

Coleman Pledges to Rule Fairly

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Former Mississippi Gov. James P. Coleman told senators Tuesday that, if confirmed as a federal circuit court judge, he will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court and the act of Congress "100 per cent."

He said that if he had any doubt about that, or about his ability to serve without prejudice, he would not have allowed President Johnson to submit his nomination for a place on the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Coleman, under heavy fire from civil rights organizations as a segregationist, testified he believes, "by virtue of the decisions of the Supreme Court and the acts of Congress, separation of individuals by race or [illegible] is dead in this country."

[illegible] took the witness chair at a crowded Senate judiciary subcommittee hearing after the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and others strongly urged that his nomination be rejected by the Senate.

CORE Seeks Local Help For 'Freedom'

7-17-65

Jackson County Negroes were urged Thursday night to join in the "fight for freedom" at a "mass freedom rally" conducted by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) at Mount Olive Baptist Church.

Bill Bradley, CORE national treasurer, and Spiver Gordon, CORE Florida field secretary, were principal speakers, and John D. Due, attorney for CORE-Scholarship Education Defense Fund (SDEF) explained provisions of the 1964 Economic Opportunities Act.

Gordon said the Negroes cause involves ever Negro. "If your face is black, you're in it," he said, promising that CORE would get the 'Uncle Toms and nervous Nellies" in line.

Bradley urged full cooperation of the Negro community with the CORE program of becoming full participants in the political and economic life of the community. He castigated officials in the "white power structure," from the local sheriff and mayor to Gov. Haydon Burns ("He's no better than George Wallace") and President Johnson, whom he criticized for naming a former Mississippi governor (James P. Coleman) to a federal judgeship.

Due explained ttwt oh first step for participation in the "war on poverty" under last year's act is to form a community action committee. He announced the local branch of the NAACP will hold a meeting next week to form a corporation to act as that committee and apply for and administer federal funds under the Economic Opportunities Act.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

CORE's Clarification

7-17-65

Dear Editor:

We would like to clarify our (CORE's) reasons for working in Marianna and Jackson County, as they were misleadingly stated in your editorial of July 15. There is no need for us to expend our effort in "finding fault" with Marianna, for this is being done every day in every Negro home.

The criticisms of this community go deep, for its faults affect the daily lives of thousands of its citizens. A group of local Negro leaders have felt these faults to be grave enough to call for the creation of an NAACP chapter. This organization, in existence for five years, has drawn up criticisms of the existing system in Jackson County, formulated a plan of action, and taken action on several issues.

Thus, we of CORE have not barged into Jackson County equipped with fantastic creations of our imagination, or prepared to search for trivial faults. Rather, we have come at the request of local residents to help implement previously initiated programs, and have been warmly welcomed by both white and Negro citizens of the community.

The Negro community here may be gratified to know that the Floridan advocates "equality of opportunity," but that has not helped local Negro citizens obtain good jobs or a good education. Perhaps they have been refused these opportunities because white persons have been exercising their "personal preference" as to whom they would like to associate with.

And what does the large number of light-skinned Negroes in this area and the South indicate about freedom of association?

Since the Floridan has expressed a commendable willingness to listen to "constructive criticism," perhaps it will listen more openly to that coming from an important segment of the local citizenry.

In the name of freedom,
/s/Julie Shurski
Sidney Daniels
Johnny L. Watson
CORE Task Force Workers

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The Floridan, first and foremost, is happy that Marianna hospitality has been extended to our visitors with a "warm welcome." We would like to point out, however, that "equality of opportunity" is no guarantee of success, but that the most must be made of each opportunity, and individual initiative must be demonstrated. The Floridan refuses to accept the guilt for moral misconduct which may have produced "light-skinned Negroes" in our area, just as we disallow any guilt for illegitimate dark-skinned babies. This does, we agree, offer tangible proof of "freedom of association," possibly too liberal a freedom. Finally, the Floridan still is willing, and still is waiting, to hear constructive criticism, which was in scant supply at Thursday night's CORE "freedom rally." While some salient points were made, most of the meeting was devoted to calling the "white power structure" names such as "snake in the grass," "fat cat," etc. in an apparent effort to stimulate enough feeling to recruit demonstrators and donors. If such efforts are necessary, we question the depth and extent of local unrest.)

BIBLE VERSE

Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have no faith?—Mark 4:40. Jesus trusted His Heavenly Father for heavenly things and for earthly things. We can trust Him too.

Perfect Community

The only ideal community had only two residents — and they were kicked out for swiping an apple.

So, it is not difficult to find fault with any community, if that's your purpose. And that seems to be the purpose of an entire organization in this country today: go to any community and find fault with it.

Now, this doesn't necessarily have to be bad for those living in the community. Take Marianna, for instance. All of us who live here know it isn't quite perfect. And it may do us all good to have someone from outside Marianna point out some of our faults to us.

But it can also be heartening to us if all they can find are the nit-picking, picayunish or erroneous faults such as have been pointed out already.

This week there are several persons who identify themselves as members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Now, who elected these members of "Congress" isn't quite clear, and who their constituents are isn't clear, either. But their avowed mission, apparently, is to correct the wrongs in Marianna.

Fine. But, seriously, fellows (and ladies?), you've missed the boat completely. Of course, that is to be expected if you haven't lived here a while, but the errors of our ways that have been pointed out so far aren't anything compared with some of our real problems.

And let's set the record straight on this "racial equality" bit, while we're at it. The Floridan long has advocated equality of OPPORTUNITY, but equality of social acceptance and personal preference is not something that can be conferred or legislated. It has to be earned, black or white, and even then it's not guaranteed, what with the vagaries of human nature.

(Just between us folks, CORE, don't you have certain people you'd prefer to associate with, and certain people whom you'd just as soon avoid?)

Those of us who want a better Marianna, and we are legion, welcome constructive criticisms, but why waste our time and yours with nit-picking?

KKK Schedules Dothan Rally

A rally of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan will be held in Dothan tonight, according to Robert M. Creel of Montgomery, Alabama Grand Dragon.

The rally will begin at 6:30 p.m. with music by the Dothan Lyrics and speaking at 7:30 p.m., at the Jones Farm Equipment Co. on the Montgomery Highway at the circle. Creel will be the speaker.

Creel said everyone in the Wiregrass area, including Northwest Florida, is invited to attend, and membership applications will be made available. He said the Klan plans to set up units all over Albama, and to hold a rally every night "somewhere in the state."

CORE Files Sunland Protest; Howell Denies Race Charges

Complaints of alleged racial discrimination at Sunland Training Center are contained in a letter from two men who identify themselves as "task force workers" with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) of Quincy.

The letter, released Tuesday, is addressed to Anthony Celebrezze, secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with copies purportedly sent to "Howard Harry" (Harry Howell), Superintendent at Sunland; Gov. Burns; the Florida State Department of "Health, Education and Welfare" (state welfare department); L. L. Mitchell, U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner; Southern Regional CORE, New Orleans; Spiver W. Gordon, CORE Florida Field Secretary in Quincy; Attorney John D. Due, CORE—S.E.D.F., Tallahassee; and Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

The letter alleges discriminatory practices such as housing Negro patients "separately, excluding Negro patients from occupational training, teaching Negro patients in segregated classes, feeding Negroes at segregated eating facilities, restricting Negro employes to "colored cottages," and derogatory references to Negro patients by athletic directors.

The letter says the two men visited the center July 9 and observed the above, and asks Celebrezze to conduct an immediate investigation.

Howell said Wednesday he did not know of CORE's "visit" but that at least four of the six charges are false, in that Negro patients are included in occupational classes with whites, and other school classes are integrated, eating facilities are integrated and Negro employes are not sgregated from white employes.

He justified the use of Negro cottage parents for Negro cottages as part of the basic rehabilitation in which the patient is encouraged to identify with the cottage parent as a real parent. This would be made more difficult, he said, if the cottage parets and patients were not of the same race.

He added that an immediate investigation will be made about the alleged derogatory references by athletic directors. He noted that the center's basball team, which was in Fort Myers Wednesday, has three Negro players.

Howell said he would welcome any investigation by Celebrezze's office, or any other qualified department, because he is satisfied the center is fully complying with the intent of the Civil Rights Act.

The Jackson County Times

Editorial:

• Baton Rouge's Record In Race Relations

Mayor-President Dumas has acted correctly in meeting with representatives of CORE and the NAACP to make sure that they all are informed on the situation in Baton Rouge, on the state of race relations in this city, and on the damage that could be done by ill-advised intervention by outsiders or by untimely and totally unprovoked racial agitation of the kind unwanted by either white or Negro leadership of the community.

Much, we are sure, remains to be done here in Baton Rouge. But virtual miracles of progress in race relations already have been achieved. Credit for this goes equally to Negro and white citizens. More will be done, but it can be done only through the efforts of those same citizens, working with the interests of the entire community at heart and in a sincere effort to avoid the racial strife that has spread lasting bitterness in other communities.

For an example of how little of lasting significance can be accomplished by prolonged agitation and consequent violence on both sides, we need only refer to a recent New York Times report on the present situation in Selma. The Times, which covered the Selma troubles in detail, sent one of its writers back to that city to find out what had happened after the Rev. King, the shock troops of CORE and SNCC, their sympathizers from other states, and the segregationist hotheads and their sympathizers had departed. After all the trouble and all the terrible and tragic events that occurred, the Times found, life has settled back to its old patterns and hardly anything good has been accomplished. What a contrast with the peaceful progress that has been achieved in Baton Rouge!

If this pattern of cooperation should be broken, the consequences, as B. B. Taylor, a member of the National Community Relations Council, has pointed out, will be felt not only here but everywhere, in every community where hotheads and opponents of racial cooperation will be able to point to the futility of the efforts exerted here.

Some of the demands made on the city government, like those made simultaneously on the Louisiana state government, are obviouly illogical. The city and the state, for example, have no control over private industry and neither the obligation nor the power to police in any way the cooperation of private industry with various phases of the Civil Rights Act. These are federal matters. The big industries of Louisiana are cooperating and obeying the law. But even if they were not, the city and state governments have no more to do with its enforcement than they have to do with the enforcement of the federal income tax law or any of many other federal regulations.

The mayor-president's efforts seem to have borne some fruit. He spoke for all of us in pledging continued effort for harmony and improved race relations. We believe that we speak for the entire community, Negro and white, when we express profound hope to interrupt the even tenor of events here or darken the present exceedingly bright outlook.

FLORIDA
SHADE-GROWN
TOBACCO CAPITAL

Gadsden Co

and con
THE CHATTAHOO

VOLUME 65, NO. 29
QUINCY, FLORIDA 32351, T

County's Poor Mis
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ounty Times
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ATTAHOOCHEE TRIBUNE
A 32351, THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1965
PER COPY TEN CENTS

WEATHER REPORT
Week Ending July 20

Highest Temperature	93
Lowest Temperature	69
Rainfall, week	0.45
Rainfall, month	3.45
Rainfall, year	50.94

lissing One Million nent Surplus Foods

Various Petitions Keep Gadsden CAP Inactive

The poor and underprivileged people of Gadsden County, both Negro and white, are being deprived of over one million pounds of Federal surplus foods because of a petition signed by Altonese Jackson, Johnny Lee Watson (CORE), Rev. W. H. Fortson (NAACP), Thelma K. Robinson (Stevens Elementary PTA), Spivey Gordon (CORE), Negro Progressive Club of River Junction, and CORE— River Junction, according to Everett Gay, president of Gadsden Community Action, Inc.

This was revealed at a meeting of the board of directors of Gadsden Community Action, Inc., held Tuesday night at the Gadsden County Courthouse. Members of the board present at the meeting concurred unanimously that a petition submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, in March of this year, prevented the local poverty combatting organization from participating in the surplus food program or getting an initial development grant up to this time.

On July 8 a meeting was held in the Chamber of Commerce office in Quincy which was attended by Robert Bryant, Willie Williams and Tom Maxwell, members of the board of directors; Col. Thompson; John Due, attorney for CORE; Dorothy Jones and William Robinson, representatives of CIG; Johnny Watson, field worker for CORE, and Charles L. Feltus, representative of the regional Office of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta.

At this meeting it was agreed to change the by-laws of Community Action, Inc., to allow for 21 members on the board of directors instead of the present 15. The six additional members to be selected by the present board from a list of eligible people. It was agreed by all present at the July 8 meeting that these changes would satisfy the Federal Government and the petitioners and no further objections would be encountered.

Section 3 of Article III originally read: "In addition to the annual meeting and special meetings provided for herein, there shall be quarterly meetings of the membership solely to receive status reports from the board of directors and officers of the corporation at a time and place to be designated by the board of directors and no other business shall be transacted at such meetings." This section was changed Tuesday night by taking out the word "solely" and deleting the last ten words "and no other business shall be transacted at such meetings." This change was also agreed upon at the July 8 meeting.

The board of directors of Gadsden Community Action recently received the following communiagreed upon at the July 8 meeting.

The board of directors of Gadsden Community Action recently received the following communication from John D. Due, Jr., representing the Civic Interest Group of Quincy and the Congress of Racial Equality. Copies of this letter were sent by Attorney Due to Sargent Shriver, Earl Redwine, Sam Hand and Spiver Gordon.

On July 7, 1965 Mr. Feltus a representative of the regional office in Atlanta of the OEO conferred with Col. Thompson and Mr. T. L. Maxwell, representatives of the Gadsden County CAP, Mrs. Dorthy Jones and Mr. William Robinson, representatives of CIG, Mr. Johnny Watson, representative of Quincy CORE, and Attorney John D. Due, Jr.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the petition submitted by CIG demanding broader representation on the Board of Directors of the Gadsden County CAP. Mr. Feltus suggested that the present Board of Directors was defective in that it did not comply with paragraph 5 of part B on page 16 of the CAP guide book; that paragraph "requires maximum possible participation of the residents of the areas or neighborhoods in which the program will be carried out and of the members of the groups that it will serve". Basically it requires that a substantial number of poverty people actually serve on the Board of Directors of a CAP.

Pursuant to the requirement, Col. Thompson suggested that the Board of Directors be increased by six, these six people to be actual poverty people. Col. Thompson also suggested that the Gadsden County Welfare Department, an organization admittedly well qualified in dealing with problems of the poor, select from among their files the six poverty people to be added to the Board of Directors.

It is to these suggestions that the Gadsden County CIG, through their counsel attorney John D. Due, Jr. now responds with the following suggestions:

1) That the Gedsden County Welfare Department should not be the agent to appoint or suggest the six people to be added to the Board of Directors; that these pepole would be subject to the "control" of the Welfare Department, and would therefore not be able to freely exercize the right

(Continued on Page Eleven)

Surplus Foods

(Continued from Page One)

guaranteed in the CAP guide. Part B section 5b on page 16:

> "to protest or to propose additions to, or changes in the ways in which a community action program is being planned or undertaken"

2) That the six additional members of the Board of Directors of the CAP in Gadsden County be elected by their peers, in truly democratic fashion; that these six additional people be elected from communities such as Midway, Quincy, Havana, Chattahoochee, Greensboro, Mt. Pleasant, Gretna, St. Stephen's, Oak Grove, Scotland, Gibson, Shiloh, Douglas City, Sawdust, Hinson, Jamison, St. Elizabeth, St. Hebron and St. John; that no more than one person be elected from any one community.

3) That these elections be held immediately in order that the CAP begin to operate in Gadsden County.

It is felt that the above petition will now cause another delay in receiving surplus commodities or federal funds for proposed projects to aleviate proverty in Gadsden County.

At the Tuesday evening meeting of the board the following people will be invited to sit on the board of directors: D. J. Morgan, Negro of St. Hebron community; Herbert Davis, Negro of Midway; James Alford, white of Quincy: Dempsey Phillips, white of Greensboro: Philip Graham, Negro of Midway, and Lewis Ethridge, white of Chattahoochee. Mitchell N. Drew, president of the Gadsden County Chamber of Commerce was also elected and seated to take the place on the board vacated by John Snipes, who resigned due to ill health. Drew will represent the Chamber of Commerce.

An initial program development grant request was sent to the Atlanta regional office on June 3 seeking $29.103 in Federal funds to be supplement by $3,348 in local money or kind to get the anti-poverty program moving. It is felt by officers and members of the board of directors that persistent petitions and objections made by the two above named groups has delayed authorization of this grant and will further delay any progress on the "war on poverty" in this county.

In other official action Tuesday evening it was voted to issue membership cards to members of the corporation so that they may be identified at future meetings. These cards would be valid for one year following approval of the board of directors. Col. Thompson was also officially named as Executive Director of the group.

E:III:49

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

REGIONAL OFFICE
2085 SUTTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA
JOrdan 7-5929

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
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Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

Dear Mrs. Slater.

Forgive the brevity of this note, but I felt I should confirm our arrangement~~e~~s for a sit-in at the Governor's office next Tuesday, August 13. We will all meet at Eva Levy's house, 52 West 58th St. at 12.30 PM., have a breifing session, and proceed to the Governor's office at 2.00 P.M. I am enclosing a~~x~~ long letter that I wrote to Albert Mayer, giving the basis of ~~and a sheet detailing~~ our demands. Please call me if you have any questions,

Aug
Spaced

Warmest Regards.

Val Coleman
National CORE

Photos

August 1, 1963

Mr. Albert Mayer
31 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Mayer:

I found our meeting on Tuesday very rewarding and hope I can give you the information you need in this letter which can, if you like, form the basis of a fact sheet for whatever activity we decide upon in connection with the employment struggle. May I point out, first of all, that yesterday (Wednesday), the New York State Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights released a report which is a sweeping analysis of non-white employment in the city and state, confirming the CORE position totally. I do not, as yet, have a copy of this report, but will have one in twenty-four hours. I shall forward a copy to you when I have it in hand. A documentation of this report, of course, gives a kind of official sanction to our drive in employment which will be extremely useful when dealing with city and state officials.

In terms of our discussion the other day, let me reiterate how I feel we can best answer questions posed by reporters and officials in connection with the employment issue.

1. CORE is, as you know, a non-violent, direct-action organization which uses sit-in and demonstration tactics to dramatize a general evil. Although our position must be, of course, well documented, the fact of wide-spread discriminatory practices throughout the entire public and private buildings industry in this state is the fundamental justification for our protest presence anywhere.

2. We are specifically asking that an entirely new structure be created within the building and construction trades union to open both membership and apprentice categories to Negroes without the tactical obstructions currently used as a mechanism to obscure the civil rights of non-white employees. This, as you know, is analyzed in detail in what we referred to on Tuesday as the "yellow sheet".

3. We are asking that the Mayor, the Governor, and any other state authorities, including the borough district attorneys, enforce the existing legislation which clearly rules out discrimination in any way in both private and public building projects, whether practiced by labor or management. The most impressive law involved in this particular situation is Sections 40, 41, and 43 of the Civil Rights Law

of the State of New York, under which there has been but one prosecution since the law was first placed on the books in 1888.

4. In the specific situation on construction sites in New York City, there is an obvious imbalance in the number of non-white employees which is apparent to everyone, including the authors of the report mentioned above which, I understand, is in the second section of today's HERALD TRIBUNE. I have been unable to uncover the exact details of the Harlem project you mentioned at lunch, but will try to have them for you very shortly.

5. The question of how Negro employees are provided to employers or to the unions is, of course, a tricky one. In the first place, there is an existing body of Negro construction workers available at this time, not only the two hundred I mentioned earlier who are registered at the Urban League, but many hundreds, indeed thousands of others, both skilled and unskilled, who must be sought out. CORE TAKES THE POSITION THAT IT IS FUNDAMENTALLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EMPLOYER, WHETHER HE BE LABOR OR MANAGEMENT, TO SEARCH OUT AND RECRUIT NEW NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN ORDER TO CORRECT THE IMBALANCE THAT PRESENTLY EXISTS. It is not enough simply to announce that you do not want to discriminate; it is equally important that those who have in the past discriminated take specific and aggressive action to train, widen, and improve the non-white labor force. Therefore, when we say to the governor that we want city and state projects closed, we are simply asking him to obey his own laws, and we are, further, placing a large burden of the responsibility of finding, training, and hiring non-whites on city and state officials as well as on management and labor leaders. This is the key, I think, to the matter with which we were having some difficulty on Tuesday. CORE is not an employment agency -- CORE is pursuing its responsibility to point up and end discrimination on a practical, visible, and non-visible level.

I understand from Mrs. Levy that we are having difficulty recruiting enough people for the projected Tuesday sit-in. Either Marvin Rich or I will be very glad to meet with anyone who has doubts or questions, and more specifically, the doubts or questions expressed in your letter to me of yesterday. I think as you do, that it is terribly important to get this body or cadre of people together and to place them in a direct functioning relationship to the movement. I can only repeat that it has been our experience that participation in an action project of whatever scale has a solid galvanizing effect on new people and tends to make their commitment much stronger and more permanent.

As to the specific questions raised about quota systems, etc., there is a whole area of misunderstanding here for which I blame us, because we have inadequately explained our official position in terms of "over-hiring" or "preferential hiring", which we believe to be tactically necessary at this stage, particularly on the apprentice level, in order to end the obvious and well documented imbalance on a semi-skilled and skilled level. Over three hundred years of discrimination and segregation have clearly lowered the immediate and objective skill level of the Negro working force. CORE, and I think most of the other organizations, feel that the hiring balance, particularly on the apprentice level, must be weighted in favor of the Negro working force in order to create anything close to a fair distribution of jobs. I think the word "quota" is tactically a bad word to use, but to be perfectly frank, our position does support preferential hiring practices for the time it takes to end discrimination.

I would appreciate very much your advice and feelings about this letter and our other conversations, and I hope we can get our plan rolling as quickly as possible.

Thank you again for your help and your insights and I hope I will be seeing you within the next few days to nail down a specific project or, if it proves necessary, a more general, broader committee, such as you suggested, for the period following Labor Day.

Kindest regards,

Val Coleman

VG:l

August 8, 1963

Mrs. Louis Cowan
941 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Cowan:

Forgive the brevity of this note, but I felt I should confirm our arrangements for a sit-in at the Governor's office next Tuesday, August 13. We will all meet at Eva Levy's house, 52 W. 58th Street at 12:30 P.M., have a briefing session, and proceed to the Governor's office at 2:00 P.M. I am enclosing a long letter that I wrote to Albert Mayer, giving the basis of our demands. Please call me if you have any questions.

Warmest regards,

Val Coleman,
National CORE

VC/mh

August 8, 1963

Mrs. Lewis Weiss
R D 1
Wells Hill Road
Weston, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Weiss:

Forgive the brevity of this note, but I felt I should confirm our arrangements for a sit-in at the Governor's office next Tuesday, August 13. We will all meet at Eva Levy's house, 52 W.58th Street at 12:30 P.M., have a briefing session, and proceed to the Governor's office at 2:00 P.M. I am enclosing a long letter that I wrote to Albert Mayer, giving the basis of our demands. Please call me if you have any questions.

Warmest regards,

Val Coleman
National CORE

VC/mh

August 8, 1963

Mr. Andrew Norman
177 East 71st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Norman:

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Warmest regards,

Val Coleman
National CORE

VC/mh

August 8, 1963

Mr. Simon Breines
630 Third Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Breines:

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Warmest regards,

Val Coleman
National CORE

VC/mh

August 8, 1963

Mrs. James Slater
Barlow Lane
Rye, New York

Dear Mrs. Slater:

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Warmest regards,

Val Coleman
National CORE

VC/mh

DRAFT OF VAL COLEMAN'S STATEMENT

SEP 2 7 1963

Okay, George, here's the story as I remember it. The first I knew of this caper was when a young lady from New York CORE came scurrying into the office and said that the Mayor had issued a statement to the effect that the sit-inners would have to leave his office or face arrest. My immediate thought was that if the Mayor was going to make this kind of a challenge to us, we should answer it in kind. I inquired if any of the other people could face arrest and she told me that none of them could. so, I walked over to the front of City Hall. When I got there I found 6 or 7 CORE people standing around a pile of blankets, pillows, etc. that obviously had just been removed from City Hall. They went peacefully as I understand it. I then picked up a pillow and a blanket and with them under my arm, walked up the steps to the top of the steps where I met an inspector. He said, "What do you think you're doing?" I said, "I want to go in to the Mayor's office." He said, "Didn't you hear what the Mayor said?" and I said, "yes" and then I said, "I am here in redress of grievances for the non-white working man in New York City." At this point the inspector said, "Well, I'm not going to let you go in there," and I said, "I will stand here for as long as necessary until my way into the office is cleared." HE said that he would stand there too. At this point, a young captain, a large guy, who I can easily identify, read the Mayor's statement to me on orders from the Inspector. I repeated that I would stand there and that I was there in redress of grievances as was my constitutional right and they warned me that I could be arrested for disorderly conduct and that if I did not cooperate when arrested I would be charged with other things. There was a hiatus here for about a minute or two while the press asked me questions and I repeated the basic stand of CORE on the question of employment and they asked me why I didn't leave, and I said I felt the Mayor could do two things (1) that he could enforce his own existing laws and (2) use his considerable influence in opening up the building trades to non-whites.

Apparently the police made a decision at this point and the inspector suddenly said, "Okay, let's get him out of here." I immediately said,"Am I under arrest?" The answer was no. "I said, however, I wish to remain here and he turned to two of his patrolmen, who then took my arms and pushed me toward the edge of the steps. They were not rough with me. When I got to the edge of the steps, I sat fown on the steps, this was not a non-cooperation move, I was simply still trying to gain entrance to the Mayor's office as long as I was not under arrest. While sitting on the steps an order was given to remove me"beyond the barrier" (That's a quote from the Inspector). He said you can shout all you want from beyond the barrier. I again said, "Am I under arrest?" The answer was no. With this the police started escorting me east on City Hall Plaza toward Park Row. I repeated at least 5 times during this trip, "AM I under arrest?" I was either not answered or I was told no. When we reached the barrier, I said, "If you turn me loose, I will, of course, return to the Mayor's office. The inspector then xxxx had me turned around and took me toward the back of City Hall. I again asked if I was under arrest and the answer was, again no. This time, I thought they were simply trying to get me further away from the building. When I got around to the back of the building, i.e. the north end of City Hall,I saw 2 paddy wagons waiting. When I was about 5 feet from the back of the paddy wagon, I said, "Am I under arrest?" And they said at this point, and this is the first time they said it, yes. At which point I climbed up into the paddy wagon and sat down.

I was driven, in due course, to the 5th Prescint on Elizabeth Street and was treated very well there, however, it was interesting to notice that all of the men who talked to me, whether or not it was official or casual, kept asking me one of 2 questions. The first questionx was, "Did you go over thereto be arrested?" To which I answered no, I did not go over to be arrested, I went over to petition to the Mayor for a redress of grievances and the second question was, "Didn't you know that you were intentionally committing a crime in advance?" to which I answered, "I did not feel that I had committed a crime, that I would certainly plead Not Guilty. After the usual amount of filing our of forms, I was taken to 100 Centre Street where I was placed in a cell with aobut 65 drunks, pimps and degenerates, the cell being about the size of your office. I was accompanied by a policeman named Vogel. This officer was one of the two men who escorted me to the paddy wagon. He, incidentally, will be the policeman who follows through on my case and will appear by order of the judge at my trial, After about an hour's wait, I was taken in to court where I discovered I had no lawyer. I stood in front of Judge Shalleck and was duly charged. He asked me where I worked and what my salary was. I answered both questions. He also asked me if I was paid to sit-in. My answer to that was in 2 parts. I first said, "I am not paid to sit-in but I will sit-in when I find it necessary. Now, I'm not sure about that answer, but it will be easy enough to find on the trial transcript. There was a discussion of trial date during which I mentioned the fact that I would probably go to Washington on August 28th and would prefer for the trial to be put off to possibly, September sometime. We all agreed on September 3rd and the judge said in view of the fact that you are leaving my jurisdiction during this period I will set nominal bail of $500 bond or $100 cash. I turned around to see if there was any one there who could come up with $100 saw my sister who had $15 in her pocketbook and told her to try to find $100 and cover the bail. I was then taken back in to a separate cell which I was alone much of the time and began to wait. By this time it was about 8:45. I waited from 8:45 until 1 o'clock. During this period, people were brought to my cell and left my cell and it was not unpleasant. I sent the message to you to cover Sissy in case she was unable to come up with the money. I was confused and wondered why it took so long. The matron and the turnkey who were with me at that time were quite amiable and also wondered why it took so long. At one stage I overheard them sending somebody down to find out what had happened to my bail. The reason they were concerned was that they had received your message that "You were in a taxi with $100 and were coming immediately." About 1 o'clock I was taken out of the cell and I presumed, of course, that this was bail time. However, I was taken downstairs and put in another cell with 3 disreputable types and I was told finally that I was being taken to the Tombs because no one had come up with my bail. I was then taken to the Tombs, stripped, examined, with all the usual procedure. It was interesting to note that on one occasion at least one of the officers at the Tombs said to another "that man over there," pointing at me, "is Coleman." I walked stark naked up to my cell put on my clothes and laid down on my bunk which had no mattress on it but that is true of all the bunks in that tier and there were about 38 or 39 men there. After lying there for about 45 minutes, I was told that I was bailed out and I went through

the usual bail procedure being taken downstairs and when I got downstairs I overheard one of the policemen in the bail area say, in response to a question that used my name, "Yah, I know. He is only to be released on Captain Seivers' orders." Now I am reasonably certain that the name was Seivers but it could have been something that was phonetically like that. After a slow-paced filing out of forms etc. I was then released into the everloving arms of George Schiffer.

George the bail money was There at 9.00 P.M. – But they would"n't take it because "the papers hadn't come down."

1 Rockefeller Plaza
Television Bur. of Ads. .4-10 P.M
Suite 2401

Ed Day - warrant out for his arrest
in Syracuse

NBC - ⊗ 3391 5244069
ABC - 5248351
CBS -

Crawfordville -
Pickney Valvakrowitch UPI guy
in N.O.

Barbara Hicks
and
Charles Hicks

924 E. 9th St.

William Peters

What this guy doesn't dig is that you got to get killed to get even this lousy legislation — The concept of "cumulative pressure" based on the complaint procedure is horse-shit.

Hugh Robbins

8:15

Dec 1968

SCHOOL

WORKSHOP

BOOKLET

(First Draft)

May, 1965

40 adults

mothers

What this guy doesn
got to get killed to
lousy legislation —
pressure" based on the
is horse-shit.

SCHOOL

WORKSHOP

Hugh Robbins

8.15

1968

8/8

WORKSHOP

BOOKLET

(First Draft)

May, 1965

oesn't dig is that you
to get even this
— The concept of "cumulative
the complaint procedure

40 adults
Mostermis

PES 8

In Mississippi parents and citizens are concerned about the conditions of the schools and the problems they are facing in the Mississippi school system.

What problems in your school are you concerned about?

Up to now Negroes in Mississippi have had no voice on how the schools are being run, but Negroes are no longer satisfied. This booklet has been prepared to provide information on how the school system is run by the state and county. It suggests how, as Negro parents and citizens, you can change the situation.

This booklet will help to point up some of the things that are wrong with the school system and how they can be changed. The booklet will help to tell who is responsible for the condition of the school system, how they got their position, and the power they have.

Hopefully, after parents and citizens have read and worked with this booklet, they will form committees to look into the basic problems and then begin to change Mississippi school system.

Before change can happen, people have to talk. But change will never happen if they only talk. One way to make talk lead to action is by asking questions and then going out to find the answers. What questions can we ask about schools? We can turn every school problem listed on page 1 into a question about who is responsible.

Who buys books?

Who decides on teacher qualifications?

Who decides on teachers' pay?

Dan Pick

~~Oretha Castle~~

Now we have some specific questions to try to answer. Let's talk for a while and try to answer some of the questions.

MD2-0400

61 people jailed

Tallahassee

Post Inn Cafe

Gary Craven

Moe's Tire Service
601 W. Green

30-35

Sit-in

Moe's Tire Service -

AP-Bureau
UPI

1:00 P.M.

[illegible]

Lehman Whyce

3
27.50 1430.00
52

5500
13750

Tallulah →

Jobs and Voter Reg.

D. L. Williams
Helen B. Williams

Negro Policeman

Say "twice as many

4 3
27.50
62

5500
16500

1700.00

We've talked about the county superintendent. In your county or community who is your superintendent?

How was he elected or chosen? When was he chosen? What are his qualifications? What is his salary?

Who is on your County Board of Education? How was it chosen? When was it chosen? What qualifications do they have?

Where is the State Department of Education located? How many people work there? What are their qualifications?

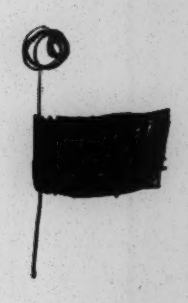
We'll need a committee to answer these questions.

The Committee will be: enter New Orleans
find Dryades St.
(increasing)

This committee will meet: end 2200 block
turn left on Phillips
2nd door
1900 Phillips

Perhaps as this committee answers the questions above they will also discover other related questions, hopefully be able to answer these too.

upstairs
apt.



NBC - TV - assignment.
CBS - TV - assignment.
New York Times. ABC - TV - assignment.

rumor scotched

½ hour ago - rumor - mob headed
toward Union Hall - Deacons left 10
minutes ago ⟷ w/ arsenal

735-2 1302 ⇔ Ø

noon Saturday Farmer

Mayor says "no more picketing"
"no more demonstrating"
"no more marches"

When your committees find information, what will you use it for?

____

____

____

____

____

____

Should you start working for change in just the schools your children attend? Are there reasons for wanting to change all the schools in Mississippi?

____

____

____

____

____

ANN EARLY. → Socialworker

[redacted]

Plans? —

Press?

10:30

W.D.S.U.

Tommy

6-16 pickets arrested and are out.

WDSU

Channel 12 - ~~A~~BC - (afraid to go downtown)

Ronnie, picketers

~~852-2622~~ | (after 7.00 P.M.)

mass meeting 7.30 P.M

PE 58961 after 7.00 _ Wesley AME.

PO 5 2229 85

8/13 Ronnie Moore → on Huntley
picketing ↔

Can we work on Negro schools and all the schools at the same time? The best way to decide is probably to list what we could do about each. And then choose what we want to do.

HOW TO IMPROVE PRESENT SCHOOLS

1. Take part in meetings with teachers.
2. Invite School Board members to our meetings.
3. Let principals and teachers know we're not satisfied with them.
4. Become registered voters and elect school board members.
5. Visit State Department of Education in Jackson.

HOW TO CHANGE WHOLE SYSTEM

1. File court suits against separate schools for Negro and white.
2. Try to talk with any white citizens who might share some of our worries. (A group of white people, Mississippians for Public Education might talk to us.)
3. Find out about school integration in other states.
4. Read and study about how to prepare both Negroes and white people for integration.

Tommy Williams says - an
undet. no. of whites - attacked them

got home - 3

Bernice Wilson
Cornelius Griffin
? - lady

attended by Dr. Barton Harris (concussion
fractured rib)

Griffin badly beaten - taken to hosp. to
Washington - St. Tammany Hosp. (sent)

Wilson - Said to be seen getting in police car
and ? - ~~un~~known

---

pickets pulled — after above ↑

---

undetermined pickets 3.34 - at 4.00 -
fighting

The last question to ask is "What will you really do?" Which of the above ideas will you start with? And how will you carry them out?

Your answer will help decide the future of your children, and of Mississippi.

YOUR ANSWER:

Roger Blackburn

unconcious → dizzy

horse-shit
Title 7 - One-at-a-time complaint → JIVE

10.30 AM -

Jim Brunn
40 pickets - 13 ~~stores~~
1 attacked AM (Shoestore)
& arrested
also - dist. place } 100.00

---

later 4 pickets arrested ~~$~~ (B

Conrad Peters
Gerald Penton
Carlton [redacted] Short
William Peters

(white throwing firecrackers)
(some Negroes
10 whites seen being placed in patrol cars
Some booked on 50.00

→ Peters says no police brutality
All Negroes released.

---

picketing stopped at noon

" resumed at 1.30 (26 pickets)
have been told no money for bail.

Arvidex - 4 state troopers - talking to crackers
back of store - leaving pickets unguarded

15. the CBS Net
16. Killing a story.
17. Disciplining your life (vocational)
18. " (at home)
19. The Jackson Experiment
20. "Emergent" Negroes (Joe - Stokely etc)
21. Sex.
22. Pot.
23. Erratic whites - (Goldwag)
24. Hostility to Whites.
25. " " competitors
26. Archives
27. Old liberal friends.
28. Farmer's dreams
29. Farmer's home life
30. Use of allies
31. "Allies" and the fatal parts.

LOOK AT OLD RESIGN LETTER.

1. Dealing with lawyers
2. Question of cooperatives Housing - work
3. Dealing with SNCC
4. Dealing with MFDP.
5. Individual reasons for being in movement.
6. White - vs. Black
7. Success (what have we done?)
8. Failure - (long time to go)
9. Proffessional militancy
10. Photography
11. The Times.
12. The Tribune
13. The NBC Net
14. The ABC Net

32. Non-violence - past
33. Non-violence future
34. Negro Culture
35. Cliches.
36. Political messers.
37.

pretty badly hurt in jail

924 E. 9th

pickets - hit

~~Negro~~ pickets ↔ jailed

15 people in jail

(held by the police)
Sam Barnes

Barbara + Robert Jr. Hicks

$300.00

Michal Jones.

→

Fighting ↔

GR-6-5571
x2182
GR 20896

Allan Gartner
802 —
824 6697.

Release ← bond →

Stopped ← still willing →

Problem

Raymond is being held in the city jail in the custody of the sheriff who it is reported is planning to move into Forrest . Charge is parading without a permit & resisting arrest. LCDC lawyers working on it now.

OK

6) I am co-ordinating efforts with the Random House P.R. man Tom Gervasi. He will clear all Farmer plug appearences with this office **without fail**.

7) I committed myself to the following:

a) Jacket copy. (I'll clear with Jerry Cohan.)

b) Copy for insert.

c) I promised I would goose Farmer into editing the last two chapters- which is the only thing holding up publication at this time.

Let me see

deadline?

8) The martinis were excellent and Random House picked up the tab.

Val

Press List, Durham

WFMY Greensboro ---Larry Bkckman
WTVD Durham (?CB) ----Eark Cox
?WDNV (CBS Radio) kPhil Watkins
jBBill King, Upi
WSJS---Wiston Salem, Bob Stern
WSOC TV Cjar;ptte----MVC
Steve Delaney
WSRC Durham,

A-enda
Wed. 1.00kPM Press o
Thurs. 9.30 Opening session Keyonote Farmer
2.00 Pleneray s sssion clos e
8.00 Public mee5in
(St Mark ame zion churhc
531 rocks oorough st.
farmer, hamer
11.. receotion a hotel.

Friday 9130 seesion closed
2 to 4 a work shop on polictical action (open to press)
4 to f6 workshop on houdiang s(openr)

7.30 general sessio ~~xxxxxexx~~
rustin and kenneth x (Dcivic cdntdr

Saturday-- 8.30 am to 10 closed
3 wourkshops (10 to noon)OPEN
urban renewal civic center
3eudq5ion
employment- university ballroom
number 1 two
2-6 general seession (closed
b 7-8.30 committe (closed
"

9,00 social, hotel

Sunday
1.30 to 21230 closed
2.30 to 3.30 (federal progaams)
3.30 to 5.20 (nortthern ghetto)
7.30 reception at hot l

9.30 dick grwgory

Monday---- 9.30 am seesssion (closed)
12.00 noon NAC (closed(

a national organization with affiliated local groups working
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas [illegible]
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
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C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
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1st vice chairman
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secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

anniston,

alabama 202 -----

shooting willie brewster-----   very serious condition

followed two anniston rallies---------occurred, near freedom ride

hail of bullets-----------3 shots fired

states righters two rallies, william aranon turnedr,,,

attacked

wa41074

peggy honenig

moved tomorrow

800,000,000.

Jackson Parish.

Jonesboro. –

Thurs - bids June 3

Greenville office
Thelma

Maer OFFICE SUPPLIES
1222 N. MILL STREET, JACKSON, MISS.
TEL. 948-0857
OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND PRINTING

Date ____________

Time ____________

529 5501 → A.P.

524 [redacted] → D
8351

2018

852-8451
phone at
meeting hall

Karen

212 787-2291

434 Bruce

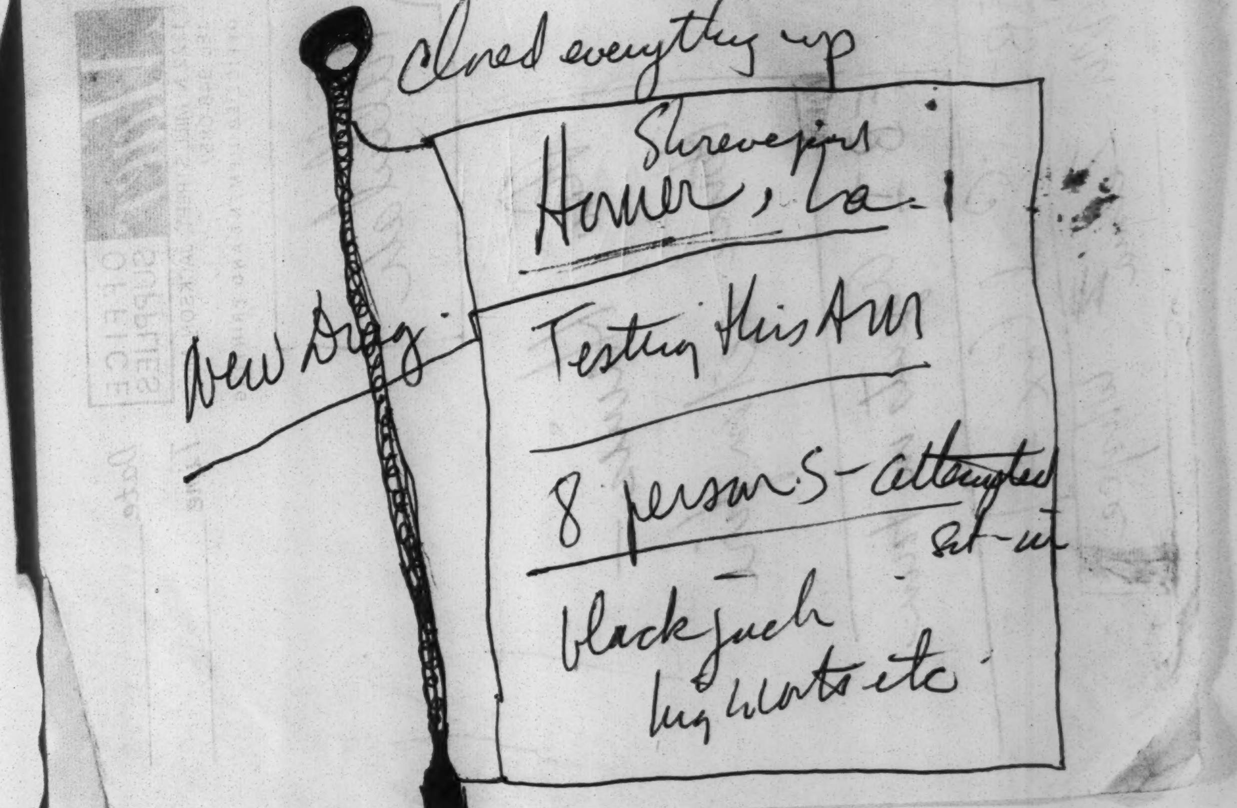
Karen needs a
reply, adoption of
C. R. Worker -
Pat Packard

Maer OFFICE SUPPLIES
1222 N. MILL STREET, JACKSON, MISS.
TEL. 948-0857
OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND PRINTING

Date ______________

Time ______________

Tallulah will not sit-in today.
They are "going to give the town another chance"



Closed everything up

Shreveport

Homer, La.

New Drug

Testing this Area

8 persons - attempted sit-in

blackjack

lug bolts etc

Maer OFFICE SUPPLIES
1222 N. MILL STREET, JACKSON, MISS.
TEL. 948-0857
OFFICE EQUIPMENT AND PRINTING

Date ____________

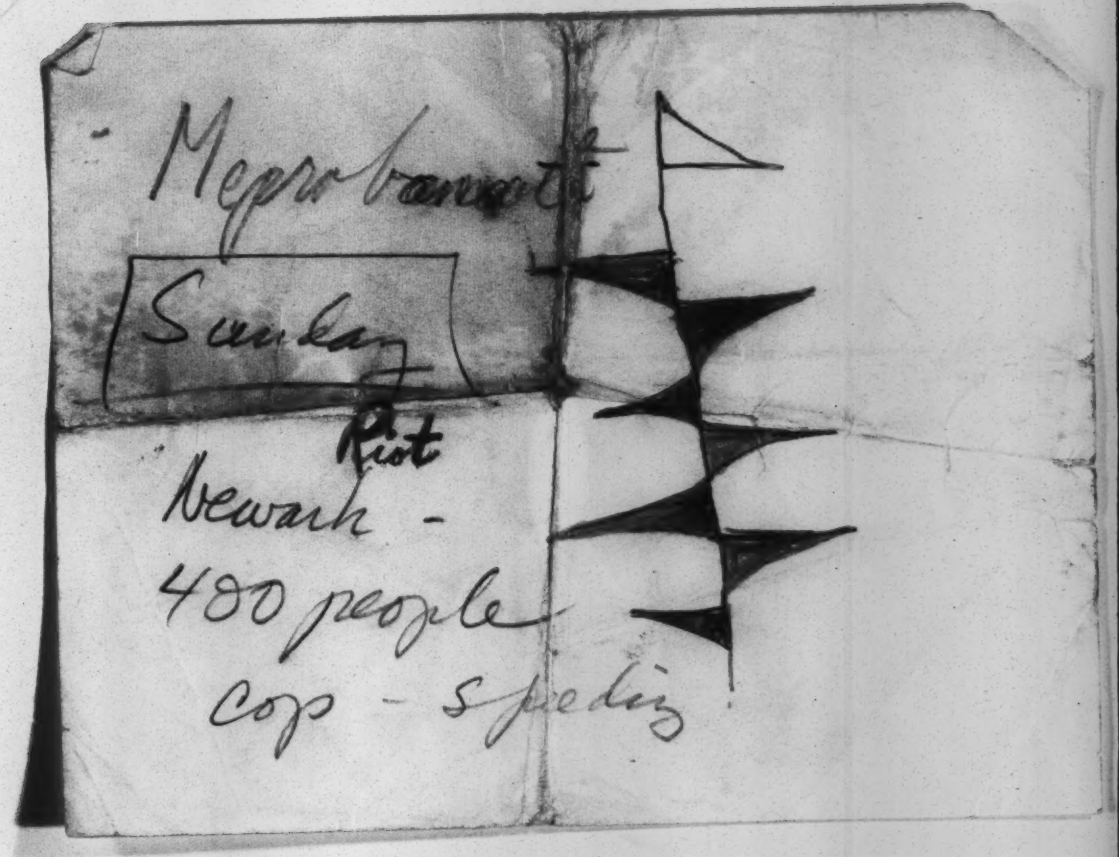
Time ____________

Tallulah

Rev. Haines —
House set on fire.

FBI Agents in town

FBI _ Earl Cox —
Mr. Zelma Z Whyce



Meprobamate

Sunday

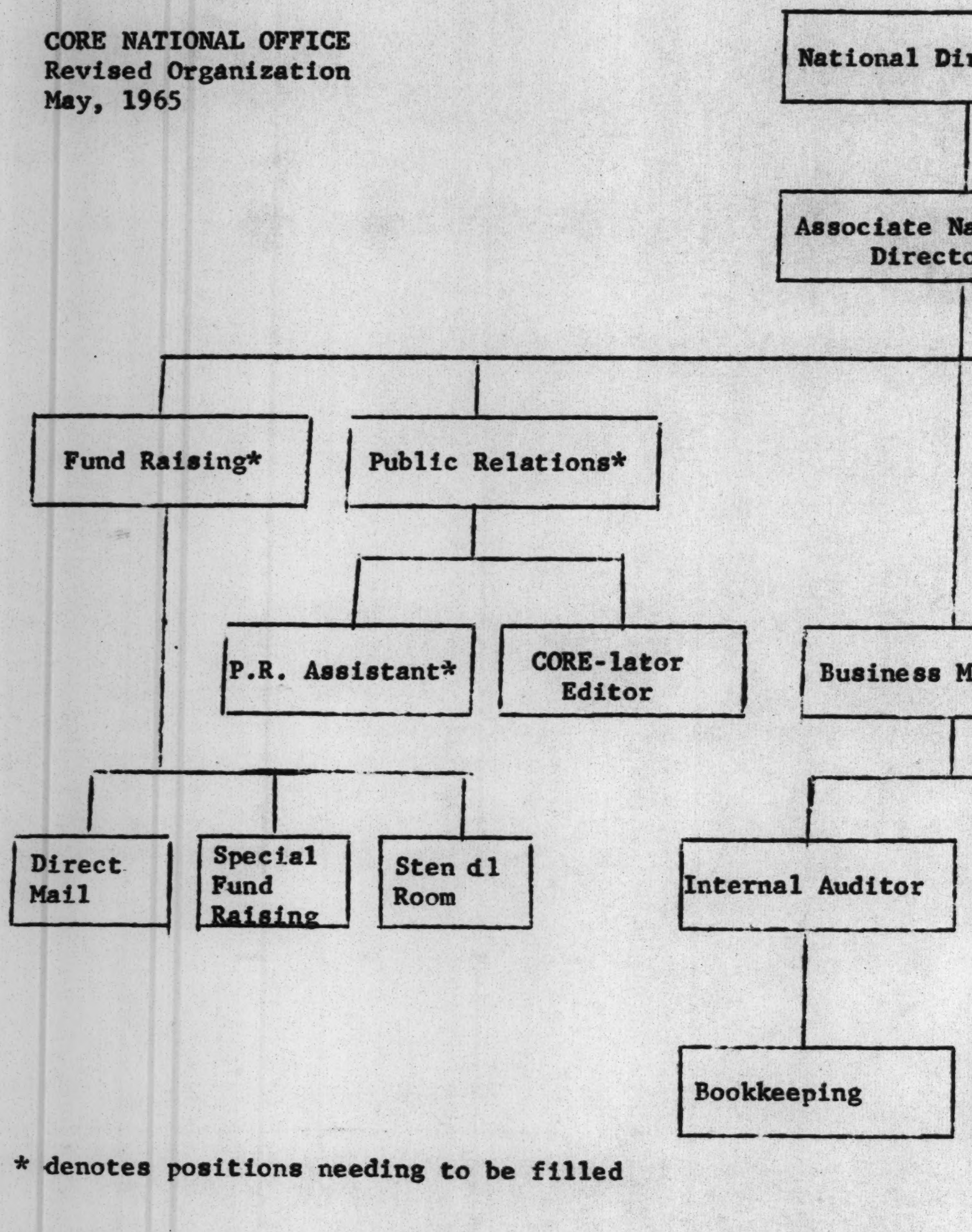
Riot

Newark -

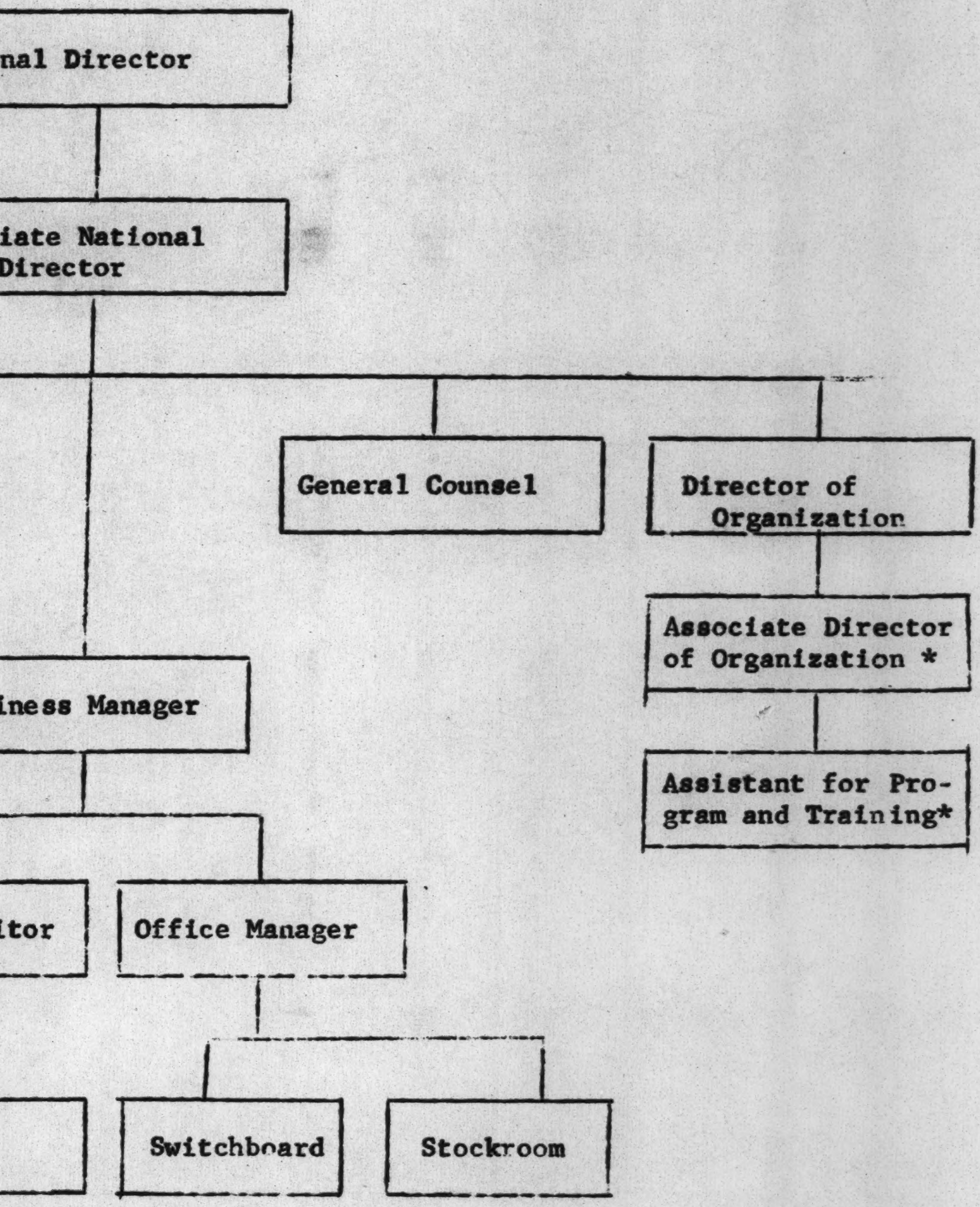
400 people

Cops - speeding

CORE NATIONAL OFFICE
Revised Organization
May, 1965


National Di
Associate Na
Directo
Fund Raising*
Public Relations*
P.R. Assistant*
CORE-lator Editor
Business M
Direct Mail
Special Fund Raising
Stencil Room
Internal Auditor
Bookkeeping

* denotes positions needing to be filled


nal Director
iate National
Director
General Counsel
Director of
Organization
Associate Director
of Organization *
Assistant for Program and Training*
iness Manager
itor
Office Manager
Switchboard
Stockroom

WESTERN UNI[illegible]N
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is [illegible] point of destination

SS0094 NB0308 VU-NC256
PD WUX NEW YORK NY 26 255P EDT

JUN 26 PM 3 07

JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQU[illegible]
38 PARK ROW NYK

DEAR MR FARMER YOUR REQUEST FOR SUSPENSION OF POLICE DEP[illegible] REGULATIONS WHICH REQUIRE OFF-DUTY POLICE TO CARRY SERVIC[illegible] REVOLVES HAS BEEN GIVEN MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF POLICE OFFICERS WILL BE ASSIGNED AT CITY HALL TOMORROW TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS [illegible] PEACEFULLY TO ASSEMBLE AND PETITION. WE HAVE NO REASON TO ANTICIPATE VIOLENCE FROM ANY SOURCE, NOR TO ANTICIPATE INTERFERENCE [illegible] WITH THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS PRESENT. THE REGULATION WILL THEREFORE REMAIN IN EFFECT. SINCERELY YOURS

VINCENT L BRODERICK POLICE COMMISSIONER

FOR A DECENT
CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD
NOW!!

JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION
AT
CITY HALL

Tuesday June 29, 1965 10 AM-3 PM

THE CITY COUNCIL WILL BEGIN TO MAKE ITS DECISION ON THIS VITAL ISSUE. WE MUST SHOW OUR SUPPORT FOR AN INDEPENDENT REVIEW BOARD BY OUR PRESENCE AT THIS SESSION OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

SPONSORED BY CORE-SNCC

July 7, 1965

Miss Joyce Ware
NorthEast Regional Office
CORE
48 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Joyce:

This is to confirm our conversation this morning regarding your appearance on the "City Close-Up" show-to be taped on Wed. July 14th at 9:30 A.M. in Studio A of the 25th Floor, the Municipal Building.

This taping is in response to our request to WNYC-TV (Channel 31) that we have an opportunity to present our view regarding the creation of an independent police civilian review board in New York City. Commissioner Broderick had presented his views late last week. The show will be played on Thursday Night at 10:00 P.M.- July 15th.

Your contact is Mr. Bruce Book at Channel 31. The interviewer will be a Mr. Siegel.

Warmest Regards,

Val Coleman
Public Relations

cc: Alan Gartner
George Wiley
George Schiffer

TELEGRAM

D
VINCENT BROMERICK, POLICE COMMISSIONER
240 CENTRE STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

I UREGETLY REQUEST THAT POLICE DEPARTMENT REGULATION REQUIRING OFF DUTY POLICE TO CARRY SERVICE REVOLVERS BE SUSPENDED FOR THOSE OFFICERS PARTICIPATING IN TOMMORROW PLANNED PBA DEMONSTRATION AT CITY HALL. ALSO REQUEST POLICE PICKETS BE ORDERED NOT TO CARRY WEAPONS ~~AND~~ OF ANY DESCRIPTION. PICKETS WITH GUNS VIOLATE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND CAUSE SERIOUS POTENTIAL FOR VOILENCE. CORE PICKETS, WILL, AS ALWAYS, CONDUCT THEMSELVES ACCORDING TO CORE RULES FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION AND WILL HAVE NO WEAPONS. I CONSIDER THIS MATTER HIGHEST URGENCY FOR PEACE IN CITY.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR.

2 55000
5
275.000
27,500
11,000
5
~~10,000~~
00

27,500
11,000
5,000
43,500

CORE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
38 PARK ROW
NYC, CO 7 6270
ATTN: Val Coleman

Following telegram sent this AM (Monday) to Commissioner Vincent Broderick, NY City Police Dept from James Farmer, Natl. Director, CORE:

"I URGENTLY REQUEST THAT POLICE DEPT. REGULATION REQUIRING OFF-DUTY POLICE TO CARRY SERVICE REVOLVERS BE SUSPENDED FOR ~~T~~THOSE OFFICERS PARTICIPATING IN TOMMOROW'S PLANNED DEMONSTRATION BY PBA AT CITY HALL. ALSO REQUEST POLICE PICKETS BE ORDERED NOT TO CARRY WEAPONS OF ANY DESCRIPTION. PICKETS WITH GUNS VIOLATE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND CAUSE SERIOU POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE. CORE ~~K~~PICKETS, WILL AS ALWAYS, CONDUCT THEMSELVES ACCORING TO CORE RULES FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION AND WILL HAVE NO WEAPONS. I CONSIDER THIS MATTER HIGHEST URGENCY FOR PEACE IN CITY.
JAMES FARMER, NATL. DIRECTOR, CORE."

Monday, June 28, 1965...............

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REPLY OF JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE TO STATEMENT OF POLICE COMMISSIONER BRODERICK

"COMMISIONER BRODERICK'S UNFORTUNATE REPLY TO MY REQUEST THIS MORNING THAT POLICE PICKETS NOT CARRY THEIR SERVICE REVOLVER, REFLECTS VIRTUALLY NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN MY TELEGRAM. WE REQUESTED ONLY THAT THOSE OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN PARTICIPATING IN A DEMONSTRATION BE DISARMED DURING THAT DEMONSTRATION. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY ARMED POLICEMEN ON DUTY TO PROTECT DEMONSTRATORS-WITHOUT THE ADDITIONAL PROVOCATION OF ARMED PICKETS. IT IS, IN MY JUDGEMENT, BEYOND REASON TO ALLOW PICKETING DEMONSTRATORS TO CARRY GUNS. CORE'S BASICALLY BELIEVES THAT ARMED OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN ARE A TOTAL MISTAKE. BUT THIS MORNING'S REQUEST INCLUDED NO SUCH DEMAND. THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE BEING~~S~~ FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED BY THE POLICEMEN THEMSELVES. ~~Demonstrators~~ We re-iterate ~~that~~ that CORE pickets will conduct according to the CORE rules for non-violent action and will not participate in any violence."

EVENING STAR   3 July 1963

Plan to Tutor Negroes In Virginia Collapses

WASHINGTON, July 3 (AP) — Plans for a $2.5 million Federal grant to tutor Negro pupils in Prince Edward County, Va., apparently have fallen through.

The National Advisory Mental Health Council has decided not to support the project, a spokesman at the Welfare Department said.

Local authorities in the county since the fall of 1959 have abandoned public education rather than submit to integration orders of the Federal courts.

The council some time ago recommended approval of a five-year research grant application from the Institute of Educational Research. It was to test a program method of teaching reading to children of normal intelligence but with no opportunity to learn to read.

Named for Researcher

The study has been publicly referred to as the Woolman Study, after Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., of Washington.

The recommendation some time ago was an interim action of the council. [illegible] council [illegible] recommendation [illegible] made a [illegible] decided that [illegible] primarily a [illegible] methods and [illegible] to the [illegible] of the [illegible] Mental [illegible]

The [illegible]

The [illegible] still has a [illegible] a $7[illegible] versity of [illegible] vey of [illegible] Prince Edward [illegible] report on this [illegible] pected in 60 days [illegible]

The spokesman [illegible] the meantime the department is exploring all the ways in which some action might be taken to relieve the situation.

Meanwhile, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors last night officially confirmed an earlier decision to continue for another year as the only county in the Nation not operating public schools.

The supervisors adopted a county budget for 1963-64 that allocates all funds to specified purposes that do not include the operation of a public school system.

The county's public schools have been closed since 1959 when the supervisors [illegible] school funds [illegible] ordered [illegible]

Closed Schools Face Polls

By the Associated Press

Farmville, Va.

A candidate to reopen schools in Prince Edward County gets a public test here Tuesday in the Democratic primary election.

A candidate for the County Board of Supervisors, the body that closed the schools in 1959 by withholding funds, has advocated opening the schools.

The candidate, E. M. Pairet, says the county has "a moral obligation" to open public schools.

But equally important, says the young businessman. is that the young businessman, is that county badly.

How he fares in the election should be a gauge of the public's feelings.

Mr. Pairet opposes the incumbent, John C. Steck, managing editor of the weekly Farmville, Herald, and C. H. Lafoon, a real estate man. Both said they want to see the schools remain closed until questions before the federal courts are resolved.

Historic Case

The Prince Edward school case has been in court for more than 11 years and was one of the original cases in the Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision. Four years ago, when ordered to integrate its classrooms, the country chose to shut the schools.

Mr. Pairet, partner with his father in an electrical appliance company, is also vice-president of the Farmville Area Development Corporation. At 29, he was the youngest president of the Farmville Chamber of Commerce.

Costs Critical

He contends the school closing is hurting the country's economy. "I had one company tell me privately that the reason they didn't locate in Prince Edward was because of the school sitaution," he said. "And there have been others."

Another by-product of the closing, said Mr. Pairet, is that some parents cannot meet the tuition costs of the private schools organized for white children. A federal court order two years ago forbade the use of state tuition grants as long as the county's public schools remained closed.

Mr. Pairet said he has found growing sentiment in the county for reopening the schools. "At first, people were afraid to speak out," he said, "but now people are talking about it more and more."

29 July 1963

The Locked Schools

No amount of official hand-wringing can repair the great and crippling damage that Virginia has inflicted upon 1400 of her children in Prince Edward County. They are about to enter the fifth year of locked schools, which is to say that there are children 10 years old in Prince Edward who have never been in a classroom. Even those children, of course, are not so old as the litigation to desegregate the County's public schools.

The case is now stuck fast in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. It was argued there half a year ago but the judges, in their leisurely fashion, have not yet arrived at a decision. The question is simply whether the State of Virginia can tax Negro families, to whom the schools are closed, for the benefit of other school systems throughout the State and even, through a dubious system of tuition grants, for the benefit of the private school attended by the white children of Prince Edward. The Federal District Court was plainly correct when it ruled that the State must either open all its schools or close them all, and the State's Richmond Circuit Court was plainly incorrect when it held the contrary. The extraordinary delay in the Federal Court of Appeals suggests that those judges are waiting to see what the Virginia Supreme Court will hold. Since the Virginia Supreme Court does not intend to hear argument until the fall, and since any decision inevitably will be taken to the United States Supreme Court, one may assume that another year will now be lost to public education in Prince Edward County. What is the future of a child, illiterate at the age of 11, in a world that offers steady employment only to the highly skilled?

The Justice Department is now [illegible] for one makeshift or another [illegible] measure of education this fall [illegible] children of Prince Edward. The subterfuge of a grant for "research" in literacy training [illegible] one congressional inquiry. The Department [illegible] apparently attempting to [illegible] fund. It is grotesque that the Federal Government should be soliciting [illegible] obligations of Virginia, while [illegible] blandly ignores a moral default that is progressively shadowing the reputation [illegible] tion and of his state. Does [illegible] think, one wonders, what history will say of the men who let 1400 small Negro children [illegible] price of Virginia's long quarrel with the [illegible] Constitution? The locked schools [illegible] national symbol of a petty and [illegible] vindictive spirit. The primary responsibility for education in Prince Edward does not [illegible] dations in New York or lawyers in Washington, but with the elected officials in Richmond and Farmville.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

July 20, 1965

Dear Mr. Colman:

Gordon ask that I get this Prince Edward material off to you. I think this is fairly complete, but should you need anything further please contact us.

Betty Blackwell
Betty Blackwell

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

Title of Project

A LITERACY CATCH-UP PROGRAM
for
PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

Action Project Summary

The Progressive Choice Reading Program will be used to develop reading skills for adolescents in Prince Edward County, Virginia who were deprived of a formal education for four years. This program has been successfully used to develop reading skills in children of all grade levels. The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program is designed to rapidly produce language, reading and writing skills. Upon successful completion of the reading program the learner is reading stories and other information at above the sixth grade level of reading skill.

Subjects for this project are now back in school but are lagging far behind in educational achievement. The Institute of Educational Research in conjunction with local Prince Edward organizations will undertake literacy training with up to 500 students who are reading at or below the fifth grade level.

The project will begin in June, 1965 and continue for six months.

I. Problem or Need for the Project

Ability to read is the fundamental educational skill. It is also, in our society, a requisite for the economic survival of the individual and his family. Many high school students in Prince Edward who are about to enter the society as responsible adults are pitifully underequiped for that role through no fault of their own. Unless an intensive effort is made now to substantially raise the reading level of these high school and junior high school students, the school experience can degenerate to mere attendance in a custodial setting. Or, the underachieving student may drop out entirely. On the other hand, if he can learn to read effectively, then, it may be possible to overcome some or all of his educational handicaps.

PE 5/65

II. Purpose and Objectives of the Project

Purpose

The major purpose of this project is to demonstrate and evaluate a method of teaching reading skills which appears capable of accelerating the language-skill development of educationally deprived children in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Objectives

1. To collect a body of evidence relating to the above method for: (a) comparison with other programs; (b) possible revisions related to needs of the rural, deprived population; (c) development of additional materials; (d) evaluation of effects on personality evaluation of language effects of the programs related to scholastic attainment and later employment.

III. Operation of the Project

1. Instructors: Instructors will be recruited from the local community or elsewhere and will be trained and supervised by The Institute of Educational Research (IER). Instructors will be paid at the rate of $1.25 per hour.

2. Classrooms: Classes can be held wherever space is available - churches, schools, playgrounds, etc.

3. The Subjects: Up to 500 students between 12 to 18 years of age will be trained. Subjects will be selected from those students who were unable to attend school while the public schools were closed and who have severe reading problems. All Prince Edward County children will be eligible for the program.

4. Class Size: 10 to 20 students will be assigned to each instructor.

5. Project Activities:
   - (a) Recruitment of instructors, classroom space and subjects.
   - (b) A two day training program for Accelerated Progressive Choice Instructors.
   - (c) Pre-testing of all subjects using both standard reading tests and special tests devised by IER.
   - (d) Introduction of Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program for up to 4 hours per day for 10 weeks. One free meal per day will be provided for each student.
   - (e) Classroom follow-up visits made by IER personnel to observe program operation, evaluate instructional quality and upgrade quality of teacher performance.
   - (f) Post-test of all students in program to determine change in level of reading skills after 10 weeks.
   - (g) Test Scoring and Statistical Analysis.
   - (h) Preparation and transmittal of a final report to cover both data presentation and evaluation.

IV. Supervisory Personnel for the Project

Because of the vital importance of this project it is essential that careful supervision be provided at all times. The project will require a full-time Project Director, Assistant Project Director and a full-time Instructional Supervisor to insure rapid training and proper implementation of The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Method. (See the attached budget for further details.)

V. Date of Project

It is proposed that the project begin no later than June 1, 1965 to insure the full ten weeks of training.

Myron Woolman, Ph.D.
Director

Post Office Box 448
Farmville, Virginia
March 3, 1965

Doctor Myron Woolman
Director, Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Woolman:

My purpose in writing to you at this time is three-fold: First, on behalf of many citizens of Prince Edward County and myself, I wish to thank you for manifesting an interest in our problems in this little southside Virginia area. The second purpose of this letter is to state, as briefly as possible, the most important problem of the many confronting the Negro parent, in particular, and the entire citizentary, in general. That problem, simply stated, is that there are 400 to 500 Negro students between the ages of 14 to 18 years, who are reading on a third to fourth grade level, or below. Their reading level is so low that it is obvious that they need to be in a special school. If we hope to save these youngsters, we need immediate help to ameliorate an increasingly desperate situation.

The third purpose of this letter is, of course, to ask if you would be willing to set up a program here to provide help in this area of obvious need. The public school, now operative after five years absence from this community, offers a standard state curriculum, with no remedial materials or programing. It is apparent that we need both a special curriculum and materials geared to the needs of these older Negro students who are predominantly from a rural background.

I fully realize how busy you must be with all your duties, but it has been my desire for some time that you lend your knowledge and special skills to helping us solve this unprecedented problem. I can not imagine any place where the needs for your services are greater or more dramatically represented than in Prince Edward County.

There is little that this small rural community can offer, other than our desperate needs which could provide valuable research and opportunity for the application and testing of remedial methods and materials.

If you would want or need more detailed information, some of us would be willing to visit your office at your convenience. I shall look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

L. Francis Griffin

L. Francis Griffin
Pastor, First Baptist Church
Farmville, Virginia

LFG:na

encl.

The New York Times.

July 3, 1965

VIRGINIA ACCEPTS ANTIPOVERTY AID

$90,000 to Finance Reading Course Chiefly for Negroes

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, July 2—Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. has approved a controversial $90,000 Federal antipoverty project that will provide intensive "catch-up" reading instruction for Negro children in Virginia's Prince Edward County.

The Governor's office said that Mr. Harrison had waived the 30-day period under the Economic Opportunity Act during which he could have held the proposal for approval or veto.

His approval was contained in a telegram sent Wednesday to Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It meant that the summer training program for up to 500 educationally deprived Negro youths in the Tobacco Belt county can begin immediately.

Center of Resistance

The county has been a center of massive resistance to school desegregation. More than 1,500 Negro children were locked out of their school buildings from 1959 to 1964 after segregationist leaders decided to abolish public education rather than bow to a Federal court order admitting Negroes to the public high school.

During that time, white children attended a private academy established initially with the aid of tax-supported state tuition grants. The United States Supreme Court ordered the public schools reopened last September, and all but a handful of the county's 1,300 white children still attend the $280-a-year academy. The tuition grants have been enjoined by the Federal courts.

Apparently with foreknowledge of the antipoverty grant, the County Board of Supervisors—which ordered the school closing in 1959—voted earlier this week to cut $80,000 from the 1965-66 county school budget. The supervisors' action on Tuesday reduced the county appropriation for the nearly all-Negro public schools to $300,000.

The remedial reading grant is considered a particularly urgent need by school officials because many, if not most, of the county's teen-age Negro children are still seriously disadvantaged as a result of the schools' closing.

This is true even though a private group, with the assistance of the Justice Department, established the so-called Prince Free Schools in the 1963-64 school year in a $1 million effort to overcome the children's deficiencies.

The $90,193 grant will go to the Prince Edward Action Group, Inc., the local community action committee in the county seat of Farmville, to finance an intensive, three-month literacy program for children of both races. Few white children, however, are expected to participate.

The Institute of Educational Research, a Washington-based private agency headed by Dr. Myron Woolman, will operate the remedial reading course under contract, using advance programmed teaching techniques. Dr. Woolman is the developer of an experimental teaching system called the progressive choice reading method. His training material is published by Science Research Associates, an experimental teaching agency that is a subsidiary of the International Business Machines Corporation.

Under various private and Government grants, Dr. Woolman's method has been used in Baltimore, Washington, New York, Charlotte, N. C., and Galena Park, Tex.

In Washington, where a local antipoverty committee, Washington Action for Youth, used the materials, pupils showed the equivalent of a 15-month gain in reading ability and comprehension in 40 hours of classroom training.

The Prince Edward reading project will employ 50 college students as instructors, most of them from Virginia, most of them white. The instructors are expected to begin classes next week.

4 Years of No School Yield Shocking Results

By Jean M. White
Staff Reporter

Negro children in Prince Edward County, deprived of public schools for four years, suffered deep educational scars from which they may never recover.

This is reported in a study made for the Office of Education by a Michigan State University testing team.

Among Negro children who had no schooling for four years, the researchers found:

- IQ scores dropepd sharply, as much as 30 points, putting many children at a "borderine defective" rating.
- Fourteen-year-old boys and girls, who once had known how to read, "lost" this skill during four years of non-schooling.
- Some ten-year-olds had to be taught how to hold a pencil and how to turn a page.
- Non-schooling cut back the educational and occupational goals of the youngsters.
- The community suffered as well as the Negro children with little or no communication between the white and Negro communities, which "tended to become psychologically deaf and blind to the actual feelings, opinions, needs, and desires of the other groups."
- Short-term remedial classes and summer "crash" programs helped but were no adequate substitute for formal schooling.

The five-man Michigan State University testing team was headed by Robert Lee Green, assistant professor of Education. The study was made under a grant from the Office of Education.

Green and his associates went to Prince Edward County in the summer of 1963 after the public schools had been closed for four years to avoid court-ordered desegregation, leaving the 1700 Negro children without schools. White children attended private, segregated classes.

Only 35 of the Negro children were able to attend classes outside the county full-time during the four years.

When the researchers began giving their tests, the effects of non-schooling were starkly apparent.

At one of the first rural testing centers, they found youngsters unable to hold a pencil when they were told to draw a "frame" or "circle" around a given picture. The test administrators had to purchase large red crayons and give special help to some.

Children in the 6 to 10-year-old age range did not know how to turn pages in the test booklets. Some turned in the wrong direction, and others turned several pages at a time.

The researchers are doubtful if the children can ever make up for these lost school years.

"If environments exert their greatest effects during the early years, then many of the observed deficits will be impossible to recover. . . . Early school deprivation may . . . have irreversible effects," the reports notes.

The study holds out some hope that intensive educational programs may ameliorate many effects of school deprivation.

Under court order, the public schools in Prince Edward reopened this fall. But only seven white children are attending classes with 1540 Negroes. The other white children are still in the segregated private schools.

Last year, with support from the Justice Department, private funds were raised to operate the Prince Edward Free School Association for county Negroes

[illegible] in Prince Edward [illegible] School-Less 5 Years

[illegible] ing.

But inside the four public schools of this rural south central Virginia County the scene could almost be 1959, the year the County abandoned public education rather than submit to a Federal Court's desegregation order.

Now only seven white children sit at public school desks. Their classmates: 1515 Negroes.

"Truthfully, all I can say is that the public schools have been restored," says the Negro minister who fought 13 years to bring about desegregation. "But it is a start."

The Rev. L. Francis Griffin, now state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was NAACP local president during the long struggle. He saw the schools close down [illegible] the public [illegible] under [illegible] U.S. Su- [illegible] For many of the [illegible] it was—and [illegible] trying experience.

"Some of them are seriously handicapped. They were arbitrarily pushed up because of their age."

This came from T. J. McIlwaine, the County's long-time school superintendent who stayed on the job during the educational drought.

The public school shut-down had little effect on the County's white children. They were enrolled in a segregated, private system of schools set up when public education came to an end.

It was different, for the Negro children. Most went without formal education.

Then in September 1963, a one-year free school system financed with more than $1 million in donated funds opened, largely because of the efforts of former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the backing of his brother, the President.

The free schools brought innovations to Virginia—team-teaching and a non-graded system of classifying pupils.

Mr. Griffin says "There's no question that the public schools now aren't offering what the free schools did."

He blames educational shortcomings on the County school officials.

McIlwaine says "the main trouble is that they (the Negro pupils) are not prepared to take the courses we are offering," he says. "Reading is probably the most important problem; it is the key to everything else."

"It is in the eighth and ninth grades where we have the greatest difficulty," McIlwaine says. "They are at an awkward age, over-age for their educational level. We accepted the grade placement recommendations from the free schools, and some of the children just aren't ready.

"It is very difficult to reclassify them, but we feel they are making some progress."

The eighth and ninth-graders also are of particular concern to the newly organized and bi-racial Citizens for Public Educatiin. Dr. Carl Walters Jr., the organization's president and assistant professor of Bible and philosophy at nearby Hampden-Sydney College, took this concern before the school board at its February meeting.

He proposed a voluntary program of remedial reading for the students, with qualified county citizens as teachers. He also suggested a broader program of remedial education, possibly financed under the Federal Anti-Poverty Act.

No board action was requested immediately, and none was taken. But McIlwaine pointed out that one remedial reading teacher has been hired for the second semester.

Mr. Griffin, believes remedial reachers are needed.

And, he says, unless teachers "prepared to cope with problems beyond the ordinary school routine" are [illegible] quickly for this [illegible] work, "there will be a tremendous dropout problem [illegible] years to come.

"The children have [illegible] over-sensitive. They are [illegible] of the great gap between [illegible] chronological age and [illegible] grade level. In many instances they just can't work at [illegible] grade level."

READY MONDAY [illegible] A. M. [illegible]

Prince Edward

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1965.

POVERTY FOSTERS A RACIAL ENTENTE

Negroes and Whites Unite in Virginia Area's Program

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

FARMVILLE, Va., May 13—The antipoverty program is accomplishing here what the United States Supreme Court and years of litigation and heartache have not—a major, integrated effort to educate and employ Negroes.

Robert E. Taylor, president of a lumber and home-building company and one of the most active segregationist leaders here during the long and bitter struggle over the Prince Edward County public schools, is a co-chairman of the new antipoverty committee.

The other chairman is the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, pastor of the First Baptist Church, who is often called the "Moses" of the Negroes in this Southside Virginia community.

It is an active, as well as an unusual, alliance. The two men have made three trips together to Washington—one in Mr. Taylor's private airplane, at his expense—to push their application for about $100,000 from the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity.

Taylor the Initiator

Moreover, Mr. Taylor is publicly identified as the initiator of this surprising development.

At the first meeting of the Prince Edward Action Group, Inc., last February—it is composed of 30 whites and 30 Negroes—Mr. Taylor himself moved that Mr. Griffin be named co-chairman. The two men will soon become the salaried co-directors of the pro-[illegible] $100,000 [illegible]

Mr. Taylor, a stocky, sunburned, 45-year-old native of Farmville, is vice president of the Prince Edward School Foundation. This is the corporation that created the private, segregated academy that has allowed Prince Edward County's white parents to evade court-ordered integration of their public schools for six years.

Mr. Griffin is not only the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Farmville, but is also the statewide N.A.A.C.P. president.

Farmville is proud that it has had no racial violence during the [illegible] continuing school desegregation struggle in the [illegible]. But the human costs have been extraordinary in other ways.

The county abolished all public education in 1959 rather than obey a Federal court order admitting a handful of Negro pupils to the white public high school.

The New York Times

AIDS BIRACIAL PANEL: The Rev. L. Francis Griffin is co-chairman of an antipoverty group in Virginia.

White children have attended the academy that Mr. Taylor helped to establish initially with state and county funds. But Negroes had no schooling until last year, when a $1 million Free School Association was established at the Federal Government's initiative to run a one-year "open" school system.

The public schools finally were opened under Supreme Court order last September, but all except eight of the county's 1,200 white school children are still attending the [illegible] academy. The public [illegible] have 1,525 Negro [illegible] many of them [illegible] tarded in the [illegible] tion because of their [illegible] absence from school.

R. R. [illegible]

[illegible] at a thi[illegible] students [illegible] the alphabet. [illegible] educational deprivation [illegible] these children [illegible] tears to the [illegible] ents.

It is [illegible] white residents [illegible] wholly [illegible] Mr. Taylor is [illegible]

The Board of [illegible] visors has [illegible] planning or [illegible] antipoverty [illegible] The Farmville [illegible] weekly voice of [illegible] tive and segregation[illegible] ment here, has virtually ignored the cooperative efforts of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Griffin.

The Action Group [illegible] for antipoverty work [illegible] are currently under [illegible] in Washington, and may be modified and expanded there before they are given final approval, which is expected soon.

[illegible] 1963
[illegible] POST

Prince [illegible] Negro School [illegible] Up

RICHMOND, Aug. 13 (AP) — [illegible] financed plan that would provide free education [illegible] Negro children of [illegible] Edward County, who have gone without formal schooling for the last four years, is expected to be announced Wednesday by Gov. Albertis S. Harrison.

Final arrangements for the program, to start as soon as possible in the fall, apparently were worked out at a long series of conferences today at the State Capitol in the wake of Monday's split decision on the Prince Edward County situation by the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

As the conferences neared a close, Gov. Harrison emerged and said only that he was calling a press conference for 10 a. m. Wednesday and would have an announcement to make [illegible].

Monday's decision [illegible] turned a ruling by [illegible] District Judge Oren [illegible] which ordered the [illegible] schools [illegible] the use of [illegible] County for private [illegible] as long as public schools remained closed.

The NAACP said it would appeal the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court.

While Gov. Harrison declined comment on today's conferences, other sources indicated the program would shape up like this:

A bi-racial board of trustees, headed by Colgate W. Darden Jr., former governor and onetime president of the University of Virginia, would be in charge.

It was understood the board would include at least three white and three Negro members, either professional educators or persons close to education.

Funds would be provided by one or more foundations or philanthropic organizations, perhaps also by individual contributors.

A new foundation or [illegible] profit [illegible] Darden and the [illegible] direct the school [illegible] which would [illegible] and Negro [illegible]

Its first [illegible] to provide [illegible] training [illegible] hundreds of Negro [illegible] have had no formal [illegible] since Prince Edward [illegible] closed its public [illegible] 1959 rather than [illegible] Federal court [illegible] order. White children have attended a private [illegible] school during that time.

A [illegible] of [illegible] ers, Negro and [illegible] assembled.

Two sets of [illegible] involved [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

the NAACP [illegible] State [illegible] the NAACP and the [illegible] of the Virginia [illegible]

It appeared that [illegible] State government would [illegible] no official [illegible] with the program and [illegible] County's only connection would be in granting [illegible] of public school buildings.

19 February 1965

A Crisis of Involuntary Illiteracy: The Immediate Needs of a Disadvantaged Generation in Prince Edward County, Virginia

The following information is based on an Office of Education Cooperative Research Project Report (No. 2321) entitled "The Educational Status of Children in a District without Public Schools" by Dr. R. L. Green *et al* of Michigan State University, (June, 1964), and observations made since September, 1964.

I. The Problem

In early 1959 the Board of Supervisors closed the public schools of Prince Edward County to avoid integration. The public schools remained closed until the fall of 1964. In the interim, sporadic remedial efforts attempted to fill the educational gap with little success. Approximately 1700 Negro children plus an undetermined (at least 200) number of white children lost access to formal schooling in their home county for this period. The majority of the Caucasian children attended a private, segregated school established with the aid of state and local funds. The Caucasians are still attending this school.

II. The Effects

Testing of the un-schooled children at the end of the period of non-schooling showed the following:

1. Children of all ages averaged significantly lower IQs, achievement scores, and educational and occupational aspirations than children in a neighboring county (with open public schools).
2. Specifically, intelligence showed a depression as great as 30 points at some age levels. Even time-telling abilities were impaired (a 6 year deficit with 14-18 year olds not performing significantly better than the neighboring county's schooled third graders) and many of the youngsters had actually lost the ability to manipulate a pencil to take the tests. One of the most serious deficits was depressed reading ability, the 14-18 year olds reading at a 3rd and 4th grade level.

III. The Immediate Problem

Now that the public schools have been reopened (under court order) there is still a group of children too disadvantaged from their educationally deprived years to even make a beginning. There are approximately 400-500 youngsters from 14-18 years of age whose reading abilities are so primitive as to make public school courses meaningless. The principal of the system has predicted that at least 75% will soon drop out. Products of a cradle of educational disadvantage, they have come of age as a nearly lost generation, involuntarily illiterate. There is no remedial program within the public school system at this time. They need immediate attention.

IV. A Suggested Solution

The establishment of an immediate program for these 500 youngsters, a program of an intensive nature equipped with special facilities to develop adequate literacy. Such a special school is prerequisite to any education attempted for this yet unsalvaged generation.

V. A Special Note

Recent public statements and news articles have presented different viewpoints regarding the present educational development of the Negro children of Prince Edward County. Although some reports have been complimentary concerning last year's educational effort, the "Free Schools", present information indicates that many Negro children are still reading and achieving at an unusually low level.

Reverend L. Francis Griffin
Pastor, First Baptist Church
Farmville, Virginia

March, 1964
(not published)

The First Federal Failure in Prince Edward County

by Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

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The case study centers on a federal plan to do something about the 1,500 Negro children deprived of schooling in southside Virginia's Prince Edward County since 1959. That year the county's Board of Supervision, faced with a court order to desegregate its schools, decided to abolish them instead. A private school, paid for by state tuition grants, was set up for the white children, but the Negro children were left unschooled and illiterate. This action was upheld by the U.S. Circuit Count of Appeals in Richmond last August 12.

The lush, green tobacco country of Prince Edward County has become the shameful and pitiable symbol of successful Southern resistance to school integration. There are 10-year-old Negro children there who never have seen the inside of a classroom. There are Negro teen-agers who soon will be too old to leave their farms and enter a school again. Prince Edward County gnaws on the conscience of America.

In the legal wrangling over Prince Edward's abolition of the public schools, the federal government has fought at the side of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Justice Department has intervened in the case, asking for the opening of public schools, and it will join with the NAACP in appealing the latest decision of the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. But last February, President Kennedy decided far more must be done.

He and his aides were discussing the final draft of his first civil rights message to Congress when he came across a paragraph mentioning the Justice Department's intervention in the court suit. As the conference broke up, Kennedy beckoned to Burke Marshall, the Assistant Attorney General who heads the civil rights division at the Justice Department. Isn't there something else, the President asked, something direct, that the federal government can do in Prince Edward County?

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Felix had Dr Myron Woolman in mind. Woolman, 46 year-old director of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, is a pioneer in the use of programmed instruction for quick, mass and inexpensive education. He had demonstrated his methods in teaching soldiers to operate Nike missiles and in teaching basic concepts of electronics to new employees of Bell Telephone Laboratories. He is patenting a teaching machine for typists and pianists. And, for some time, he has been using a grant from the NIMH to teach mentally retarded children to read. His subjects in this project include pupils at the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation School in

Washington, a school visited often by Mrs. Eunice Shriver, the President's sister.

Woolman's theories are couched in complex psychological concepts, but basically he simply believes that quick breakthroughs in education may be achieved by using programmed instruction. Programmed instruction takes the pupil out of the classroom-lecture situation and puts him in front of a workbook or a teaching machine that allows him to move forward at his own pace. He may not turn the page or flick the machine forward until he has mastered the lesson before him. When he understands point A, he is rewarded by seeing point B. Programmed instruction still is in its infancy, but, at the least, it seems to be successful in teaching the rudiments of reading, spelling, and arithmetic and in teaching a specific skill that must be learned by many students in a short time. In a society unwilling or unable to spend too much more money on education, programmed instruction has the advantage of seeming relatively inexpensive. A psychologist prepares the intricate program in the workbook or teaching machine; the program may be mass produced; an untrained person may be hired to supervise the students at the workbooks and machines. (see Spencer Klaw's "What Can We Learn From the Teaching Machines?", The Reporter, July 19, 1962)

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But the psychologist made no attempt to make this clear to the White House. He understood that his research was being used to fill a political need but had organized it to remain clear of political influences. Scientists face this kind of situation all the time in a nation where so much research is paid for by private industries and the Pentagon. Woolman has worked for both. "It is... quite possible, " he wrote in his proposal, "that the proposed project will be viewed as a disguised method of providing federal schools for Negro children..." Yet he sold his idea in just those terms that would appeal to the White House: an experiment designed to solve illiteracy in Prince Edward County. The fact that this would provide other communities with the same capability was left to the reader.

At the same time, he felt that the psychiatrists, psychologists and other social scientists at NIMH would see a limited experiment as far more scientific than one attempting to deal with the problem of Negro job skills in America. This, too, made his stress the limited picture. Despite this, Woolman believed he had a scientific experiment that might yield results brimming with sensational implications for a government trying to deal with widespread Negro unemployment and anger.

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Felix obviously was enthusiastic. The enthusiasm soon caught Quigley, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Burke Marshall, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and the President. Woolman's project wouldn't solve the whole Prince Edward County problem, they believed, but it might help a large part of the Negro children catch up. On April 18, a Special Review Committee of eminent psychiatrists and psychologists and specialists from other related disciplines descended on Woolman's cluttered office in an old row house on the edge of Georgetown and grilled him for more than an hour. They discussed the project for almost three hours and then voted unanimously to recommend an NIMH grant to Woolman.

Eight days later, under pressure from Quigley, Felix mailed ballots to the 12 members of the National Advisory Mental Health Council, the group that has the final say about disbursing NIMH's $100,000,000 research fund each year. The Council was not scheduled to meet until June 20, too late to get Woolman and his proposed 21-man crew started during the summer. The ballots came in during May. Ten approved Woolman's project, one voted against it, and the twelfth member abstained.

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The evident objection came instead from Herman E. Downey, the flinty Tennessean who is staff director of Hill's appropriations subcommittee. Downey read the news accounts, immediately asked NIMH for the records, and then described the project as "a prostitution of medical research."

The seeming displeasure of the subcommitte that feeds money to the National Institutes of Health began to worry officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The enthusiasm of some officials began to wane. They also started to look nervously toward another southerner, Rep. L. H. Fountain, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations. Fountain is preparing to hold hearings on how NIH grants funds to researchers. Ironically, Fountain never did make a query about the Woolman project. His staff, in fact, is first looking into the situation now. But the shadow of Fountain and his forthcoming hearings loomed large enough to shake some of the convictions in HEW.

The unease showed quickly. On June 6, just after the first news accounts appeared, one of Felix's staff members, was briefing a group of federal officials and Prince Edward County residents on the mechanics of Woolman's project. Then a messenger handed him a memo from Felix. It said that the office of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Anthony Celebreeze, had ordered NIMH to hold back the project, at least until Congress adjourned for the year. Celebreeze's information officer, Harold Levy, has since denied that the Secretary himself issued the order. But, whoever was responsible, the order seemed to have Celebreeze working at cross purposes from the White House.

Some days later Mike Gorman, a member of the Advisory Council who had voted for Woolman's project, wrote a formal request for full reconsideration of the mail balloting. Gorman, a veteran of appropiration battling on mental health, is head of the National Committee Against Mental Illness. For years, he has been publicizing the crisis in mental health and promoting appropriations and donations of funds to meet it. The work has made him an intimate of the congressman who appropirate funds for mental health.

The Council met for its regular June 20 session in a conference room in "The Stone House," an aging cottage on the campus of NIH in Bethesda, Md. Ironically, it was the day after President Kennedy sent his last civil rights message to Congress, a message calling for the most sweeping civil rights bill since Reconstruction Days. The psychiatrists, psychologists and social scientists on the Council clearly had changed their earlier views.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this change came only under the pressure of southern congressmen. Part of the change could be attributed to a growing resentment among the members toward another kind of pressure. Many of the Council members felt they had voted for Woolman's project originally under political pressure from the White House.

"We're a bunch of liberals, said one member. "We were for this thing as citizens. As scientists, we were not." There seemed to be a growing number of questions as to the strict scientific validity of the project. At the meeting, Gorman lashed a scathing attack against it. He said the project had been hastily and improperly drawn "under the gun" of the White House. He said it was not relevant to the mission of NIMH, and he expressed doubts about Woolman's experience and qualifications to run it. Two other members spoke out and supported Gorman. No one mentioned the appropriations subcommittee, but the name of Fountain was brought up. Oddly, in view of the earlier, almost breathless enthusiasm, no one from NIMH arose to defend Woolman and the project. The Council, which had voted 10 to one with one abstention for the project by mail, decided to vote unanimously against in in person. Woolman and his programmed instruction would not be used in Prince Edward County.

"It's true that we were vulnerable," said a Kennedy Administration official who followed the episode closely, "and that makes it hard to argue with the contention that our scheme was non-scientific. But I think the moral of this mess is that some people, when the chips are down, have a greater loyalty to the appropriations committees than they do to the President of the United States." The moral of this mess, however, actually may be somewhat more complicated.

For one thing, the White House, while worrying about Prince Edward County, failed to see any of the broader implications of Woolman's research. No attempt was made to push the project as a real experiment that might help the problem of Negro unemployment throughout the nation. The White House saw the project as a disguised way of helping the county and pressured for it on these grounds. In doing so, the White House feel into a trap and found itself defeated by science, not segregation. This criticism, of course, is easy to make with hindsight. Woolman and NIMH actually sold the project as a cure for Prince Edward County. That's all the White House was looking for, and its search was sincere and commendable. It may be unfair --- though accurate --- to accuse the White House of not seeing the forest for the trees. At the same time, it would seem that the White House was just as guilty as HEW in backing away from congressional pressure. The incident, at the least, shows a lack of coordination between the White House and Celebreeze.

One of the most troublesome questions is whether the episode actually resulted in setting back the whole cause of using programmed instruction to wipe out Negro illiteracy and unemployment. It is not easy to answer. Certainly the opportunity to demonstrate the method in a dramatic laboratory has been lost. But there still is some evidence that the publicity about the incident may have given programmed instruction a boost in some circles of the federal government.

The rejection of the project did not end the Administration's search for a way to help the Negroes in the county. In early August, William van den Heuvel, an assistant to Attorney General Kennedy, worked out a plan with Negro and Virginia officials for a privately-financed school system to open in Prince Edward County in September. Full details of the remedial program have not been announced, but the schools may be staffed with some psychologists. If so, a bit of programmed instruction surely may enter the curriculum.

Woolman does not believe he has suffered any crushing defeat. The Demonstration Review Panel of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency has recommened that a grant be made to try out his methods with a few hundred children in the Washington school system. An expert in the programmed instruction field puts the Woolman situation this way: "He's probably a little punchy about what happened to him. But he really hasn't been hurt by it. His ideas have received a lot of exposure now. And he is a very talented fellow."

Nevertheless, the government has lost a unique chance to see if programmed instruction can be used to raise the work skills of culturally-deprived people. There are a few other experiments in progress. Woolman's work in the Washington schools will be one of them. Mobilization for Youth, another project of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, is using some programmed instruction in its project on the east side of Manhattan. Some work has been done in prisons and correctional institutions. A few other projects are ready to get going. But none have the advantage that Woolman would have had: a chance to work in the public spotlight with 500 Negro illiterates in one compact area.

All signs, however, show that federal job training has programmed instruction in its future, although officials don't see it as any panacea. Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Department of Labor's Office of Automation, Manpower and Training, says "We haven't used programmed instruction up to not, but we will very soon. There are oodles of companies in this field, and we are asking HEW to check on them for us. I've been travelling about the country and looking at the material. Some of it looks pretty good. It looks like it can be used to raise the literacy and basic work skills of Negroes and others so they will be ready for technical training. Teachers are in such short supply that we have to look for something like this."

The need for these basic skills is increasing as the economy demands more and more skilled workers and the schools produce more and more dropouts. This foreshadows a mad, dangerous crisis of mass unemployment at the bottom of the economy and a critical need for skilled manpower at the top. "There are hundreds of thousands of Negroes without a fourth-grade education," Wolfbein says. "We find that we can't even train them to be gas station attendants. We worked with one company and found that 40 per cent of its business involved credit cards. Trainees have to know how to read and to add decimals. It takes more than just manning a pump. That's where programmed instruction could help, teaching the basic literacy and arithmetic."

These views are seconded by Dr. Hyman Frankel, the co-ordinator of training for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. "Unfortunately not much is being done right now," he says. "We really are at the very beginning. There has been a lot of thinking about programmed instruction. We don't believe it is the key to the problem of job skills, but it has tremendous possibilities. Of course, there has been a lot of resistance to it by traditional educators . But we are going to move with much more acceleration now."

The comments by Wolfbein and Frankel may be the key to the episode. No one knows whether programmed instruction really can do the job of uplifting the skills of illiterates. But its possibilities for literacy and job skills seem too attractive for the bureaucratic machinations over Woolman and Prince Edward County to hold it back very long, if at all.

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THE FIRST FEDERAL FAILURE
IN
PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY *

by

Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

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*The following article represents a reportorial case study which details the birth and death of a single research project. It was written at the request of The Reporter but ultimately failed to obtain publication. Mr. Ben Franklin, the senior author, is a member of the staff of the New York Times Washington Bureau and Mr. Stanley Meisler is a Washington journalist who has contributed articles to The Reporter and The Nation and other national publications. Their courtesy in making the article available for this conference is gratefully acknowledged.

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The case study centers on a federal plan to do something about the 1,500 Negro children deprived of schooling in southside Virginia's Prince Edward County since 1959. That year the county's Board of Supervision, faced with a court order to desegregate its schools, decided to abolish them instead. A private school, paid for by state tuition grants, was set up for the white children, but the Negro children were left unschooled and illiterate. This action was upheld by the U.S. Circuit Count of Appeals in Richmond last August 12.

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It would be wrong, however, to assume that this change came only under the pressure of southern congressmen. Part of the change could be attributed to a growing resentment among the members toward another kind of pressure. Many of the Council members felt they had voted for Woolman's project originally under political pressure from the White House.

"We're a bunch of liberals, said one member. "We were for this thing as citizens. As scientists, we were not." There seemed to be a growing number of questions as to the strict scientific validity of the project. At the meeting, Gorman lashed a scathing attack against it. He said the project had been hastily and improperly drawn "under the gun" of the White House. He said it was not relevant to the mission of NIMH, and he expressed doubts about Woolman's experience and qualifications to run it. Two other members spoke out and supported Gorman. No one mentioned the appropriations subcommittee, but the name of Fountain was brought up. Oddly, in view of the earlier, almost breathless enthusiasm, no one from NIMH arose to defend Woolman and the project. The Council, which had voted 10 to one with one abstention for the project by mail, decided to vote unanimously against in in person. Woolman and his programmed instruction would not be used in Prince Edward County.

"It's true that we were vulnerable," said a Kennedy Administration official who followed the episode closely, "and that makes it hard to argue with the contention that our scheme was non-scientific. But I think the moral of this mess is that some people, when the chips are down, have a greater loyalty to the appropriations committees than they do to the President of the United States." The moral of this mess, however, actually may be somewhat more complicated.

For one thing, the White House, while worrying about Prince Edward County, failed to see any of the broader implications of Woolman's research. No attempt was made to push the project as a real experiment that might help the problem of Negro unemployment throughout the nation. The White House saw the project as a disguised way of helping the county and pressured for it on these grounds. In doing so, the White House feel into a trap and found itself defeated by science, not segregation. This criticism, of course, is easy to make with hindsight. Woolman and NIMH actually sold the project as a cure for Prince Edward County. That's all the White House was looking for, and its search was sincere and commendable. It may be unfair --- though accurate --- to accuse the White House of not seeing the forest for the trees. At the same time, it would seem that the White House was just as guilty as HEW in backing away from congressional pressure. The incident, at the least, shows a lack of coordination between the White House and Celebreeze.

One of the most troublesome questions is whether the episode actually resulted in setting back the whole cause of using programmed instruction to wipe out Negro illiteracy and unemployment. It is not easy to answer. Certainly the opportunity to demonstrate the method in a dramatic laboratory has been lost. But there still is some evidence that the publicity about the incident may have given programmed instruction a boost in some circles of the federal government.

The rejection of the project did not end the Administration's search for a way to help the Negroes in the county. In early August, William van den Heuvel, an assistant to Attorney General Kennedy, worked out a plan with Negro and Virginia officials for a privately-financed school system to open in Prince Edward County in September. Full details of the remedial program have not been announced, but the schools may be staffed with some psychologists. If so, a bit of programmed instruction surely may enter the curriculum.

Woolman does not believe he has suffered any crushing defeat. The Demonstration Review Panel of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency has recommened that a grant be made to try out his methods with a few hundred children in the Washington school system. An expert in the programmed instruction field puts the Woolman situation this way: "He's probably a little punchy about what happened to him. But he really hasn't been hurt by it. His ideas have received a lot of exposure now. And he is a very talented fellow."

Nevertheless, the government has lost a unique chance to see if programmed instruction can be used to raise the work skills of culturally-deprived people. There are a few other experiments in progress. Woolman's work in the Washington schools will be one of them. Mobilization for Youth, another project of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, is using some programmed instruction in its project on the east side of Manhattan. Some work has been done in prisons and correctional institutions. A few other projects are ready to get going. But none have the advantage that Woolman would have had: a chance to work in the public spotlight with 500 Negro illiterates in one compact area.

All signs, however, show that federal job training has programmed instruction in its future, although officials don't see it as any panacea. Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Department of Labor's Office of Automation, Manpower and Training, says "We haven't used programmed instruction up to not, but we will very soon. There are oodles of companies in this field, and we are asking HEW to check on them for us. I've been travelling about the country and looking at the material. Some of it looks pretty good. It looks like it can be used to raise the literacy and basic work skills of Negroes and others so they will be ready for technical training. Teachers are in such short supply that we have to look for something like this."

The need for these basic skills is increasing as the economy demands more and more skilled workers and the schools produce more and more dropouts. This foreshadows a mad, dangerous crisis of mass unemployment at the bottom of the economy and a critical need for skilled manpower at the top. "There are hundreds of thousands of Negroes without a fourth-grade education," Wolfbein says. "We find that we can't even train them to be gas station attendants. We worked with one company and found that 40 per cent of its business involved credit cards. Trainees have to know how to read and to add decimals. It takes more than just manning a pump. That's where programmed instruction could help, teaching the basic literacy and arithmetic."

These views are seconded by Dr. Hyman Frankel, the co-ordinator of training for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. "Unfortunately not much is being done right now," he says. "We really are at the very beginning. There has been a lot of thinking about programmed instruction. We don't believe it is the key to the problem of job skills, but it has tremendous possibilities. Of course, there has been a lot of resistance to it by traditional educators . But we are going to move with much more acceleration now."

The comments by Wolfbein and Frankel may be the key to the episode. No one knows whether programmed instruction really can do the job of uplifting the skills of illiterates. But its possibilities for literacy and job skills seem too attractive for the bureaucratic machinations over Woolman and Prince Edward County to hold it back very long, if at all.

Evening Star
4 June 1963

Prince Edward Gets Grant to Teach Reading

RICHMOND, June 4 (AP).—At least one federally financed educational program is scheduled for Prince Edward County this year, and there are reports that another is yet to come.

Dr. Myron Woolman announced yesterday that the Institute of Educational Research of Washington has received a Federal grant of "substantially" more than $2 million to develop reading skills for the county's children. Negro children have gone without schooling since 1959, when the county closed public schools to avoid desegregation. White children here attend private schools.

Dr. Woolman emphasized that the institute's program is not connected with any remedial programs the Government might be developing for Negroes in answer to requests from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Full Program Seen

It was understood that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare currently is working on plans for a possible full instructional program for the county in response to the NAACP plea to President Kennedy. Both an NAACP source in Richmond and Dr. John A. Morsell of the national NAACP office in New York, said they understood an announcement of this program was due late this week.

Dr. Woolman, director of the institute which will conduct the reading program, said the institute will seek volunteers—either Negro or white—from among children whose reading skill level is below the sixth grade average. As many as 500 can be accommodated under the plan, he said.

The project, he said, would last five years.

In Richmond yesterday, the State Supreme Court was cool to a plea that it hear this month an appeal from a State court decision holding that the county acted lawfully in closing the schools. A decision by a Federal judge saying the county could not close public schools so long as schools in other localities remained open has been argued before the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, but a decision has not yet been handed down.

Experiment in Literacy

Dr. Woolman said money for the institute's program is coming from the National Institute for Mental Health, an agency within HEW. He said the exact amount of the grant has not yet been determined but that it would be "substantially" more than $2 million.

He said children enrolled in the program, which will be conducted by personnel from Prince Edward County, will take part in a unique educational experiment which, if successful, could be used in developing higher literacy rates throughout the world.

Prince Edward was chosen for the experiment, he said, because there are numbers of children who have never been exposed to reading instruction.

Late Summer

The institute, he said, will furnish the reading materials and plans. Classes will be held in whatever facilities can be made available. He said the experiment would be activated in late summer.

The experiment is designed to test a system of teaching reading that Dr. Woolman developed. It is called the "progressive choice method." Children begin by learning the letters of the alphabet, go on to combine them into words, obtain comprehension of words by voice and finally attain reading comprehension of the words.

Washington Post 4 June '63

Negro Pupils in Prince Edward To Be Taught in U. S. Program

RICHMOND, June 3 (AP) As many as 500 Prince Edward County children who have been without public schools for nearly four years will be taught to read under a 2.35-million-dollar Federal program to begin in late summer.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court - ordered desegregation. Since then, white children have attended private, segregated schools and Negro children for the most part have been without formal education.

Myron Woolman said yesterday that the Institute of Educational Research of Washington has received a Federal grant to develop reading skills for the County's Negro children. There were also reports that another Government-financed program will be forthcoming.

Woolman emphasized that the Institute's program is not connected with any remedial programs the Government might be developing for Negroes in answer to requests from the NAACP.

It was understood that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is working on plans for a possible full instructional program for the County in response to the NAACP plea to President Kennedy. Both an NAACP source in Richmond and John A. Morsell of the national NAACP office in New York, said they understood an announcement of this program was due late this week.

In Richmond today, the State Supreme Court was cool to a plea that it hear this month an appeal from a State court decision holding that the County acted lawfully in closing the schools. A decision by a Federal judge saying the County could not close public schools so long as schools in other localities remained open has been argued before the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, but a decision has not been handed down yet.

In Prince Edward, the president of the State NAACP warned that the organization may be forced to adopt more militant action in its struggle for integration.

The president, the Rev. L. Francis Griffin of Farmville, said the NAACP is under pressure from Negroes demanding a change in tactics.

Elsewhere in Virginia, racially troubled Charlottesville was due to consider the organization of a biracial committee tonight. The City Council also has the matter on its agenda.

Thirty-one Charlottesville and Albemarle County ministers passed a resolution Saturday urging the council to appoint a committee to take up the city's racial issues.

In Roanoke today, Federal District Judge Thomas Michie approved that city's five-year school desegregation plan.

Roanoke school officials have estimated that up to 400 Negro children in grades two, three and seven will enter white and formerly white city schools this fall under the stairstep plan. One hundred forty already attend four mainly white schools.

U.S. Allots 2.5 Million to Tutor Negro Pupils in Virginia County

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has opened an intensive, five-year "catch-up" program of basic education for about 1,500 Negro children in Prince Edward County, Va.

Local authorities in Prince Edward have abandoned public education rather than submit to integration orders of the Federal courts.

The National Institute of Mental Health, one of the department's research agencies, will approve a $2,500,000 grant this week to a private specialist in theories of rapid learning.

His job will be to teach illiterate Negro children, some of whom have reached the age of 10 without ever being in a classroom, to read and write at a sixth-grade level.

The specialist is Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., of Washington. He will have $600,000 at his disposal for the first year of an elaborate program that is expected to call for temporary classrooms in Prince Edward, either in prefabricated buildings or trailers.

Trained Missile Crews

Dr. Woolman said he would have classrooms facilities ready and teachers at work by Aug. 1.

He has used what he calls "conceptual" teaching methods to train Nike missile operators for the Air Force and employes of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

Recently he also succeeded in teaching "untrainable" retarded children to read and write in Washington and Baltimore.

Dr. Woolman said the success of this experiment had been "rapturous." He expects similar results from "normal but educationally deprived children" in Virginia.

The $2,500,000 grant marks the first time the Government has acted to provide for the education of children deprived of schooling because of resistance to Federal court integration orders. Prince Edward is the only locality in the United States that has closed all public schools to prevent integration.

Reading Method Described

Both Dr. Woolman and Federal scientists who supported the grant stressed that it was "purely for scientific research."

Dr. Woolman's "progressive choice reading method," for example, is still carefully described as "experimental" despite its apparent success.

Fundamentally, the method is a highly complex departure from other "easy" or "high speed" reader training methods.

In an interview, Dr. Woolman stressed repeatedly that his wor would be "pure science," and that he would not engage in a "political or emotional tug-of-war."

However, a high Federal official conceded that there was "a delicate precedent" involved in introducing what amounts to a Federally sponsored school program into Virginia.

This spokesman said the Kennedy Administration had been "scratching around for ways to act on our very deep concern for these children." He went on:

This program is clearly within the framework of our authority. It is a scientific opportunity and we are playing it deadpan."

Termed Inevitable

At a news conference in Richmond today, Gov. Albertis S. Harrison said it was "inevitable that someone" would have to go into Prince Edward and "do some remedial work."

The Governor said he had hoped that this would be done "at the state or local level, but for reasons that everyone knows, it was not." He did not elaborate.

A spokesman for the National Association of Colored People in Richmond said he welcomed the move, adding: "It is what we have been asking for."

Other Federal programs may follow in Prince Edward. The United States Office of Education has already awarded a $75,000 grant to the University of Michigan for a survey of the country's educational needs.

New York Times
6 June 1963

READING SKILLS

Pr. Edward Program Technique Is Novel'

By ROSS WEEKS JR.

The federally aided project announced yesterday under which Prince Edward county children would be taught to read involves a novel technique developed in 1950 by Dr. Myron Woolman, now director of the Institute for Educational Research.

Basically, the system involves teaching letters by sound, teaching basic words from those letters and then learning the words as they sound. Then the child is taught the printed form of the word and learns to correlate the sound with the printed word.

Included in Dr. Woolman's work is a reading-skills project being tested by 32 schools including those under the J. P. Kennedy Foundation.

The J. P. Kennedy Foundation was organized from funds given by the family of President Kennedy.

The institute was established in late 1960 as a non-profit corporation and presently is operating under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, an agency within the federal Department of Health, Welfare and Education.

Its corporate objectives include "the more effective realization of the human resource potential. Major objectives are: Improvement of behavioral efficiency related to conceptualization . . . and decision making."

Dr. Woolman described the institute as of his own making.

And, he said, the opportunity to work in Prince Edward county is a "once-in-a-lifetime thing. The kind of chance I've been waiting a long time for."

Prince Edward, to an educational researcher, is a "purity" of educational poverty, he said. In slums, or Indian reservations, there is at least some contact with education among children, he pointed out.

Since the public schools were closed there in 1959, white children have attended private schools but most Negro children have had no formal education beyond temporary volunteer programs. About 500 of the county's 1,600 Negro children have attended schools outside the county.

Dr. Woolman said his main concern has been organizing materials to help the learning process. He designed his present method as a graduate student at Columbia University and used high school subjects to test it for his doctoral thesis.

Here, in Dr. Woolman's words, is the background and method involved:

"The 'progressive choice' method was developed as a technique for producing reading skills by myself in 1950.

"The reading method was developed as a result of experimentation involving theoretical principles of learning. I further extended the theoretical base of the method in a doctoral dissertation, 'The Effect of Varying the Number of Choices in the Identification of Very Similar Stimuli.'

"This study used humans to test some of the major variables in the 'progressive choice' method. It has been found effective for both normal and mentally retarded children and has been tested in six controlled experiment studies . . .

"Only one learning element is learned at a time. The learner develops the capability to read, write and sound all the terms which may be obtained by combining those letters which are already known.

"For example, when he knows the three letters M, P, and O, he is able to read 'mop, pop, mom, and pom-pom . . .' When he obtains a fourth letter, T, he can perform the same on the additional words top, pot, tom, etc.

"As letters are added, the number of meaningful words he can read increases in an accelerated fashion. He is evaluated at all learning levels and does not progress to the next letter until he has mastered the word combinations up to that point. At all times, he is required to demonstrate knowledge of different senses of the same terms.

"Basically, the progressive choice method is a system designed to provide capability to rapidly translate visual patterns so that they give the same meanings as the same words received audially, by sound. The learner must demonstrate comprehension of words at the audio (sound) level, then proceed through controlled step-by-step procedures until he can attain the same meanings when the terms are presented visually (in writing).

"When meanings are delivered as fully by printed picture as by the audio sound patterns, he has closed the 'Meaning Loop.' Thus the 'progressive choice' program is a system designed to simplify and facilitate the closing af 'Meaning Loops.' Ultimately, the learner is required to reverse the Loop so that his reading skills augment his speaking and listening vocabulary."

Dr. Woolman also has developed training programs for Bell Laboratories, now used throughout the Bell System; and has created programs currently being tested in Baltimore, Washington and Fairfax county schools, as well as the Kennedy foundation. He also has worked with General Electric Co. and Republic Aviation Corp.

Prince Edward Study Research Group Plans

The Institute of Educational Research in Washington announced plans yesterday for a five-year project to test and develop the reading skills of Prince Edward county children.

Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the institute, said the federal government has provided a grant of substantially more than two million dollars for a study of as many as 500 county children between the ages of 6 and 16.

He emphasized that the project is not connected with any remedial programs the government might be developing for Negroes in answer to requests from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Plan Being Studied

It was understood that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is working on plans for a remedial instruction program. An announcement of this program is expected later this week.

Dr. John A. Morsell of New York, NAACP official, said he was confident the program would not only be remedial, but would carry into the 1963-64 school year in the event public schools in Prince Edward aren't reopened in September.

Dr. Woolman said the exact

Prince Edward Study Planned

Continued from First Page

amount of the grant has not yet been fixed because some aspects of the project are still under negotiation.

He expects the National Institute of Mental Health, a federal agency within HEW, to finance the program. He emphasized that the program will not be confined to Prince Edward county.

Dr. Woolman said the institute he heads was founded as a non-profit organization in the District of Columbia in 1960.

He said he has developed materials for imparting reading skills that have been tested and found effective for both normal and mentally retarded children.

He said Prince Edward was selected because there are numbers of children there who have never been exposed to reading instruction. Public schools there have been closed since 1959.

Negro children generally have had no formal education, but white children have been attending classes sponsored by the Prince Edward School Foundation.

Dr. Woolman said the materials he has developed are currently being used with some 500 mentally retarded children in 33 schools in the Baltimore and Fairfax county areas.

He said he hoped to set up the first reading research unit in Prince Edward in August. Each unit or group will consist of volunteers from among school-deprived children.

While participants will not be limited to Negroes, it might well be that the Prince Edward groups would consist only of Negroes because of the local situation, he said.

Dr. Woolman said he hoped to establish other groups in the county at intervals of two or three months, with perhaps as many as five under way within a year.

The experiment involves what Dr. Woolman calls the "progressive choice method" of reading. Children begin by learning the letters of the alphabet, go on to combine them into words, obtain comprehension of words by voice and finally attain reading comprehension of the words.

Classes will be held in whatever facilities will be made available, Dr. Woolman said.

Similar but smaller ventures are forseen on some Indian reservations and in slum areas and migrant labor camps, he said.

The United States Office of Education has a co-operative research project under way in Prince Edward county to determine the educational and sociological impact upon the residents of a county which has had no public schools for four years.

A spokesman for the office said the federal expenditure for this work, undertaken in co-operation with Michigan State University, will amount to about $75,000.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 21,

Kennedys Spur New School Plan for

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 20—With one embarrassing failure behind them, President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, have intensified pressures behind a new effort to rehabilitate 1,700 Negro children in Virginia who have been without schools for four years.

The story of the first failure indicates that the new attempt will be a difficult one, despite its high-level sponsorship. But the Government officials involved are confident. Their goal now is a "model school system for educationally deprived children."

It would have a blue-ribbon faculty, placing heavy emphasis on remedial courses in all usual school subjects. It would be financed by a consortium of private philanthropic foundations.

At least one high-ranking Washington official is devoting full time—and overtime—to the rehabilitation project. Others are working hard to promote it, or to pick up the pieces of the first venture, a $2,500,000 Federal "reading research" project that backfired unexpectedly a month ago today.

In charge of the new project in Prince Edward since early June has been William van den Heuvel, a 33-year-old former law partner of Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York.

Mr. van den Heuvel was defeated in 1960 in a campaign against Representative John V. Lindsay, Republican of Manhattan. Mr. van den Heuvel, a Democrat, is now a special assistant to the Attorney General.

Although Negro parents continue to pay taxes, the segregationist Board of Supervisors has locked their children out of the public schools to circumvent a 1959 Federal court order admitting Negroes to a white public high school. All public education has been abandoned.

President Kennedy's special interest in Prince Edward began last February at a White House meeting of top advisers on the draft of his 1963 civil rights message to Congress. The message contained a paragraph pointing out that the Justice Department had intervened to seek the opening of the closed schools "in the only county in the nation where there are no public schools."

The Federal intervention had been before the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, where the Justice Department had joined in arguing a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People suit to force reopening of the schools.

Today, six months later, the court has still not handed down an opinion. But at the February meeting in the White House the President made it clear that his main concern was for some Federal effort to recoup the lost years of schooling, even if the public school system was revived.

There were some "far-out" suggestions. One was to take over a large area of Prince Edward as a military base and establish a school for Negroes "on U. S. soil." Another involved building a transmission tower on a mountain top in eastern North Carolina, 60 miles away, and beaming in educational television programs.

These plans were considered to be "obviously impractical." An acceptable solution came on March 15 from the National Institute of Mental Health, a United States Public Health Service agency that had the advantage of access to a multi-million-dollar fund for research grants.

The agency proposed to conduct "a study of a greatly improved method of teaching

ULY 21, 1963.

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reading." On March 11, it reported, it had invited a prominent non-government psychologist, Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Educational Research, to undertake the study.

Dr. Woolman was eager to test his "progressive choice reading method" on the county's "unique concentration" of largely illiterate Negro children. Under another agency grant, he had already successfully taught severely retarded children to read.

He had also designed a successful "program learning course" for Army Nike missile operators and a technical training program, using teaching machines, for the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

A special "on-site" review committee assembled in Dr. Woolman's Washington office on April 18. Unanimously and enthusiastically, it recommended the "Woolman project", expanded to a $2,500,000 grant program, for Prnice Edward County.

Ten days later, members of the National Mental Health Advisoy Council, final reviewing group of top-ranking psychiatrists and psychologists from across the country, were asked to approve the project by mail ballot. The council was not scheduled to meet until June.

The mail vote of the 14-member council, when it was finally tabulated in May, was 12-to-1 in favor of the Woolman project, with one abstention.

At the urging of James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the mental health agency directed Dr. Woolman to prepare to be in operation in Prince Edward by Aug. 1. Dr. Woolman, accordingly, began hiring a staff.

Then began the critical phase of what one Administration official has called "a pretty sad fiasco."

A news story on Dr. Woolman's study project appeared last June 6. The reaction of some Southern members of Congress was stiffly critical.

Senator Lister B. Hill, Democrat of Alabama, who is chairman of both the legislative and the appropriations subcommittees that deal with the National Institutes of Health, made inquiries. Senator Hill did not specifically object.

But Herman Downey, the influential staff director of Senator Hill's appropriations subcommittee, sent immediately to the mental health agency for the papers on the Prince Edward program.

Mr. Downey, a former administrative assistant to the late Senator Kenneth D. McKellar, Democrat of Tennessee, called the plan "a prostitution of medical research."

Under Congressional pressure Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, considered suspending the project until November, by which time Congress might have adjourned. But on June 20 the National Mental Health Advisory Council ended the controversy.

After considering again the Woolman project—and the political pressures for and against it—the council reversed its earlier vote and rejected the project unanimously.

One negative factor taken into account by the council was the continuing investigation of N. I. H. grant procedures by the House Intergovernmental Relations subcommittee of Representative L. H. Fountain, Democrat of North Carolina.

1,422 Enrolled at Adelphi

Special to The New York Times

GARDEN CITY, L. I., July 20—Adelphi College reported today that 1,422 students were enrolled for its second summer session, an increase of 253 over last year.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlant 7-6270
July 25, 1964

The report was written by CORE Field Secretary Ed Hollander. It tells of his failure to get the Federal Government to intervene to protect Federal prisoners:

"At the Justice Department John Doar greeted me and took me to see John L. Murphy, chief of general litigation of the civil rights division. In Mr. Murphy's office, he and James McShane, in charge of US Marshalls, and Jerry Jones, a Justice Department attorney keeping over-all track of Mississippi events, and I met for about an hour and a half. We went over my case in detail and at the end of the session Mr. Murphy said that even though the investigation was not yet complete he doubted very much whether the Justice Department would take any action. He based his opinion on the belief that there was no denial of equal protection of the laws in my case because it could not be shown that the jail officials knew what was happening to me.

"It is difficult for me to understand his position because I had told a Hinds County deputy sheriff and two US Marshalls. Mr. Murphy felt this was insufficient and suggested that it would have been better if I had cried out or yelled for help. He said that if I had done that, and if the jailer were in his office, and if his office were near enough and my cries loud enough for him to have heard, and if under those circumstances the jail officials did not do anything then the Justice Department would have a case.

"It is exceedingly difficult to understand why my crying our, which as far as the jailer could know might be done by any of the prisoners engaged in horseplay, would better inform the jailer than my telling a deputy and two marshalls of the incident with fresh bruises on my face. You may remember from my letter to Marshall Stuart that the marshalls told the other prisoners to leave me alone, indicating that they did not believe that I had fallen off a table while asleep. Incidentally, the color photographs which the FBI took only a few hours after my beating turned out very well. Perhaps if you have time you might want to look at them. At any rate, Mr. Murphy did not offer further explanation of his position; he did say that I would be notified whenever any decision is made on my case.

"I asked Mr. Murphy what could be done by his Department, the FBI or the marshalls in the event that upon conviction I am placed back in the Hinds County Jail, under federal custody, where there are likely to be some of the same prisoners whom I was in with on June 27th. He said that he did not know whether, upon conviction, I would be kept in federal custody or turned over to the authorities who brought the charge. He did say that in the event I were under federal custody nothing could be done to prevent my being beaten again. He said that "decision" had been made and indicated that it had been made by persons very high in the Department or in the executive branch as a whole."

Southern Regional Office
2211 Dryades Street
Room 203
New Orleans, Louisiana

July 10, 1964

Mr. Jack T. Stuart, U.S. Marshal
Room 410
United States Post Office Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Stuart:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Jackson FBI agent Charles M. Kokes with whom I spoke regarding the incident I wish to report to you. I was arrested in Canton, Mississippi on May 29, 1964 charged with "parading without a permit" during a voter registration "demonstration" at which I was present but in which I was participating. I spent 28 days in the Madison County jail without being tried and during that period received no mistreatment from either officials or the white prisoners with whom I was housed. On Friday, June 26th eight of the fifty-five persons arrested on May 29th were still in jail in Madison County Jail.

At about noon on the 26th three men whom I believe are U.S. Marshals, though I saw no credentials, took the eight of us to Jackson, Mississippi. I believe two of the Marshals were Charlie Sutherland and Dan Kelly, and the third, a Negro, whose name I don't know, I believe is the recently appointed Marshal for the southern district of Mississippi. We were chained together in groups of two and three with chains and in that fashion we were driven in three cars to Jackson. In Jackson we were taken to the fifth floor of the Hinds County Court Building where we were "booked" as federal prisoners. After a wait of about half an hour in the hall on the fifth floor we were taken to a second floor county court room were a U.S. Commissioner, whom I believe is John R. Countiss III, interviewed each of us briefly for the purpose of reviewing and resetting bail. After that we were taken to our cells on the fifth floor. I, being white, was of course put into an all-white cell of the Hinds County Jail while the other seven prisoners, all Negroes, were put into an all-Negro cell. I had no difficulties on Friday, June the 26th.

On Saturday morning, the 27th, however, I was beaten three times by white prisoners and it is this I wish to call to your attention. One or two hours after the 5 A.M. breakfast that morning a white prisoner who had been brought in during the night for, I believe, being drunk, started questioning me in an accusing, aggressive, and profane way as to whether I was a freedom rider." He stopped after about five minutes only to return in about 15 minutes. None of the other approximately 20 prisoners in the cell had questioned me in this regard the previous day and I do not know why this particular prisoner decided to all of a sudden. Certainly jail officials were around the cell doors enough early that morning to have instigated such questioning, even though I have no specific evidence that they did so. After the second period of "questioning" the man returned in about 15-30 minutes and presented me with a civil rights leaflet which had been taken from the pocket of my coat which was hanging in the night section of the cell block. After he asked me a few questions about the leaflet someone started hitting me in the back of the head and in the face with their fists. The man who had presented the leaflet had been standing behind me and to the right as I sat at one of the long tables in the "day room" cell. While talking with him the third time I had not turned around to face him and so I can not be sure whether he was alone and can not be sure whether he was the one who hit me. He hit me about 15 times, stopped and walked away. I remained seated at the table and did not respond to his implorations to stand up and fight him. As far as I was aware the other prisoners took no interest in the beating other than to watch. To the best of my recollection this took place at about 7:30 A.M.

About 15 minutes later a man whom I believe was a deputy sheriff (he was wearing a uniform and a badge) called me to the door to ask what had happened. I told what had happened. He called out to the other prisoners to ask what had happened and the explanation he got from several of the prisoners was that I had been asleep on the table and had fallen off. I continued to explain what had happened because he did not seem to understand. When I mentioned that I was a civil rights prisoner he said "oh" and promptly walked out. After about 15 more minutes the marshals whom I believe are Kelly and Sutherland called me to the door and asked what had happened; Sutherland did all the talking. I told them; when they asked the prisoners what had happened, they got the same answer that the deputy had. Before leaving Sutherland did shout to the prisoners something like "leave this boy alone now." I didn't see any more deputies or marshals until I was bailed out.

At approximately 9:00 A.M. the first beating was repeated. This time a man approached me from behind where I was seated in the same place but did not say anything before he started to hit me. The beating lasted about as long as before and both I, and the other prisoners as far as I know, had the same reactions as before.

After another 30-45 minutes a man approached me as the previous two had. I was still sitting at the table, but this time I had my head down on my arms on the table. This man pulled my head up by the hair and hit me once, from behind, directly in the right eye. As he walked away I could hear him mutter something angrily but couldn't really understand what it was.

Two drunks had been brought in early Saturday morning, around breakfast time. One of them slept most of the time but the other engaged himself in a lot of loud talking and antics of one sort and another. About 30-45 minutes after I was last hit the "active" drunk picked up a 4-5 foot length of broom or mop handle which I noticed had been lying around the cell on the previous day. He charged at me from the front, but with the table and bench between us. He hit me about 6 times with the wood handle, the blows falling on my arms and shoulders as I was protecting my head.

I was standing in line for lunch when a deputy called my name and told me to get my things, that I was being bailed out. As the eight of us went one by one to the counter to sign for the return of our belongings a deputy stepped on our toes as we signed the receipt form. I know this happened to me and I understand from the others that he did the same with them, too. Before we were taken down to the first floor the deputy called someone on the phone whom he called the "chief" to come up. When the chief came he asked me in a disinterested way about my beating. I told him briefly what had happened but did not go into any more details than he asked for.

On the first floor all eight of us signed a paper that Mr. Countiss presented us (in the presence of our attorneys, Carsie Hall and Marian Wright). Countiss had a county deputy photograph me; then we were released, about 12:30 P.M. Later that afternoon I talked with FBI agent Kokes in his office and he took a report of the incident and also took photographs. My injuries which did not cause serious bodily harm, consisted of bruises on the face and head, a black right eye, and one or two chipped teeth on the upper right side. On Monday, June 29th I gave a signed statement about the incident to agent Regis Kennedy in the New Orleans, Louisiana FBI office.

I will look forward to hearing from you about what action can be taken in my case and also about what can be done to prevent future such incidents. If you need additional information I will be glad to provide it.

Very truly yours,

Edward S. Hollander

POSITION OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The search for happiness and security occupies the mind and motivates the endeavors of all mankind. "Sometimes", according to Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, "people in search of status and security seek to gain this status and security by denying it to others." Thus, prejudice, intolerance, racial and religious discrimination have persisted, often evoking witchhunts, torture and genocide.

This condition existed in 1942 when the Congress of Racial Equality was formed. Hitler was screaming anti-Semitic diatribes and the majority society of this country was systematically denying the African-American an equal opportunity to participate in the economy, politics and culture of his country. Jews were being murdered in Germany and Black Americans were experiencing the anguish and distress of denial and rejection. In both instances the moral concepts of human equality and brotherhood had been compromised, subverted and sacrificed to patterns of racism.

CORE came into being at this critical stage of history for one purpose; to help man in his search for happiness and security by fighting to abolish all forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. Hence the depth of our philosophy and the scope of our efforts have always been the creation of a society where all men are equal. Not only would our philosophy falter, but our programmatic measures would grind to a halt if our quest for equality only encompassed the Black segment of the population.

As it was then, so it is today. The National Action Council, CORE's Board of Directors, constantly reaffirms its all-out opposition to anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-Black attitudes and expressions. The National Director, CORE officials and the CORE staff unremittingly seek, by lectures, seminars and other educational efforts, to combat this aspect of discrimination.

We, therefore, reiterate in the strongest terms our intense opposition to any conduct, statements or attitudes that would in any manner be derogatory to any race or religion or people. The Congress of Racial Equality will continue to use its resources to project its commitment to the equality of all mankind. Moreover, Floyd B. McKissick, our National Director, has said that philosophically, emotionally and intellectually, he, personally, is committed to a way of life that precludes any element of anti-Semitism of anti-Catholicism or anti-Negroism.

There is no room in CORE for persons with anti-Semitic sentiments. By word, by letter, by other educational means, and by deed CORE will continue to demonstrate its abhorrence of anti-Semitic attitudes and will continue to initiate measures to abolish this social evil.

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I enclose ______________________
as a special contribution to the National Congress of Racial Equality to support the organization's philosophy and program.

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

City ______________________

State ____________ Zip Code ____________

☐ I am interested in becoming a member of CORE. Please send membership information and application.

☐ Please send more information on other CORE activities.

YOUR INVITATION TO JOIN CORE

CORE's programs are designed to provide for an orderly transfer of power to a heretofore powerless community, so that they themselves can seek to make the changes needed.

PLEASE CHECK IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO ORDER OR RECEIVE INFORMATION ABOUT:

___ CORE Holiday Cards (especially appropriate for the Holiday season but also useful all year around)

___ CORE Printed Material @ 25¢ each

___ McKissick testimony at Ribicoff hearing

___ The Core-later (CORE monthly newsletter).

___ CORE Membership Brochure

___ CORE and Education (reprint from New Republic)

___ CORE Silver Lapel Pins @ $1.50 each

___ CORE Black Power Buttons @ 25¢ each

___ CORE Posters and Wall Placards, "Black Power" Posters

___ Bumper stickers @ 25¢ each

___ Black Power Seals (postage stamp size) @ $1.00 per sheet

- ***Make checks or money order for full amount payable to CORE.***
- **Unless you request one, your check will serve as a receipt. All cash payments will be receipted.**

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 62695
New York, N. Y.

CORE
200 WEST 135th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10030

HOW YOUR CONTRIBUTION HELPS . . .

- ▶ $5 sends a child to Freedom School for one week in Baltimore.
- ▶ $10 trains a neighborhood leader at a weekend institute in Mississipi.
- ▶ $25 provides room, board and salary for one CORE task force member for one week in Louisiana.
- ▶ $120 pays for six weeks of job training in Watts.

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE (Congress Of Racial Equality)

To achieve Total Equality for all citizens, black people must have power and must be unified in working for:

1. The Growth of Political Power
2. The Building of Economic Power
3. An Improved Self-Image
4. Development of Militant and Dedicated Black Leadership
5. The Enforcement of Federal Laws
6. The Development of Consumer Power

NO ENVELOPE OR STAMP REQUIR
Money order or check m
Additional information may b

Last year it looked as though CORE might
1966. But we must provide the fuel for this ye
chieve total equality in the political, economic

PLEASE PRINT

Name..

Street and No. ....

City..State.......................Zip.....................

▶ **Make checks and money orders payable to CORE.**

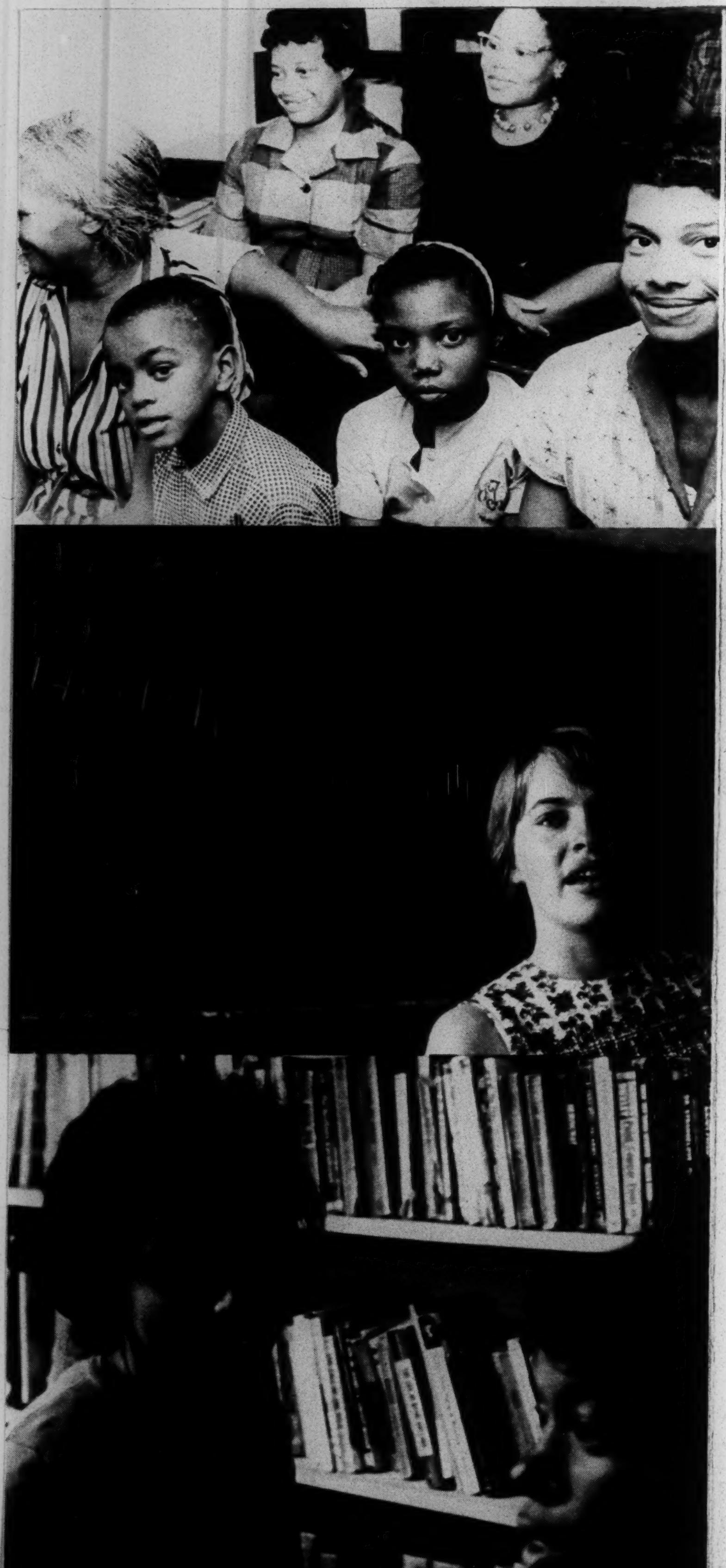
CORE Associate Member

☐ Grand	-	$1,000.00	☐ Supporting	-	25.00
☐ Life	-	500.00	☐ Contributing	-	10.00
☐ Sustaining	-	100-400.00	☐ General	-	5.00

☐ I do not want to be a member but here is my contribution.

P REQUIRED–JUST FOLD, SEAL AND MAIL
r check may be safely enclosed
ion may be listed on separate sheet

might die. Thanks to you, we turned the corner in
this year's program to support CORE's efforts to a-
conomic and community life of our nation.



I am Mississippi fed,
I am Mississippi bred,
Nothing but a poor, bl
I am a Mississippi sla
I shall be buried in a
Nothing but a poor, de

— IDA
Harm

CO

38 Park Row, Ne

ippi fed,
ippi bred,
a poor, black boy.
ssippi slave,
ried in a Mississippi grave,
a poor, dead boy.

— **IDA RUTH GRIFFIN, age 12**
Harmony Freedom School

CORE

Row, New York 10038

490

SOMETHING
NEW
SEWING
HEALTH
ARITHMETIC
SPELLING and READING

Freedom Schools

"It is like having the lights turned on after you have lived all your life in a darkened room." This is the way one person described the effect of CORE's Freedom Schools in Mississippi and other states of the Deep South. Freedom is more than the right to vote. Freedom means dignity; it means a sense of one's worth as a person.

This is what our Freedom Schools are working to encourage. We are trying to turn on the lights for people who have lived too long in the darkness of deprivation. But we need your help.

The future of our Freedom Schools, and the work they are doing, depends on your support.

JAMES FARMER
National Director, CORE

The following is taken fr
Fusco, Coordinator of COR

At the beginning of the
exceptions, the kids wl
exploring us and the Fre
willing to express themselve
with honesty and passion. T
as soon as they could gather
a ticket they were going o
California. To leave the sta
tion, and about it they were
not thought any further tha
terms of where the money
and certainly not in terms o
find where they would go a
do there. Behind their pas
was some sense of "go home
free," some vague hope of

But by the end of the su
these kids were planning to

The transformation of Mi
because the transformati
begun. And if it can happe
can happen all over the S
hope of the Freedom School
would be about 1,000 stu
coming to the informal dis
other sessions. It turned o
of the summer the number
and the original expectati
attract 16-17-18 year-olds h
include pre-school children
ages ranged all the way up
to learn about how to be F

The subjects ranged fro
planned—Negro History, M
black-white relations—to ty
guages and other forms o
aspects of the program were
the continuation of the Fre
the regular academic year
scale program of tutorials
study as well as exploration i
of the problems raised in th
and longer range work wi
drama.

taken from a report by Liz
r of CORE Freedom Schools.

g of the summer, with rare
e kids who were tentatively
the Freedom Schools were
themselves on only one thing
passion. That thing was that
ld gather enough money for
e going off to Chicago or to
ve the state was their ambi-
they were certain. They had
rther than that, not even in
e money was to come from,
n terms of what they would
uld go and what they would
their passion for the north
"go home to my Lord and be
hope of a paradise beyond.

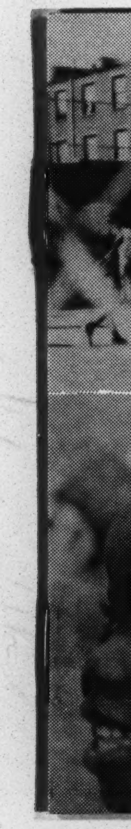
of the summer almost all of
nning to stay in Mississippi.

ion of Mississippi is possible
sformation of people has
an happen in Mississippi, it
er the South. The original
m School plan was that there
,000 students in the state
rmal discussion groups and
turned out that by the end
number was closer to 3,000,
expectation that we would
ar-olds had to be revised to
children and people whose
e way up to 70, all anxious
to be Free.

nged from those originally
istory, Mississippi Now and
ns—to typing, foreign lan-
forms of tutoring. These
ram were so successful that
f the Freedom Schools into
ic year will involve a full-
tutorials and independent
loration in greater intensity
ised in the summer sessions
work with art, music and

To think of kids in Mississippi expressing emotion on paper with crayons and in abstract shapes rather than taking knives to each other; to think of their writing and performing plays about the Negro experience in America rather than just sitting in despairing lethargy within that experience; to think of their organizing and running all by themselves a Mississippi Student Union whose program is not dances and fund-raising but direct action to alleviate serious grievances; to think of their being willing to come to school *after school,* day after day, when their whole association with school has been at best uncomfortable and dull and at worst tragically crippling—to think of these things is to think that a total transformation of these young people can take place, and to dare to dream that is can happen all over the South.

There are programs now as well as dreams, and materials, and results to learn from. And it may well be that the staffs of the Freedom Schools in Louisiana and Georgia and other southern states will be the kids who just this past summer were students in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, and who discovered themselves there.



FACT SHEET

Q.

A.

CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 10038

The following questions are frequently asked of Core Workers. Standard answers are given here to enable the worker to proceed with confidence.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

1. *Q. WHAT IS CORE?*

   A. The Congress of Racial Equality is a National organization with almost 200 local groups in every section of the country. CORE seeks to abolish all forms of discrimination based on race, religion or National origin through non-violent direct action, community organization and political action.

2. *Q. WHAT HAS CORE DONE?*

   A. CORE has ended discriminatory practices in all parts of the country. In the South, CORE initiated and planned Freedom Rides that thrust direct action into the hard-core areas of racial segregation. The rides and the sit-ins have desegregated thousands of restaurants, swimming pools, beaches, churches and other public places. In New Orleans, St. Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Seattle, Denver, and scores of other communities, thousands of Negroes have secured jobs and promotions through the campaigns of CORE groups. Campaigns in the ghetto have resulted in Play Streets, in additional traffic lights, in the enforcement of laws governing minimum housing conditions, and in opposition to police mal-practice. Other campaigns have placed Negroes and other minority people in television and in magazine advertisement.

3. *Q. HOW DOES CORE WORK?*

A. CORE groups are interracial and use nonviolent direct action methods. This is a step-by-step process beginning with investigation and going on to negotiation with those responsible for the discrimination. If talking does not work, leaflet appeal, pickets and sit-ins are used. It is the obligation of the CORE group to involve as many persons of the community as possible in any action taking place in that community or in any action that is of concern to the community.

4. *Q. WHY NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION?*

A. Nonviolence has been effective. It has worked in cases too numerous to mention. This method attacks the practice of discrimination but respects the person who discriminates. In this way, we can often win over the discriminator. In any case, we win the support of the public. Direct action has been effective. It involves the personal actions of people and permits people from every walk of life to participate *directly* in the struggle for freedom.

5. *Q. WHAT IS CORE'S GOAL?*

A. CORE seeks to achieve an integrated society where each individual is judged solely on his own merit. CORE believes that racial discrimination hurts all Americans; therefore, all Americans should take action to end it. CORE is interracial in membership and staff.

6. *Q. WHAT ARE CORE GROUPS LIKE?*

A. Local groups elect their own officers, meet frequently and democratically decide what activities to pursue. Campaigns to end discrimination in their own communities, actions in support of our Southern groups, nation-wide boycotts, community organization and political action are some of the activities of the local Chapters.

7. *Q. WHAT DOES NATIONAL CORE DO?*

A. National CORE provides Field Secretaries and Task Force workers to assist Chapters in their local programs of community organization and political action and to train Chapter members in the techniques of non-violent direct action. Freedom schools and voter registration drives are developed by National directly.

8. *Q. WHY SHOULD I JOIN CORE?*

A. It is the duty of everyone to help to bring about a first-class society. When you join CORE, you help yourself and you help America because racial discrimination is America's number one problem.

9. *Q. HOW DO I JOIN CORE?*

A. There are two ways. Active members must be screened, hence it is necessary to contact the nearest Chapter or the National office if you desire this kind of membership. Associate Membership may be acquired by a contribution of $3.00 or more with a request that you be enrolled as an Associate Member.

10. *Q. WHERE DOES CORE GET ITS MONEY?*

A. National CORE is financed by its Associate Members, churches, unions, civic groups and local Chapters. Local Chapters are supported by membership dues and by special benefits.

11. *Q. WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?*

A. Become an Associate Member and contribute financially or become an active member and give time and energy. Tell your friends about CORE and show them the literature you receive. Support CORE action programs and never knowingly support any form of racial discrimination.

12. *Q. WHAT IS CORE'S NEW DIRECTION?*

A. CORE'S new direction consists of Voter registration, Job development programs, Political action, Consumer Education, development of cooperatives in farming, housing, the food industry, consumer buying and in intense Community organization to combat the social ills that created a class of disadvantaged people in the midst of an affluent society.

"Phase Two of the Civil Rights movement means Total Equality. To achieve Total Equality, three elements are necessary —

> *an improved self image for minority people,*
> *development of economic power*
> *development of political power"*

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director/CORE

448

DONT BUY

Memorandum to
The President

Subject:

A Plan of Action
For Remedial Education

(A follow-up on my memorandum
of October 16, 1964.)

From James Farmer
November 21, 1964

In my previous memo to you (October 16, 1964) I suggested that CORE believes that it is possible, working with other organizations and private citizens, to provide literacy skills for a million Americans in an eighteen month period with an investment of $30,000,000. I stressed the fact that CORE is an organization of volunteers, who are accepted and trusted within the communities most in need. Further, I stated that it is possible to perform this task in whatever buildings and facilities are available, using non-teachers to instruct with the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington.

The fact that millions of Americans see the fruits of our rich, productive society and yet cannot taste those fruits is a violation of the right of all citizens to equal opportunity. Moreover, these millions of economically and socially disfranchised Americans represent an unstable and potentially explosive force within our society. From the point of view of simple justice, economic growth, and social stability, we must attack this problem with all available resources. The social advances made possible by the Civil Rights Act and the promise in the Economic Opportunities Act are like a menu presented to long-hungry diners. These legislative acts must be followed by something tangible or the very hopes they raise will stimulate further disillusionment and resentment. The problem infects every American community and action must be taken wherever the problem exists.

In considering the issue, I am convinced that CORE has only begun to make its contribution. We must help the disadvantaged develop literacy and job skills and a concommitant confidence in their future as Americans.

I have a deep conviction that CORE must participate actively at the community level, lending support to these important programs as they begin to function within our deprived communities. The dropouts, illiterates and the unemployed cannot be helped by law, buildings, money or good intentions. They distrust officials and schools, in whatever guise they appear, and they can only be brought into full and active participation in our society by people they trust using methods of training which are suited to their needs. Above all, there must be mutual confidence between the people who operate the programs and those to whom the training is given.

The prime fact of the war on poverty is that the trainee must not only enlist but actively participate if he is to learn. Learning, as you know, is a personal matter and requires both confidence in the teacher and a willingness to invest oneself in the process sufficiently to succeed. I am convinced that the next step is for organizations such as CORE to move forward into the national arena and if this important step is to succeed, to act as a catalyst for simplifying and accelerating the process of education and training.

Further, it is necessary for organizations such as CORE not only to participate in community education, but also to assist in developing the new educational methods and techniques required for community-action education, as contrasted with public education, which, to date, has been ineffective in coping with the problems rampant in our deprived communities.

While it is the responsibility of the schools to educate, it is our obligation to supplement that education where necessary and to reach those who have failed to respond to the schools. No one can reach the youth on the streets in quite the same manner as another youth or an adult who has come from the same background and environment. CORE feels strongly that the Negro protest organizations along with individual churches, local unions, social clubs and community groups have a unique role to play in motivating and educating those Americans who remain functionally illiterate. Our record shows that we have had astonishing success in motivating and training the very population that is most in need of inspiration, most in need of enrichment, most in need of literacy skills, most in need of jobs. We do not propose a program for non-whites alone. We propose to begin a campaign in which volunteers of all ages, backgrounds and races will be able to offer a unique learning experience to hundreds of thousands and even millions of disadvantaged and underprivileged persons.

We have in the field the structure for putting into effect a large scale literacy program. We have the methodology. With the proper funding we will be in a position to effect substantial literacy programs throughout the rural South and in hundreds of cities and towns. Through coordination of the efforts of private agencies and with the assistance of the federal government we believe we can make great strides toward the elimination of illiteracy in this great nation.

Our objective is to teach people to read and thus provide them with the underpinning required to go on to further educational and employment levels. But we have an even greater objective. Negroes and other members of depressed minority groups have been taught to reject their own potential. Those on the bottom have for their own self-protection become apathetic and lethargic: to try to advance is to be beaten down. Thus, millions of Americans have chosen to accept their inferior status. The militant civil rights campaigns of the past decade have awakened the sleeping aspirations of many of these sullen millions. For the first time we have brought the spark of life into whole communities. While we have provided the awakening, we must now shift our programs so that we may provide the tools to translate these new-found aspirations into reality.

The ingredients necessary for the successful implementation of a literacy program which can provide reading skills and motivation for further growth are:

1. A population receptive to the idea of learning and self-advancement.

2. A technology which can provide the ability to advance reading skills at a substantial rate and which also has built-in self-motivating factors.

3. A large group of persons able to act as instructors.

4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.

5. Community facilities available for implementing the program over a long period of time.

6. Funds.

Population

There is no need to dwell on the need or the receptivity of a large population. The statistical evidence is overwhelming. This has also been dealt with here and in the earlier memorandum.

Technology

The method developed by Dr. Myron Woolman appears to hold the best possibility for success. It is a programmed approach which has been designed for use by relatively untrained personnel. It incorporates the learning by teaching approach. The content of the reading material can be tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of the southern Negro child and adult, the ghettoized high school dropout or the Appalachian white, and it allows the student to advance as rapidly as his own capabilities permit. CORE has observed the method in operation in the field. Our staff was amazed at the interest, involvement, discipline and motivation of both instructors and students.

Others who have studied Progressive Choice in practice attest to its striking ability to stimulate and hold the learner. Students almost unanimously ask to spend longer hours on the program than time permits. They take tremendous pride in their accomplishments and in their successes. We are thoroughly convinced that Accelerated Progressive Choice offers the best opportunity for non-teachers to reach and teach the educationally and socially deprived.

Instructors

Many volunteer Literacy Instructors will be drawn from the dropout or potential dropout population itself. Retired teachers, housewives, student volunteers, church members and workers can also become volunteer Literacy Instructors.

The initial cadre of instructors will come from the active membership of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the churches. In many cases the instructors will recruit their own students. As students progress in the method they themselves will instruct others just entering the program. With CORE's extensive experience in the utilization of volunteers we will be able to recruit an ever-expanding number of instructors who will have wider and wider outreach.

We have observed student helpers on the junior high school level giving instruction in this method in a public school in North Carolina. It was startling to see that the student helpers were as effective in teaching as were the teachers. If 8th graders are able to teach reading to other 8th graders it becomes obvious that the number of potential teachers is limitless and that the demands of the Woolman method on the instructor do not preclude using youngsters themselves under supervision to teach others. A number of CORE chapters in New York are somewhat acquainted with the literacy program and many of our high school members have come to us asking when they can begin to implement the program in their schools and through their chapters. With the small amount of publicity there has been on the literacy program my office has been flooded with offers of professional assistance, with volunteers who want to become instructors and with inquiries from communities wanting to know when they can begin the program.

Structure

I propose that a Center for Research in Community-Action Education be established in an appropriate university setting. Preliminary discussions have already been carried on with two universities and this proposal has met with initial positive responses. The university would receive and account for funds from all sources, public and private. The Center's sole initial function would be to research, develop and execute the literacy program on a national scale. This aspect of the Center's work shall be referred to as Phase 1.

The Center will require four operational arms: Research, Development, Planning and Community Action. Under Phase 1 the functions of these departments would be:

a. Research Arm: To develop theory and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning, with emphasis on narrowing the gap between human potential and performance.

b. Development Arm: To design and produce educational materials specific to the requirements for Community-Action Education Programs.

c. Planning Arm: To coordinate the professional, educational governmental, and organizational resources to facilitate work done in the field. Further it would operate as a resource for the other three arms in the Center.

d. The Community Action Arm: This arm would do the work of going out into the communities to carry out the plan of action and use the materials developed through the research and development arms. It would also evaluate and make recommendations for change in the methods of implementation employed by the cooperating agencies.

I further propose, however, that the scope of the University Center eventually be expanded into Phase II. In this second phase the Center should broaden its program to include all aspects of quality, integrated education. For example, Phase II should be concerned with sharply reducing the proportion of dropouts and increasing the ability of students to learn.

The functions of the four departments under Phase II would be expanded to include the following:

a. Research Arm: Research in the whole area of school integration, and other research appropriate to developing quality education within the public schools.

b. Development Arm: Development of proposals at the request of school systems and local organizations for achievment of quality, integrated education, and development of materials and textbooks toward this end.

c. Planning Arm: Communication and coordination of the work being done by community action groups, boards of education, governmental agencies, and various experimental projects. Planning and expediting the transition from community-action education to public school education inasmuch as the success of Phase II will progressively render Phase I unnecessary.

d. Community Action Arm: Act in a consultative capacity to school boards, school supervisors and community groups to assist in the solution of educational and training problems arising from intergroup tensions or desegregation.

It should be pointed out that the expanded scope (Phase II) of the Center is independent of and not a requisite for the national reading program (Phase I). A financial commitment to Phase I implies no such commitment or endorsement of the projected second phase.

Community Facilities

In addition to the University Center which would serve as the research administrative, and supervisory headquarters for the literacy development program, certain community resources will be required. It has been indicated that the body of instructors will be a prime resource provided by the community. Places in which to teach also will be necessary. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, union halls, plant facilities and community centers will be ideal. In fact, the logic of the program indicates that the more the quarters are unlike a typical school setting, the better.

Funds

The educational crisis facing America requires a massive effort on the part of volunteer agencies. Only the federal government can support such an effort on the scale which is imperative. However, on a large scale the average cost of developing an eighth grade reading level in students beginning near point zero can be less than $50. This low cost will be possible due to the use of volunteer instructors and free facilities.

In most cases the cost to a community or agency desiring to undertake the literacy program should consist solely of the investment of time and energy. The materials, research and supervisory staff would be paid for by the funds made available by the federal government. I am in the process of preparing a budget which will be available shortly.

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

I would suggest that we begin implementation of the literacy program in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. We should move next to Pittsburgh and New York City. After that we should expand into the South and as rapidly as possible spread to cities across the nation.

At the beginning we would use the network of CORE chapters, NAACP, Urban League, SNCC and SCLC units and Freedom Schools which already have expressed an interest in the project as the nucleus for implementation. These groups are uniquely equipped to move into this type of community program rapidly and effectively and without necessitating new and elaborate community machinery. But we shall by no means limit participation to civil rights organizations. Already, one of America's major industries has approached CORE about the possibilities of putting the reading method into effect among the workers in its plants.

The Center at the outset will develop facilities to train Literacy Instructors both on its own premises and in the field. In any given city we would start with a cadre of between twenty and fifty Literacy Instructor Trainees. They can be trained as Literacy Instructors in from twenty-five to forty hours of instruction depending upon the number of hours they have available and on their own motivational and educational level. At the end of their training period they will be fully equipped to: 1) instruct in the Accelerated Progressive Choice method, 2) recruit their own students, 3) secure their own facilities in which to carry on their instruction if necessary, and 4) maintain all appropriate records.

As Literacy Instructors they will work largely within their own neighborhoods with students of compatible backgrounds with whom they readily can establish rapport. Each Instructor will be able to teach up to twelve persons in a group. Depending upon their initial level the students can become student-Instructors within a period of 30 to 150 hours of instruction and many of them are expected, at the end of 250 to 300 hours of instruction, to be fully qualified as literacy instructors without having gone through cadre training.

Joe Kelman

Bx

Ottla 850 E. 161st — WI 14468

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The Community Action arm of the University Center will also develop a large staff of Community Reading Program Consultants whose function will be to investigate, develop and supervise new agencies which can serve as fruitful local instruments for this aspect of the War Against Poverty. Working under the Program Consultants will be teams of paid staff members drawn from the ranks of the Literacy Instructors, who will check on each local Instructor and provide him with methods for continually improving his effectiveness.

Coordinated and planned from the Center, largely utilizing the already existing structures of national and regional organizations, and drawing upon local initiative, the nation-wide literacy program can be functional in a surprisingly short period of time and with an extremely low per capita expense.

I believe that this welding of research, development, and planning to community action represents a major new force in the War on Poverty and the struggle for equality in our nation. This program is, as you know, very much a part of my deepest convictions and I would participate personally and actively in the Center to insure its viability. I intend to seek, and am confident of gaining, the support of all civil rights groups, as well as unions, churches, the business community, and the general public in this task.

Within the framework of a Research Center such as the one outlined, a target on the order of one million literacy trainees appears both practical and feasible. This Center is a vehicle which has not existed to this time, because there was no public requirement to combine research, development and community action. Now, it seems to me, it is a necessary development to help insure the success of the War on Poverty. It utilizes many forces and combines them into a synchronous and functional system.

[illegible] Center
[illegible]dition

Jackie Robinson
~~Ralph Samuels~~
Paul Weller

Andy Norman

Tues 1.00 P.M. - 10th Flr OPC.

Subject — Chaney ~~Schw~~ Goodman
Schwerner Mem

$\frac{1}{4}$ Million — In Meridian

5. More specifically on the above, I have made arrangements for a post office box number for use in New York to be established, which will provide a very simple way for anyone talking on radio or TV to give his listeners or viewers an uncomplicated way of ordering the record. Sometimes the phrase, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York City, is more than a potential buyer can remember in time to write a check.

6. There is an absolute rule that nobody gets the record free. This includes me, James Farmer, President Kennedy, Prime Minister Nehru, and disc jockeys. In order to program the record, a disc jockey must purchase it at the full $5. price. If you throw a party or a dance of any kind to help sell the record, make the price of admission a record.

MEMO

TO: FARMER, CAREY, RICH, MCCAIN, HILL
FROM: V. COLEMAN
RE: TRIP AROUND THE NORTH

4/6/64

First of all I will make some general impressions which come as a result of my trip, including stops in Syracuse, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. I think it is a mistake to say that we are losing the "initiative" in the Northern civil rights movement. I think it is more accurate to say that with the exception of a very few places there is nothing that can be accurately discribed as a "movement," in the North. The political complications throughout the North vary widely from town to town but generally ascribe to the same pattern. To explain that seemingly anamolous statement--CORE's sophistication and response to various splintering and generally political action throughout these cities varies widely--however, the splinters themselves are undoubtedly part of a larger programmatic approach coming in part from a hard left effort to dislocate what action that exists and also from the general frustration of many activists who feel that no spirited leadership is being taken. As the problems as a certain kinship, it is also true that any solution which is to be reached in the next year or two will, undoubtedly, have to be a national solution, devised and organized out of this office. The general splintering and factionalism apparent in many of these cities is an extremely ominous sign--it does tend to dislocate any formidable action in a given urban center and diverts CORE activity out of the main streamto the problems we face in the north. These problems are, in my judgement, fundamentally civic problems deeply involved in the direct physical and environmental needs of Negroes living in the various Northern ghettoes. Throughout the north there is serious evidence of disruptive activity but there is no real relationship to fundamental issues affect- the Negro in the ghetto. As a result, much of the leadership in the towns which I visited is predominantly white, and highly left-wing oriented. There is example after example of headline making action which bears no visible relationship to the real needs of the Negro community. A four or eight or ten job victory at a particular bakery in Los Angeles, or a 30 or 40 job victory at a hotel chain in San Francisco makes very good newspaper copy but, in my judgement, it has not impressed or in any wany seriously affected the Negro community in either of those two cities. As a matter of fact in both of the cities the movement (however labeled) has not made any serious infiltration into the ghetto or has made no serious effort to involve itself with the ghettoes problem. I think we are fazing out of the "action for action's sake." We find our selves constantly in a position of backing and instituting irrelevant actions in an effort to keep an image of "militancy" in a Northern town. I am not sure that this is not a short-sighted point of view. In Los Angeles, for example, it seems to me that the various "action factions" that exist in many political and undergraduate formulations can be easily upstaged by serious hardworking intimate drive in the Negro ghetto (which is formidable) in which CORE Task Force people work on a one-to-one basis with tenants, employees and victims of police brutality, etc. Police brutality is, as we know, a good mobilizing base. This is not to imply for a second that we should be left-action-oriented, quite the contrary, action should be major city-wide and addressing itself to those issues which have some intimate relationship with the needs of the Negro community. In town after town this same pattern the same pattern is available. I think there is no doubt now that the various hard left factions are hard at work trying to divert us from just such a working class Negro orientation. What I am talking about now is not simply a patching up job required in a specific town but a general national northern program announced formally here which intends and indeed does drive a wedge deelpy into the Negro ghetto relating itself to those needs and helps to solve them. I think this is going to require trained people, people very much like Blyden Jackson in many of these situations. I think there are occasions when some of our more experienced old time CORE leadership no longer makes a great deal of historic sense. I refer specifically, for example, to Chet Duncan's work in the entire Western region. Chet is a brilliant organizer in virgin situation, such as his recent work in Phoenix. When it comes, however, to dealing with various "Ad Hoc" formulations that develop along political lines in the older more established CORE areas such as Los Angeles and San Francisco I feel he is woefully naive and temperamentally unable to cope. Another deep need here is a ~~thxx~~ thorough orientation of CORE groups--along the lines that Norman Hill has been doing in his various regional meetings. I think beyond that orientation, however, it is required that we leave behind these meetings specific people assigned specific tasks to see to it that this orientation toward the ghetto moves more pragmatically and more effectively. Again, I think that the basis of this should be a major northern committment announced by you. ~~These are not days in which [illegible]~~.

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June, 1965

Statement by New York *CORE* Chapters on School Integration

January 16, 1964

CORE is devoted to the fight for an integrated society through nonviolent direct action, and for a basic social and economic change in the condition of minority groups—in housing, employment and education. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown* vs. *the Board of Education of Topeka,* pointed out the necessity for integration in education. The Supreme Court held that segregated schools are inherently inferior and that the education a student receives in the segregated school has a negative effect on his personality. There can be no doubt that the segregated school cannot, even under the best circumstances, overcome the destructive effects which the society outside the classrom inflicts on the individual. The white student in the artificial atmosphere of the segregated classroom is led to think that he is superior because he goes to a separate school; he does not learn how to live with the other people with whom he must share this world.

New York State Commissioner of Education Allen this summer called for local school boards across the state who have a racial imbalance in their schools to attempt to get a 50/50 racial balance. In order to accomplish this and to meet the needs of New York City students, the Board of Education must make integration top-priority, and come up with a positive program for integrating now.

On September 5, 1963 the Board of Education, the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Education and the City Commission for Human Rights, in the presence of Stanley Lowell (chairman of the Commission), signed a written agreement with the Board of Education that the Board would submit a tentative report and plan for integration by December 1, 1963, and that a final plan for integration of the New York City schools would be available by February 1964. The plans, with a timetable for integration, were to be worked out in consultation with the Civil Rights organizations and were to "include provisions for a substantial, realistic and working program of integration in every school district in September 1964." The Board has failed to live up to this agreement.

Even a quick look at the state of education in New York City will show why parents are so angry. It is a dreary picture of a system that handicaps our children and then discharges them into the city streets with little preparation for meeting the harsh reality that they quickly come up against when they try to get a job.

New York City schools are segregated and understaffed; they are overcrowded and under-equipped. Thousands of classrooms are greatly overcrowded. Many of the school buildings are ancient and deteriorated; many are unsafe. Many teachers are inadequately trained and methods are outdated; they are still underpaid and burdened with non-classroom chores. Many teachers are demoralized and fail to understand the problems that children have in the 1960's. Curricula, particularly in social studies and history, do not satisfy the needs of our multi-ethnic group city population.

CORE is deeply concerned that:

30% of all teachers and 50% of those in minority group schools are substitutes.

that in just the last six years the number of almost completely segregated elementary and junior high schools has more than doubled, from 77 in 1958 to 165 presently.

that 239 school buildings currently in use were built before 1910.

that over 70% of junior high school mathematics teaching positions are filled by substitutes and teachers trained in other fields.

that the class size in New York City is the largest in the country, the size of classes in elementary and high schools has continued to rise over the last ten years.

There is every reason for New Yorkers to be dissatisfied with this second-rate educational system.

With Negro and Puerto Rican children constituting 41% of public school enrollment, we might expect to find about that percentage in each school. But there are 320 of 581 elementary schools 90% or more segregated and 70 of 136 junior high schools which are 85% or more segregated. Even on the junior high level where children travel to school, 55% of minority children attend schools which are 75% or more segregated.

The effect of segregated schools on Negro and Puerto Rican children can no longer be disputed. The Public Education Association in their 1956 study found that the arithmetic and reading achievement levels of minority group sixth graders were two years behind their white contemporaries; eighth graders were three years behind. More recent studies by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, the Brooklyn Parents Worshop for Equality in New York City Schools, and the Urban League of Greater New York found that the achievement gap has widened.

In the last six years there has been a 102% increase of almost completely Negro and Puerto Rican schools in relation to the total number of schools. This increase can be only partly attributed to the 34.4% increase in the ratio of Negro and Puerto Rican children to the entire school population. The City administration through the City Planning Commission's placement of public housing in segregated areas is also to blame. But foremost responsible is the Board of Education, for:

1) **Allowing the City Planning Commission to select the sites for construction which, since June, 1959, produced 38 segregated schools out of a total of 45. Twenty of the 26 schools presently under construction are in segregated neighborhoods. Thirty of the 51 schools included in the 1963-64 Capital Budget for Advanced Planning and/or Site Selection will be in segregated neighborhoods.**

2) **Allowing gerrymandered school district lines which prevent integration.**

3) **Failing to come up with a positive plan for integration.**

CORE insists that the education of children in this city be greatly improved, that the basic underlying problems be attacked, and that every child be provided with a decent classroom situation so that he can get the maximum benefits from his education. We believe that this can be accomplished for the children of New York City (black and white) only if the kind of classroom situation is created where all children are integrated without regard to ability-level (as established by artificial tests), and where Negro, White, Puerto Rican, and other minority children begin going to school together in the early grades. To do this the class size must be significantly reduced so that each child can get the personal attention that he or she needs in order to make the educational experience most profitable to him. These programs must be begun immediately on the lower grade levals and where they can be implemented on the higher grades they should also be started this year.

* * *

To achieve quality, integrated education in our public schools the Board must develop and implement a dynamic, comprehensive program. The following points should be included in the overall plan:

I. *Timetable:* In an agreement between the Board of Education and the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools in the presence of the City Commission on Human Rights, the Board of Education obligated itself to submit a plan for the integration of public schools in New York. This plan must provide substantial integration in every district beginning with the school year of September, 1964. Until the Board presents this timetable as evidence that it is immediately and specifically confronting the task of integration, the civil rights groups of this city must continue to prepare for a boycott on February 3, 1964.

We firmly believe the basic responsibility for implementation rests with the Board of Education, not with local school boards. As a basis for consultation and in order to make clear to the public our position we are submitting what we consider to be the basic ingredients of an effective timetable, the details of which should be developed and approved jointly by the Board and representatives of the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools with periodic progress reports presented to the Committee.

II. *Class Size:* In the last seven years average class sizes have increased in elementary and high schools. Integrated, heterogeneous classes of no more than 15 children aid in the full development of each child. If 1 master teacher and 2 assistants are used, then the maximum class size should not be over 30.

The number of classroom teacher's aides and clerical workers must be increased so that trained teachers can be freed and provide personal instruction and guidance.

Full utilization of available classroom space is necessary. Bussing may be necessary to insure proper use of existing facilities, so that every child will have a seat to sit in and so that class size can be reduced in highly populated areas.

III. *School Zones:* The present school zones must be withdrawn to maximize integration. A substantial number of schools can be integrated immediately by redrawing zone lines. The Princeton Plan must be used whenever possible to begin integration among the young children. (A Princeton Plan pairs two neighboring elementary schools so that all the Kindergatren to third grade teachers and children are in one school and all the 4th to 6th grade teachers and children are in the other.)

Junior high schools and high schools can be better integrated by changing the feeder patterns that determine which elementary schools send their students to the high schools. Most high school students and many of our junior high students already travel long distances. These students should be immediately integrated.

New school sites should be selected by the Board of Education (not the City Planning Commission) to provide for the maximum possible integration. Also, a less bureaucratic and less time consuming method for getting approval for construction of new schools must be worked out by the mayor. Many new schools are needed now.

In working out the details of all these proposals the Board of Education should work in cooperation with the City-Wide Committee for Integration to insure that the plan for Integration truly reflects the needs of the minority community.

IV. *Staff:* There should be significant improvements in the training, selection and promotion processes for teachers and supervisors.

The Board of Education should work closely with the Board of Higher Education to guarantee that there will be thousands of additional licensed teachers to effectuate a significant reduction in class size. Many of them should be Negro and Puerto Rican.

The Board should insure that the Board of Examiners no longer uses southern drawls or Spanish accents to exclude otherwise capable teachers.

There should be a significant increase in salary in order to provide the incentive for many more people to become teachers.

The Board should actively recruit teachers from every walk of life and ethnic grouping. This is most important at the level of promotion and selection of supervisors.

The Board should offer courses for those willing to become supervisors.

There should be in-service credit courses in Negro history, sociology and in the effects of discrimination on children in order to give teachers a better understanding of the role of minority groups in American life.

Courses in Spanish should be required for teachers in training and should be provided for regular teachers for in-service credit.

V. *Special Services and Staff:* At the present time there must be a significant increase in the number of specialized personnel: remedial reading teachers, guidance counselors, psychologists, etc. They should be assigned in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of the students of each school.

Some special services will also be required such as after-school study centers for those children who do not have the space at home to study in.

Guidance counselors should be required to acquaint minority students with the present needs and openings in the school system, and should encourage exploration of new openings and opportunities. They should also be required to take courses in Negro history, sociology and the effects of segregation on the personality. Specialist groups should be integrated with qualified personnel from minority groups.

VI. *Curriculum and Texts:* The Board of Education must keep its promise to revise curriculum and texts so as to accurately show the minority community in its current and historic role in American life.

VII. *Remedial Programs:* Generations of students have passed through the school system and were hindered in their full development by the bad quality of the education which they received. In order to correct these bad effects, there should be a full scale remedial program. This program should provide courses in all basic subjects and skills where needed. These classes should be conducted during the school day and should have special funds set aside for them. Teachers can be provided by training those who are available now. The students who are allowed to take the courses should be chosen on the basis of need and not on the basis of first come first serve.

VIII. *Scholarships:* Scholarships are badly needed and should be provided to children who are potential dropouts because of economic need. We must provide a real alternative for the student who wants to leave school to contribute to the family income.

IX. *School Board Representation:* The Board of Education is supposed to reflect the community it represents, therefore the need is felt for greater participation by Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority group leaders and for those who represent points of view other than the prevailing one. There should be membership on the Board of Education by those who believe in integration of the school system.

X. *Monetary Commitment:* We call upon the Mayor and Governor to cease avoiding their responsibilities to provide the Board of Education with funds ample to carry out the above programs.

SCHOOL

WORKSHOP

BOOKLET

(First Draft)

May, 1965

In Mississippi parents and citizens are concerned about the conditions of the schools and the problems they are facing in the Mississippi school system.

What problems in your school are you concerned about?

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Up to now Negroes in Mississippi have had no voice on how the schools are being run, but Negroes are no longer satisfied. This booklet has been prepared to provide information on how the school system is run by the state and county. It suggests how, as Negro parents and citizens, you can change the situation.

This booklet will help to point up some of the things that are wrong with the school system and how they can be changed. The booklet will help to tell who is responsible for the condition of the school system, how they got their position, and the power they have.

Hopefully, after parents and citizens have read and worked with this booklet, they will form committees to look into the basic problems and then begin to change Mississippi school system.

Before change can happen, people have to talk. But change will never happen if they only talk. One way to make talk lead to action is by asking questions and then going out to find the answers. What questions can we ask about schools? We can turn every school problem listed on page 1 into a question about who is responsible.

Who buys books?

Who decides on teacher qualifications?

Who decides on teachers' pay?

Now we have some specific questions to try to answer. Let's talk for a while and try to answer some of the questions.

To find out the answers to these questions we need to talk about the structure of the school system. We need to discuss the different groups of people that are running the schools now.

The County School Board and the State Department of Education are responsible for almost everything that has to do with schools.

County School Board (also called the County Board of Education) The county school board consists of five members, one of whom is elected from each beat. The members hold office for six years with staggered terms. Members receive $10 a day for service not to exceed 60 days in any one year. The Board has jurisdiction over all schools in the county except the separate districts.

Duties of the County School Board are:

1. Create, alter or abolish school districts of the county
2. Determine school transportation routes of the county.
3. Establish policies for operating school transportation system of the county
4. Approving contracts for superintendents, principals and teachers
5. Distributing minimum education program funds provided for the support and operation of the county school system
6. Approving requests for student transfers
7. Acting as the central purchasing agency for supplies, materials, and other articles for those school districts in the school system requesting the same.
8. Fixing the date for opening of the school term of all schools in the county school system

State Department of Education (Including State Board of Education) This department adopts the course of study to be used in the public schools of the state. It establishes rules and regulations for the purchase of county owned transportation equipment and for the operation of a school transportation system. It allocates and disperses state funds for the current operation of the schools.
The department is organized into six divisions with a director for each division. These divisions include:

1. Division of Administration and Finance
2. Division of Instruction
3. Division of School Building Service and Transportation

In addition, there are three less important divisions dealing with special services.

County Superintendent of Education
The superintendent is a full-time employee of the County Board of Education. He carries out the policies of the County Board and of the State Department of Education.

It shall be the duty of the county superintendent:

1. to sign contracts in a manner provided by law with each superintendent, principal, and teacher of the public schools under his supervision.
2. to enforce the course of study adopted by the Board of Education, and the uniform textbooks adopted by the county.
3. to carefully preserve all reports of school officers and teachers.
4. to issue pay certificates to teachers and to issue pay certificates for school funds of the county.
5. to keep in his office and carefully preserve the public school records provided.
6. to visit the schools and require teachers to perform all their duties.
7. to distribute promptly all reports, laws, forms and instructions which he may receive from the State Department of Education.

With this information let us return to our questions on Page 2 and try to answer them.

For example, on Page 2 we asked: Who buys books? Let us turn back to Page 3. Under the State Department of Education we read: "This department adopts the course of study to be used in the public schools of this state." Then we notice that one of the divisions of the State Department of Education is the Division of Instruction. Above that, under the County School Board, we see under No. 7 that the Board acts as a purchasing agency. Then on Page 4 we read under No. 4 that the county superintendent issues pay certificates for school funds of the county.

The second question on Page 2 was: Who decides on teacher qualifications? Let us turn back to Page 3. The Division of Administration and Finance of the State Department of Education decides on teacher qualifications for the state. Under the County Board we see that, according to No. 4, the County Board approves contracts for teachers. In practice, the county superintendent knows what is needed and decides on qualifications for the local schools.

The third question on Page 2 was: Who decides on teachers' pay? Can you answer this yourself by looking back at pages 3 and 4?

Let's take some of the other questions on Page 2 and try to answer them.

Let's list some of the questions we haven't yet been able to answer.

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The answers to all these questions can't be found on Page 3, but they can be found in the books from which the information on Page 3 was taken. These books are:

Mississippi Code 1942, Annotated. Recompiled Volume Five--1952, Published by The Harrison Company, Atlanta, Georgia.

Financing Mississippi Public Schools, Revised, July, 1964. Published by the Division of Administration & Finance, State Department of Education, Jackson, Mississippi.

The information on the County Superintendent of Education was copied directly from the **Mississippi** Code. The other information was taken from Financing Mississippi Public Schools. Let's talk for a while about these books.

In order to find out the answers to some of the questions we couldn't answer let's set up a committee to work on finding some of the answers.

The committee to look into this is:________________________

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This committee will meet:______________________________

____

We've talked about the county superintendent. In your county or community who is your superintendent?

How was he elected or chosen? When was he chosen? What are his qualifications? What is his salary?

Who is on your County Board of Education? How was it chosen? When was it chosen? What qualifications do they have?

Where is the State Department of Education located? How many people work there? What are their qualifications?

We'll need a committee to answer these questions.

The Committee will be:

This committee will meet:

Perhaps as this committee answers the questions above they will also discover other related questions, hopefully be able to answer these too.

When your committees find information, what will you use it for?

Should you start working for change in just the schools your children attend? Are there reasons for wanting to change all the schools in Mississippi?

Can we work on Negro schools and all the schools at the same time? The best way to decide is probably to list what we could do about each. And then choose what we want to do.

HOW TO IMPROVE PRESENT SCHOOLS

1. Take part in meetings with teachers.
2. Invite School Board members to our meetings.
3. Let principals and teachers know we're not satisfied with them.
4. Become registered voters and elect school board members.
5. Visit State Department of Education in Jackson.

HOW TO CHANGE WHOLE SYSTEM

1. File court suits against separate schools for Negro and white.
2. Try to talk with any white citizens who might share some of our worries. (A group of white people, Mississippians for Public Education might talk to us.)
3. Find out about school integration in other states.
4. Read and study about how to prepare both Negroes and white people for integration.

The last question to ask is "What will you really do?" Which of the above ideas will you start with? And how will you carry them out?

Your answer will help decide the future of your children, and of Mississippi.

YOUR ANSWER:

APR 16 1964

Val C

92 Bank Street
New York 14 NY
April 15, 1964

Dear Rita:

Well, I sure am sorry about the Rio package. It must be very frustrating to get a whole bundle of material with not a piece in it that's big enough to make anything of really. I'm very sorry for I know what you got, cutting ends. When I went to the ILGWU about ten days ago, they had a huge package there, most of it grotesque bits of material. I sorted it out piece by piece and when I was through the package was about one-fourth of the whole. (That was the one with trimming and belts in it.) Well, I don't know what beggers can do about people who'll send stuff ~~XMXXX~~ like that. Damn. Damn. Anyway, you ought to get that enormous shipment that's to go out today.

5279

When I get a minute or two -- I'm working -- I'll go up to see Mr. Mazur and see if we can't get some material wholesale and then get donations to buy some decent material from the wholesalers that supply these manufacturers. That's a long way off, of course, but it strikes me that this may be a practical way of seeing that you get some good material.

All my best
C

1500

Anti-Apartheid Research and Action Project
5 Beekman Street, 10th Floor
New York, NY 227-7280

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LINK BETWEEN U.S. SEGREGATION AND SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID REVEALED

New York, July 16: Bogalusa Voters League will use information revealed about Crown Zellerbach Paper Mills in South Africa in its drive to achieve fair employment practices in the Crown Zellerbach paper mill in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

The Anti-Apartheid Research and Action Project (ARAP), a student group supported by the American Committee on Africa, informed the Bogalusa group that Crown Zellerbach in also engaged in discriminatory practices through its subsidiary in South Africa. In May 1964, Crown Zellerbach International of San Francisco announced a merge with South African Paper Processing Ldt. of Johannesburg to form Crown-Carlton Paper Mills, Ltd. The new corporation is building a $7,500,000 paper factory near Johannesburg to be completed late in 1965. The plant, which is to produce domestic paper products, will have a capacity of 15,000 tons per year.

Significantly, this is the first time, as far as is known, that US civil rights groups have made explicit the links between segregation in the US and apartheid in South Africa. Paralleling the discriminatory practices of Crown Zellerbach in Bogalusa, is the legalized and government-supported discrimination that the company must operate under in the Republic f South Africa. ARAP estimates that while white workers are paid a minimum wage of $8 and an average of $12 per day, South African non-whites are being paid a minimum of 80 cents and an average of $2 per day.

In addition to unfair wages for South African black workers, ARAP charged that South African laws further discriminate against black workers. The Bantu Laws

more more more more

Amendment Act of 1963-4 requires that so far as possible South African black men in urban areas like Johannesburg be housed in bachelor quarters. This law applies even to married men and separates families. The Native Labor Act of 1953 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 forbid strikes and collective bargaining by black workers.

The economic investment of Crown Zellerbach International in South Africa contributes to all the horrors and evils that characterize apartheid in South Africa or segregation in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

MAY 6 1965

From: Boycott Research, SCLC

To: Friends of the Movement

Since tha plan of economic withdrawal from Alabama was announced by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and approved by the Board of Directors of SCLC, the Hammermill Paper Company has been one of our prime targets.

Hammermill Paper Company intends to build a pulp mill ten miles east of Selma. Their reasons are purely economical:

I Unique combination of wood, water, transport and labor,
II The company will pay no state or local taxes, (This is legalized by the Wallace-Cater Acts, passed to attract industry to the state.)
III The plant would be financed on the credit of the state government.

Such economical reasons cause more and more Northern industries to go to the South.

We must encourage more employment for the people in the Southern States, but as long as this is done without regards for the local political and social situation it will only help those who are determined to deny the Negro economical and political equality.

The Hammermill Paper Company is an excellent example of this kind of policy; for instance, at the same time it announced in a joint press release with Governor Wallace and high local officials the building of its new plant - 500 Negroes were jailed in Selma for asking to register and vote.

How profitable the operation of the plant may be, it rests upon tremendous cost in human labor, freedom and economic security. The very sort of economical and political slavery which the Movement is fighting.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Cancel orders or contracts with Hammermill.
2. Talk with local printing shops to encourage them not to use Hammermill paper, Seek contact with local press, and tell why you are acting.
3. Use enclosed pledge cards.
4. Write to Hammermill's Board of Directors, and bring out your view of the matter.
5. In towns where Board members live, or where Hammermill plants are located, small delegations of students and/or citizens could call upon them to discuss Hammermill's support of the denial of basic constitutional rights in Alabama.

PRODUCTS OF HAMMERHILL AND SUBSIDIARIES

All paper products (bond, stationery, office papers, envelopes, specialty papers, etc) bearing these brand names:

Buckeye-Beckett
Burgess
Coast
Cocklestone
Deeplake
Hammermill
Management
Old Colony
South Shore
Strathmore
Union
Watervliet
Whippet

PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

John H. Devitt, President
Hammermill Paper Company
5275 Wolf Road
Erie, Pa.

Donald S. Leslie, Chairman
Board of Directors
Hammermill Paper Company
4850 Wolf Road
Erie, Pa.

LOCATIONS OF HAMMERMILL AND SUBSIDIARY PLANTS

Los Angeles, California	Coast Envelope Company
Chicago, Illinois	Burgess Envelope Company
Westfield, Massachussetts	Old Colony Envelope Company
Turners Falls, Mass.	Strathmore Paper Company
West Springfield, Mass.	Strathmore Paper Company
Woronco, Mass.	Strathmore Paper Company
Watervliet, Michigan	Watervliet Paper Company
Hamilton, Ohio	Beckett Paper Company
Erie, Pennsylvania	Hammermill Paper Company
Erie, Pennsylvania	Robeson Process Company
Richmond, Virginia	Union Envelope Company
Richmond, Virginia	Duplex Envelope Company

OTHER MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Norman W. Wilson, 502 W 6th St, Erie, Pa.
Frederic E. Bahrenburg, 413 Monica Dr, Erie, Pa.
Mortimer E. Graham, 641 W 6th St, Erie, Pa.
Donald S. Leslie, Jr, 1453 E Lake Rd, Erie, Pa.
Donald T. Jackson, 205 W 42nd St, New York, N.Y.
John F. Condon, 51 E 42nd St, New York, N.Y.
William Beckett, 35 Orchard Dr, Hamilton, Ohio
Walter A. Rentschler, 685 Marcia Ave, Hamilton, Ohio
James H. Becker, 55 Oakdale, Highland Park, Illinois
Ralph H. Demmler, 1020 Highmont Rd, Pittsburgh, Pa.

SELMA, ALABAMA - BULLWHIPS, PAPERMILLS AND GOVERNOR WALLACE

As thousands of Negroes were being beaten and arrested in Selma, Alabama, HAMMERMILL PAPER COMPANY of Erie, Pennsylvania, announced that it would build a $35 million plant in that city. Speaking of the Hammermill planned move, Mr. John Devitt, President of the company said:

> "The company didn't discuss race problems or employment practices with the state and local government officials. The discussions were confined to economic issues; we were relieved that the race question was not involved. We think Selma - and Alabama - offer everything an industry could want."

Hammermill Board Chairman, James C. Leslie said:

> "One of the deciding factors in Hammermill's decision to locate in Selma was "the character of the community and its people." He is further quoted as telling Governor Wallace, "We appreciate the fine job you are doing for your state."

Dr. Robert Spike, National Council of Churches called the statement,

> "Either the height of naivete or the depth of racism," and said he would urge some 30 national church groups to "reexamine their purchasing policies in relation to Hammermill products."

Telegrams concerning the Hammermill's plan were sent by Mr. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and by Mr. James Farmer of CORE.

In reply to Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Farmer, Hammermill affirmed its intention to proceed with the mill. Reverend Andrew Young, Executive Director of Dr. Martin Luther King's SCLC said,

> "Hammermill should put immediate pressure on Alabama and Selma Officials, to protect the political and physical lives of Negroes, or we will not support Hammermill's economic life."

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is proceeding with plans for a nationwide college boycott of Hammermill products.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL TO BEGIN TO MAKE THEIR FEELINGS KNOWN. THE STOCKHOLDERS OF HAMMERMILL WILL MEET TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1965, 9:30 A.M., 1453 EAST LAKE ROAD, ERIE PENNSYLVANIA. PLAN NOW TO: WRITE, TELEGRAM, OR GO CALL ON.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

Mr. J. H. DeVitt, President,
Hammermill Paper Company
1453 East Lake Road
Erie, Pennsylvania 16506

James Farmer file

NEWS FROM
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. 70112

April 19, 1965

file

ATLANTA, GA -- The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) has joined other civil rights groups in asking for a Presidential commission to investigate violence, police brutality, and failure of law enforcement in areas of racial tension.

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of SCEF, said the investigation would take the place of a proposed investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The board of directors of SCEF, at their semiannual meeting here April 16 and 17, said in a resolution: "We well know that such an investigation by HUAC will be turned against the more militant civil rights groups in the South."

The first call for a Presidential commission came from the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. at its meeting in Baltimore on April 2. SCLC also opposed an investigation by HUAC.

A similar stand was announced in New York by James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Opposition to a HUAC investigation was also voiced by the executive committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at its meeting in Holly Springs, Mississippi on April 14.

SCEF is a Southwide organization of whites and Negroes working to end discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin, or economic condition. Present at the Atlanta board meeting were white and Negro leaders from nine Southern states, plus staff members and friends of SCEF.

The board urged its members and friends throughout the nation to support and attend a conference on free elections to be held in Washington, D. C. on April 24 at the call of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The board said: "We salute the MFDP for its resolute and brave insistence that elected officials truly represent the people. We support their effort to unseat the five Mississippi Congressmen who now sit illegally in the U. S. House of Representatives."

SCEF also voted to back an MFDP proposal for "new elections for all city, county, and state officials within nine months after federal registrars move into a particular area." This would be done through a provision in the Voting Rights Bill now pending in Congress.

An unconditional pardon for the Rev. Ashton Jones was asked in another resolution adopted by the board. Mr. Jones is serving an 18-month sentence in Fulton County Jail, Atlanta. He was charged with disturbing public worship after he tried to attend services at First Baptist Church of Atlanta with two Negro friends. Two representatives of SCEF visited Mr. Jones in jail.

The board paid tribute to four members who died in recent months. They were Aubrey W. Williams, Washington, D.C. founder and president emeritus of SCEF; Dr. O. B. Taylor, Knoxville, Tenn; Miss Ethel Mae Taylor, Arlington, Va. and Roscoe Dunjee, retired newspaper publisher in Oklahoma City, Okla.

#

CORE

Mr. Peter Cummings
The Southern Courier
c/o Adams House
Room D31
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Cummings:

Please forgive the [illegible] of this letter, but I'm sure you've noticed that we've been having a flurry of action in the past several weeks, both north and south. I think the Southern Courier is a magnificent idea and pray for its success. For years now, I've been trying to [illegible] southern news blackouts in an effort to get [illegible] out of that part of the country...with [illegible] wish you well.

You asked [illegible] CORE activity this coming summer.....I'll [illegible] you by [illegible]

MISSISSIPPI -- [illegible] with the COFO and [illegible] programs [illegible] CORE [illegible] will operate [illegible] District, principally out of Canton, [illegible] of our people have and will continue [illegible] as the need is determined by Jackson COFO. [illegible] Education And Defense Fund (our tax-exempt [illegible]) is raising the money to build a huge memorial community center in Meridian. I can't tell you precisely when that will be fully underway.

LOUISIANA -- This is the big one for us this summer. We are "taking on" the entire state and expect some 200 volunteers to join our staff people in working "full citizenship" drives in over 30 parishes. By "full citizenship" we mean voter registration, better [illegible] streets, mail service, the full range of civic needs. You will recall this was the basis of our [illegible] and ongoing drive in Bogalusa. It is important to say that CORE policy throughout the south is to operate strictly through and with grass roots, local Negro organizations such as the [illegible] Voters League. Yes, we are going to go for Leander Perez--the timing of that is secret, but we are making extensive preparations to go into Plaquemines Parish----and that, needless to say, is where there will be hell to pay. At the moment we are moving in Jonesboro, Bogalusa, Monroe, Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Iberville Parish, Gretna, Shreveport.

SOUTH CAROLINA -- We have announced a big voter registration push in South Carolina this summer. Our top field man, Jim McCain is in [illegible] and Columbia now putting the program together. Our target is basically Strom Thurmond and Russell, both of whom are up for reelection in Nov.

BEST COPY AV

OPY AVAILABLE

"It is only when Congress unseats the Mississippians and conducts free and open elections will the forces opposed to Negroes voting understand that this Nation is serious about guaranteeing the rights of Negroes not only to register, but to participate in the political processes and to use their vote freely."

JOHN LEWIS

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Friday, May 7, 1965

Ballots and Jobs

Economic Threats Seen Persisting as a Barrier To Negro Vote in Dixie

Rural Mississippi Mood Casts Doubt on New Bill's Impact; Registrants Face Dismissal

A Field Hand Fears Violence

By KENNETH G. SLOCUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHARLESTON, Miss. — Americans expecting the voting law now taking shape in the Senate to revolutionize Dixie elections overnight would do well to heed the words of Roger Weston, a young Negro field hand in this northwest Mississippi community.

"Maybe I could register and nothing would happen," says Mr. Weston as he stands beside his one-room shack in a sun-baked cotton field. "Maybe my boss wouldn't fire me. Maybe no one would burn my house, throw me in the river or shoot through my door. Maybe. But I expect they would, so I haven't registered and don't intend to."

The impact of any new voting rules enacted into law by Congress depends in large part on the thinking of thousands of Southern Negroes like Mr. Weston. And thus the clear import of his views, which appear to be shared by sizable numbers of Negroes in the Deep South, is that a new voting rights measure won't result in a sudden rush of Negro citizens to the polls in many Dixie communities. This is likely to be especially true in predominantly rural sections, where more than half of all Southern Negroes live.

Barrier Lowered

Tallahatchie County, which surrounds this town of Charleston, is a particularly good spot for gauging Negro attitudes toward voting. Thanks to Federal court injunctions, there now exist no legal or procedural barriers to Negro registration in Tallahatchie County. Nor, according to local Negroes, are there overt attempts to intimidate Negroes at the registrar's office.

"No voting law the Senate could draw up would be more stringent than the injunction under which this county is operating now." claims George Payne Cossar, a local attorney and a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives. "The door to Negro registration is wide open."

All the same, only about five Negroes per week are seeking to register, according to both civil rights leaders and local white leaders. Since residents must usually display two poll-tax receipts to vote in other than Federal elections, many of the Negroes now registering will not be eligible to vote in local contests until 1967.

An Unspoken Threat

Like most Tallahatchie Negroes, Gene Reed, a young farm day worker, has not been threatened by his employer. But he is fearful, nonetheless. "I'm not sure Mrs. Trout would fire me for registering, but I suspect she would," he reflects. "At any rate, I'm certainly not going to register unless she encourages me to."

Mrs. G. C. Trout, who with her husband owns 830 acres of cotton fields, clearly doesn't plan to give any such encouragement. "I don't think that just to be 21, alive and a citizen gives people the right to vote," she says. "I don't think these people have yet demonstrated the intelligence and responsibility required of a voter."

"Open Season"

Under Mississippi law, names of applicants for registration are published in the local paper, assuring employers' knowledge of registration activities by workers. "In theory, this is to expose all applicants to challenge, say on moral character grounds," says one Federal attorney. "In practice, it means it's open season on any Negro who signs up, through economic retaliation or physical reprisal."

Observes A. D. Beittel, a white man who is director of the Mississippi program of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group seeking better employment opportunities for Negroes: "Economic intimidation is far more powerful and common in the race issue than is violence. Violence is the one you read about occasionally, but economic intimidation is the thing these people live with every day."

The economic dependency of Southern Negroes on whites is great. Some 95% to 98% of working Negroes in Tallahatchie County are employed by white people, estimates Ned Rice, president of the Tallahatchie County Bank. "I'm hard put to think of more than a handful that don't work for white people," he comments.

But few long-time residents doubt that economic retaliation would be swift and widespread if Negro registration picked up significantly. "There are plenty of folks around here who will fire their Negroes for registering," declares Rice Pritchard, who for 30 years has run a cotton gin and a lumber yard employing some 25 Negroes. He says he wouldn't do so himself and then adds: "My people aren't registered—I don't fool with any of those smart niggers. But if any of them did, I'd sure call them in and ask them what they mean."

The possibility of swift action by the Federal court obviously holds some employers in check. "I wouldn't take action against a Negro who registered, but if it wasn't for the court injunction, it might be a different story," declares Jack De Mange, president of A. P. De Mange Lumber Co., which employs some 30 Negroes. "I can't say I approve of them voting."

Relatively Low Wages

Despite the immensity of the economic threat to Negro registrants, the fear of physical reprisal looms even greater for some. "I'd probably lose my job, but that's not the main reason I don't register," says Frederick Thurmond, Jr., a Negro truck driver. "I have a family, a wife and kids and mother and father. If I try to register, white folks around here are liable to do something to them."

The fear of white reprisal is by no means limited to day workers. "Frankly, we're just plain scared to try," confesses the Rev. Jacob Courage Batteast, a Negro Baptist minister, when asked about registration. David Alford, Negro principal of the local Negro high school, throws up his hands when asked why teachers don't register. "I won't discuss it," he says. "I don't want to get involved."

McCORMACK WORKS TO SAVE MISSISSIPPI CONGRESSMEN

The Washington Merry-Go-Round THE WASHINGTON POST *Thursday, May 20, 1965*

By Drew Pearson

McCormack's Deal

It will probably be denied, but gaunt, gray Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts has made a secret deal with Mississippi Congressmen to help them remain in Congress. Without his help they would probably be ousted.

McCormack's secret promise to the Mississippians is one of the strange paradoxes of Congress. Publicly McCormack is for an amendment to the voting right bill banning poll taxes. Furthermore he comes from a city whose uncompromising abolitionists damned and blasted the South in such a way as to help precipitate the Civil War.

Yet, privately, the Congressman from Boston has been working hand in glove with the Mississippi segregationists and has promised to save them from losing their seats.

John will probably smite his bosom and issue an indignant denial calling Drew Pearson a liar after this is published. Nevertheless, here are his very imprtant backstage moves.

Backstage Move No. 1 dates back to last January when the issue of seating the Mississippi Congressmen first arose.

The Constitution clearly states that if states' inhabitants over 21 are prohibited from voting "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion" to the number prevented from voting. It was quite clear that last November most of Mississippi's Negroes were prevented from voting. Furthermore, the Law of 1870, by which Mississippi was readmitted to the Union after the Civil War, requires that every citizen be given the right to vote.

When a group of Northern Congressmen moved to prevent the Mississippi Congressmen from taking their seats as Congress convened Jan. 2, Speaker McCormack led the move to seat them.

"The Speaker has asked me to introduce a motion to seat the Mississippi delegation," Rep. Carl Albert (D-Okla.), told Rep. William Fitz Ryan (D-N.Y.) "and as Majority Leader I am going to do it."

Backstage Move No. 2 came after the Democratic caucus stripped Rep. John Bell Williams (Miss.) and Rep. Albert Watson (S.C.) of their seniority as Democrats because they had voted for Goldwater. Despite this official vote by the Democratic Party, McCormack, a leading Democrat, gave Williams full seniority in assigning office space. As a result, the Congressman from Mississippi got one of the choicest offices in the de luxe Sam Rayburn Building.

Backstage Move No. 3 is McCormack's recent secret promise to help prevent the unseating of the Mississippi Congressman.

This came about after hundreds of affidavits were collected in Mississippi attesting under oath that Negroes were disfranchised last year. Though this was known in the past, no one ever took the trouble to produce sworn affidavits proving the disfranchisement. Furthermore, Congress for the first time since New Deal days is dominated by Northern liberals.

In addition, some Southerners, such as the respected Phil Landrum, (D-Ga.), once the darling of the conservatives, are moving over to the liberal side. Finally, the Democratic Study Group has developed an effective, vote-rallying whip system which has surprised and often overwhelmed the conservatives.

As a result, Speaker McCormack has told Mississippi Congressmen that they would lose a showdown vote to keep their seats. Their only hope, he has advised, is to sidetrack the move to unseat them. And he has promised to use his own tremendous power to do so.

Ironically, it was the Democratic Study Group which helped give McCormack this new power he now plans to use against them.

"The unseating of the Mississippi congressmen will be the test of the moral integrity of the Congress of the United States."

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

"I ask of this Congress fast remedial action and the rejection of the regular Mississippi congressional pretenders who have been elected on a platform of blood and disenfranchisement."

JAMES FARMER

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN TODAY FOR HIS VOTE TO UNSEAT
THE MISSISSIPPIANS AND FOR FREE AND OPEN ELECTIONS.

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
926 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D. C.
546-4450

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING
MAY 17, 1965, Washington, D. C.

Today, on the 11th Anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the Public Schools, the MFDP has filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives the more then 600 depositions taken in support of the Challenges to the seating of the entire congressional delegation from Mississippi. This indeed is a momentous and historical moment. I wholeheartedly support as I have from the beginning, these Challenges.

The unseating of the Mississippi congressmen will be the test of the moral integrity of the Congress of the United States. The weakening of the voting bill by the Senate's shameful action in stripping away the anti-poll tax provision makes it absolutely imperative that the House of Representatives does not waiver in its obligation to unseat the congressmen. The unseating will make any voting bill meaningful.

I,therefore, again pledge myself and the SCLC to the fullest support of the Challenges of the MFDP and call upon all Americans to join with me in this commitment.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, NY
Attn: Val Coleman, CO 7 6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by James Farmer, National Director, CORE

CORE unequivocally supports the historic challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and calls for a great coalition of civil rights, political and civic organizations and individuals to join this struggle. CORE pledges its fullest support of MFDP on this 11th Anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The chronicle of brutality to be presented today in these petitions has no equal in the parlimentary history of our nation. These are real voices of the real Americans who have been blooded and even murdered in their efforts to exercise the right to vote.

As we take these depositions to the Congress, I ask of the Congress fast remedial action and the rejection of the regular Mississippi Congressional pretenders who have been elected on a platform of blood and disenfranchisement.

CORE is prepared to take whatever steps may be necessary to support this challenge. Discussions are underway as to a schedule of massive demonstrations if the Congress fails to act and act quickly. These demonstrations will be in large part directed at Congressmen across the nation who have opposed this challenge. For example, on June 20, a major demonstration is planned for Brooklyn, New York calling attention to Congressman Emmanuel Cellar and the Brooklyn Congressional delegations vote against the Fairness Resolution on January 4, 1965.

As to the voting rights bill before Congress at this moment, these depositions bear tragic witness to the need for this bill -- and more specifically to the need for a bill with real legislative and judicial teeth.

May 17, 1965

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT BY JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1965

The issues raised by the MFDP Challenge to the congressional delegation from Mississippi go to the heart of Negro exclusion from the political processes in Mississippi and the South.

The question of the Challenge goes beyond the process of registration. It goes to the issue of actual participation in elections and the political processes. It is entirely possible that the mere fact of being registered--thereby qualified--to vote will not enable Negroes in Mississippi to actually vote since economic intimidation and violence will still be available to those who are opposed to Negroes voting.

The challenges are based specifically on the lack of Negro participation in the elections of November, 1964. The evidence covered by the depositions cover not only obstruction to registration but the acts of economic harassment and violence that are also used as a matter of policy by the State. It is only when Congress unseats the Mississippians and calls for and conducts free and open elections in Mississippi for these seats that the Negroes in that State will be free to participate. It is only when the Congress takes these actions that the political forces in the South that are opposed to Negroes voting will understand that Congress and the Nation are serious about guaranteeing the rights of Negroes to fully participate in the process of government. Recognizing this SNCC stands ready to commit the major portion of its organizational resources and energies to the support of this Challenge during the next two months.

We plan to use our organizing staff in Mississippi to support the voter registration drives, mass rallies and political demonstrations called for by the local community leaders of the MFDP. Our offices and support organizations in the north are working with other organizations to publicize the Challenge and garner congressional support in their local communities. We are at present recruiting 2,000 students and young people to lobby in Washington for the challenge. These young people engaged in the Washington Lobby will disperse, some to Mississippi and others to their home communities to work on the Challenge. These activities will be in support of unseating the Mississippians and calling for free elections in Mississippi.

SNCC stands ready to support with all its organizational resources, both north and south, any call that comes from the MFDP and its allies for a national mobilization of people in Washington.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY
926 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.
Washington, D.C.
546-4450

TO: ALL MEDIA, FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY LAWRENCE GUYOT, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 17, 1965

Today the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is submitting to the Clerk of the House of Representatives more than 600 depositions of evidence taken in Mississippi conclusively proving that the five Congressmen from that state were elected by processes violating the Constitution of the United States and the political rights of over 400,000 Negroes in Mississippi. These depositions of evidence were collected by lawyers acting in behalf of the MFDP in support of the challenges we have instituted to the seating of the congressmen from that State under Title 2, Section 201-26 of the United States Code.

OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION OF STATE AUTHORITIES IN NEGRO DISENFRANCHISEMENT.

This testimony is not only the statements of hundreds of Negroes in the State describing shootings, private acts of intimidation such as bombings, beatings, evictions, and dismissals from jobs which they suffered for attempting to register. It also includes conclusive evidence of officially perpetrated and inspired harassment, the admission of state officials of their own participation in organized racism, and illustrates the close ties and over-lapping interests between such organizations as the White Citizens' Councils and the State Administration in depriving Negroes of the right to vote.

Mr. Earl Johnson, Jr., Director of the tax-supported Mississippi Sovereignty Commission admitted under oath that as of January 1st of this year $193,000 drawn from public funds had been given by that agency to the White Citizens' Council. Richard Morphew, Public Relations Director for the Citizens' Councils admitted to having received the money and testified that, "The first major accomplishment and the first project undertaken by the Councils on a state level was the passage of the (Mississippi) constitutional amendment to raise voter qualifications in Mississippi." Mr. Morphew testified that "it was not umcommon for a great many people in public life in Mississippi to be proud of their member ship in the Council," and that Congressmen Whitten, Colmer and Williams "participated in Citizens' Council Forums," and that to the best of his recollection Governor Johnson is a member.

Over 400 depositions of local Negroes and voter registration workers document the patterns of intimidation and terror suffered by Negroes seeking to vote. Mrs. Aylene Quinn of Macomb testified that her house was bombed after she sheltered voter registration workers and attempted to register. The bombers were released with suspended sentences. George Johnson a law student working on voter registration in Greenwood

more

testified that police officers threatened him with castration while he was in custody at the jail.

In making these depositions, amounting to over 15,000 pages of evidence the Negro people of Mississippi have again come forward to risk reprisals of violence and terror. However, these depositions, formally signed and witnessed are an incontrovertable body of evidence proving that the general elections of November 1964 in Mississippi were unconstitutional. They prove that the conditions described by President Johnson on March 15th, "The harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes. Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny that right.", applies very specifically to Mississippi.

RESPONSIBILITY PLACED WITH HOUSE.

The submission of this evidence and the filing of a final legal brief completes the legal aspects of the challenges. We have made enough evidence available to the Congress to convince any reasonable and unbiased panel. We now call upon the Clerk of the House, the Sub-Committee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration and the members of Congress to act swiftly to ensure that the House of Representatives has a full opportunity to examine the evidence and charges brought in these challenges at any early date.

There are, for example, a number of depositions which are being inexplicably held up by white notary publics and hearing officers in Mississippi. In these cases we are submitting duplicates of all statements which are still unsigned by the Mississippi officials with receipts showing that the hearing officer is in possession of the orginals, which have not been sent back as the Statute provides. We urge the Clerk to proceed with all subsequent steps of the challenge.

CHALLENGE ENTERS NEW PHASE -- NATIONAL ACTION PROGRAM BEGINS

After today the progress of this challenge will be at the pace imposed by the internal machiner of the House. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is presently engaged in taking the issue to the Nation. With the support and assistance of major organizations within the civil rights movement -- The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, The Congress of Racial Equality, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and others we are currently engaged in discussion to formulate a program of action in the North and the South. Mr. James Farmer of CORE and Mr. John Lewis of SNCC are present to disuuss this further.

On April 24th a conference was held in Washington to begin the national effort in the north. In addition to the civil rights organizations there were representation from 40 civic, religious and labor organizations from 30 states. Action is now being taken to bring to Washington delegations from these states to bring the issue of the challenge to congressmen from the various areas. This effort will culminate in a national convocation in Washington during July.

MEMORANDUM

June 28, 1965

TO: Interested Members of Groups
Concerned with the New York
City Poverty Program

FROM: T. George Silcott
Executive Director
Forest Neighborhood House, Inc.
955 Tinton Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10456

Friday, June 25, 1965, the New York Times reported that Governor Rockefeller threatens to veto the New York City's Community Action program. He, like most of us, is critical of the Community Progress Centers which are to be superimposed on neighborhoods. He suggests that "An attempt be made to enrich the existing community groups within the sixteen target areas of New York City. . ."

MEND, SEBU, QUEST, etc., have been working towards the development of programs for their neighborhoods. Most of us agree that these groups should be The Organization through which local Anti-Poverty programs are coordinated. If you agree that there should be local involvement and local initiation of programs, write the following persons immediately stating that you and your group would like the Community Progress Centers component removed from the New York City's application for federal funds and that negotiations begin immediately towards the development of the existing coordinating groups such as MEND, SEBU and QUEST as the umbrella organizations in their respective neighborhoods.

WRITE:

Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller
22 West 55th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Arthur Logan
New York City Council Against Poverty
280 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU DO THIS IMMEDIATELY - TIME IS ESSENTIAL IF WE WORK TOGETHER WE CAN HAVE IN OUR NEIGHBORHOODS WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT AND NOT WHAT THE CITY POWER STRUCTURE FEELS THEY WILL LET US HAVE.

file SNCC

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

SNCC

Dear Sir:

We are planning our program with the college campuses for the coming year. One paramount reason for our not having more Negro students in Mississippi this last summer was that there was a lack of coordination. To prevent this from happening again, I am setting up an office in the North and South Carolina area to maintain close contacts. I will be representing the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee(SNCC) on your campus and other campuses in the area of North and South Carolina.

I would be most appreciative if you would set a date in the latter part of this month when I may confer with you in regards to our program.

Yours sincerely,
Tom Brown

"One Man, One Vote"

During the past school year, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was involed in a college recruiting program for the Mississippi Summer Project. This program was centered around five phases of operation: Freedom Schools, Community Centers, Voter Registration, Research, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

This project included 1,000 student volunteers from all over the country. As a result of their participation, some of the volunteers received grant and aids.

Beginning this school year, we will be engaged in a more extensive program in which participation of more students from the South is essential. Experience has shown that students who are familiar with the environment of the South are most capable of assisting us in our programs. Therefore, we are attempting to expand our recruitment and involement of students on Southern College campuses.

We are now in the process of making campus contacts for the purpose of finding qualified personnel to staff the programs of the Black Belt Project-- a project on the idea of the Mississippi Summer Project which will cover the entire Black Belt area. The Black Belt Project will include one hundred and eighty counties in the South and will be undertaken in the Spring of 1965.

We are now asking for your assistance and support for setting up SNCC programs. Also, we hope that we might speak to some of the students on your campus concerning some of our educational programs.

$1,200 next

Administrative Improvements

mail - 8:30
switchboard opens earlier
meetings relative to promptness and Coffeebreaks
new procedure system in bookkeeping

Combining membership department with stencils - (structural change)

Systematic evaluation of ~~[illegible]~~ employees
periodic

moral of clerical helps ~~new~~ has improve because of certain resignations

Get rid of Program Dept.

Merge Depts. of Program & Organization
assistant ~~to~~ in charge of program (research & planning)
training - Gore

Research assistant working directly under Farmer - Ray Brown

[redacted]

Legal Dept. (Protection unit)
1. looking after affairs of organization
2. Legal work in field

coordinating action of all lawyer - helping prepare briefs, seeking volunteers workers, advising organization

WHO IS SNCC

On february 1, 1960 the freedom movement came screaming out of its Mothers womb when four freshmen from A & T College in Greensboro N.C. decided they wanted to buy a hamburger at a white restaurant. In a matter of days the idea leapedto other cities in N.C. During the next two weeks sit-ins spread to 15 cities in five southern states. Students all across the south began to ask themselves--If I am not for myself--then who is for me--If I won't help myself--then who will help me? Within the follwing year, over 50,000 people--most were Negroes, had participated in one kind of demonstration or another. By the end of 1961--several hundred lunch counters had been desegregated in scores of cities--in Texas--Oklahoma, the border states of the south, and even as far as Atlanta, Ga. The important thing to remember was that the students were above all fighting for "free choice." Not just for the right to buy a hamburger in a white only restaurant--but the right to--if they wanted to. "Mother freedom" had given birth to hundreds of "freedom seeking" babies. The sit-ins had begun a new phase ofthe Negro upsurge--in which students grew up overnight into mature freedom fighters. On May 1, 1961--a group of 13 including John Lewis, SNCC chairman boarded a greyhound bus and started the long trip from Washington to New Orleans. The bus-burnings, and beatings finally caused the "freedom rides" to come to a bloody halt. Here, again, we were attempting to force acceptance of our basic human rights. For the "white only signs" in restaurants--bus terminals etc. was one of the strongest weapons that the white man used which said to Negroes--You are not a human being, therefore you cannot share the same place with me.

In the fall of 1961, Robert Parris Moses and a small group of SNCC workers decided that Mississippi needed a "second reconstruction." The murders of Herbert Lee, & Lewis Allen were only the beginning as seeds of a movement were being planted in deep- dark Mississippi. These seeds are now blossoming forth in the form of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. In spite of beatings, bombings, and even death—black people in Mississippi are fighting for a voice in their government.

At about the same time, that Bob Moses arrived in Mississippi SNCC workers arrived by bus in Albany, Ga., to set up a voter registration office. In this old center of the slave trade in Georgia—the blacks outnumber the whites in the surrounding counties; and yet just as in the rest of the "black belt," Negroes had no voice in their goverment. "Mother Freedom" was busy—and her freedom fighting children were attempting to pull down the "walls of segregation," across the south.

On the night of June 11, 1963, the Rev. Bernard Lafayette, eased into Selma, Ala. Selma too had been a slave market before the civil war, and at the turn of the century it was a lynching town. But the "freedom bug" had bitten local Negroes, and 300 people were arrested in connection with voter registration activities.

The seeds have been planted—and now that the "March" has fertilized the soil again—it is up to the "Black People" of Alabama to see that that seed continues to grow and grow until one day—we can all say—It's been a long, hard, journey across the River Jordan , but we're free at last.

"FREEDOM" Tina Harris

EMERGENCY BULLETIN #3 FROM THE N.Y. OFFICE OF S.N.C.C.

This bulletin will bring you up to date on the Jackson and Washington, D.C. situations, and the demonstration at the Federal Building in New York.

Most of the persons arrested in Jackson up to last Wednesday were released on bail provided by L.C.D.C. (Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee). But on Thursday, another 74 persons were arrested. They included Jim Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, and Mrs. Annie Devine, one of the three FDP women challenging the Mississippi Congressmen. Forman and Mrs. Devine were bailed out.

The federal government has finally begun to investigate the charges of police brutality in Jackson. At this point, protests of the Jackson jail situation are still very much in order but the most important action is to exert pressure for the printing of the testimony in the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. (The challenge is, of course, aimed at preventing such situations as that in Jackson.) That pressure should be exerted not only on the Speaker of the House but also on Congressmen. Therefore:

WE ASK THAT YOU SEND A TELEGRAM TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN IMMEDIATELY, URGING THAT ALL EVIDENCE BE PRINTED. GET OTHERS TO SEND SUCH TELEGRAMS, CALL THEIR CONGRESSMEN, FORM A DELEGATION TO GO TO WASHINGTON, ETC. THIS IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE.

"Chain-in" at the Federal Building

Because of the press blackout and the lack of federal action on the jailings and beatings in Jackson, the New York office of SNCC and the Regional office of CORE decided to hold demonstrations which would call public attention to the Jackson situation.

On Wednesday, June 23, at 7:30 am, sixteen persons chained themselves across the three main entrances to the Federal Building at Foley Square. This site was chosen as the symbol of the federal government in New York. The demonstrators did not aim to prevent people from entering, but to call attention to a crisis. Many persons entered the building by steppeing over the demonstrators.

Another group of SNCC people stood on the steps below the entrances, carrying signs which spelled out "MISSISSIPPI?" Three others stood below these, carrying signs with such phrases as "Free 600 in Jackson Jails." CORE personnel distributed leaflets.

At 9:40 am, Federal marshalls cut the chains of each group and placed the demonstrators under arrest without giving most of them the option of removing themselves or being arrested. They did give this option to the last group; that group agreed to leave and proceeded to unchain themselves. The marshalls arrested them.

In arresting the demonstrators, the marshalls dragged them inside the Federal Building, stomped on their bodies; stepped on their hands. Mickey Weintraub, Co-Chairman of the High School Friends of SNCC, was asked by a marshall, "Do you think this is a joke?" When he answered "No" the marshall seized him by the collar and banged his head against a wall. Then the marshall asked, "Did that hurt?" When Mr. Weintraub answered "Yes," the marshall banged his head against the wall again. Etc. Etc.

In the detention cell, which had no windows, the door was closed to close off the air supply and to punish the demonstrators for singing; the person who closed the door stated that such was his purpose.

All were arraigned individually, less than 2 hours after their arrest. The behavior of Judge Ryan during the arraingment suggested that he already judged them guilty. Ten of the 16 arrested were released pending trial into the custody of relatives and lawyers. Five were bonded out, on bail set at $500 apiece. One person was bailed out for $100 cash. Trial has been set for July 7, at 11:00 am. The charge is disorderly conduct, a state charge.

Press coverage was full but inaccurate, especially in saying that the demonstrators were given the option of arrest or leaving. As for the daily newspapers, explanations of the purpose of the demonstration were ignored while other remarks by participants were quoted out of context.

More on the Jackson Situation

Here are excerpts from two letters written by newly arrived summer volunteers from New York, which add to the evidence in the affidavits mailed to you previously:

June 18th, 1965

Dear Brother & Mom & Dad,

It's now Friday afternoon. I was arrested Mon. 12:30 a.m. or so. After arriving at prison we locked arms and sang -- in pulling us apart, my left arm was twisted. It stopped aching after several hours but still feels a drop sore (same soreness as when I used to play handball, only the opposite arm). On passing from one building to another, a cordon of cops prodded us to make us move faster. I was struck solidly with a club on the lower right side of my back. I stopped and sort of reeled back in pain, whereupon I was struck again in the same place. Then I ran like hell. After several hours, my back pain was completely gone and my arm still just feels a drop stiff and funny. But I am in good health -- believe me. I am okay....

We sit or lie on hard cement floor all day and sleep on thin cots at nite. Smell of sweat and filth permeates compound. But I've washed my underwear and shirt and tonite will do my socks — all in the sink of two filthy bathrooms....Cops during day fairly decent -- at night very brutal. Many instances of brutality. This morning, Negro guy was kicked in the genitals. We're kept segregated. Morale is high. I'm reading a novel. Food is terrible. I'm growing abeard since no razor here. Dad — this Sun. happy Father's Day.

Ira

Written on toilet paper:

Hello, Monday June 21

We are still in jail.
Everyone is getting sick.
We get a minimum of starchy food and that's all.

The police purposely make a racket for most of the night so we can't sleep. We sit on the cement floor all day and get mattresses only for a minimum amount of sleep.

The police know only one method of control — direct brutal force....

Bob

Confirming the above letters is the National Council of Church's statement on jail conditions, enclosed.

Coleman appointment

Pressure must be put on Senators to stop the appointment of Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court.

A sub-committee chaired by Senator James Eastland of Mississippi will report to the full Senate Judiciary Committee (either favorably or unfavorably) to the Senate. Then the Senate votes to confirm or not confirm the appointment.

PRESSURE SHOULD BE PUT ON ALL SENATORS TO OPPOSE CONFIRMATION OF COLEMAN'S APPOINTMENT AND TO ASK FOR A ROLL CALL VOTE ON THE QUESTION WHEN IT REACHES THE SENATE.

The two Senators from New York State are Robert Kennedy and Jacob J. Javits.

PLEASE START A TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAM CAMPAIGN ON YOUR SENATORS.

COLEMAN ON NEGROES

The following are excerpts from J.P. Coleman's Inaugural Address as Governor gathered from Jackson, Mississippi's Clarion-Ledger.

p.6
I come now to a discussion of... the continued separation of the white and Negro races in accordance with those customs which the experience of ninety years has taught us all, white and colored alike, to be for the welfare of all concerned.

My own personal and official attitude toward this question is well known to all Mississippians. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1[illegible] said in my official platform: 'there will be no mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions. I already have a record on this subject. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead.'

I further told the people that if elected governor, with the cooperation of a good legislature, we would maintain the separation of the racesWITHOUT AT THE SAME TI KEEPING OUR STATE, ITS ECONOMY, ITS CUSTOMS, AND ITS PRACTICES, IN A DAILY UPROAR OF CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. I say to this audience and to those who are listening by radio and television that I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly (sic) the same manner and form as we know it today.

October 26, 1956 p. 29

Coleman said recently, "I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

June 21, 1957 p.1

Coleman said further that he does not favor Negroes voting in this state and that he hopes that there will never be a strong Republican Party in Mississippi. "The reasons that the Negro should not vote in that state are obvious," he said. "If they vote in numbers, they will vote as a block, and will see politicains playing up to them as in the Northern states now."

November 19, 1957 p.1

Governor Coleman also warned of the expanding Negro vote in the state and suggested constitutional revision to cope with this threat.
He declared circuit clerks who now act as registrars, not being lawyers, could be intimidated into allowing "Wholesale voting of unqualified voters" -- obviously Negroes -- under the Civil Rights Act. He proposed three-man registrar boards, with one member a lawyer, but did not say how they would operate.

June 30, 1959 p.7

Note: The following is taken from a television speech by Coleman "I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destroy my place in the affections of my fellow Mississippians by claiming that I am a "moderate." Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist. They have made a great sham of this, and every time they can get a chance they try to stir it up. I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what the record says ...I stand on a record of performance and I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that none of my friends have called me that."

March 17, 1963 p.1

Former Governor J.P. Coleman Thursday night promised there will be no racial integration of public schools in Mississippi during the next four years if he gets a second term in the governor's office. "There will be no necessity to abolish the public schools," he promised again Thursday. "Nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state-operated educational institutions. This is no task for the amateur or the hothead."

July 10, 1963 p.1

Former Governor J.P. Coleman said Tuesday his opponents have taken a defeatist attitude on the race issue. Speaking at Monticello, Morgantown andMcComb, Coleman said he is the only candidate "with hope of stemming widespread integratic and the ability and experience to do it. My opponents say that I cannot stop it,' he declared, "because they have apparently lost hope and have offered no plan or suggestion for maintaining separation of the races."

June 29, 1955

Note: On June 28, 1955, Coleman spoke at Laurel, Mississippi. Part of his speec concerned the school integration issue.

p. 7
"We have already planned our strategy. First, we will stand on the provisions of our state constitution. When the U.S. Suprmme Court strikes that down, then we will start assignments under the Gore Act, which is perfectly constitutional law. Should that fail, we can adopt a school on the local option plan, get it out of the clutches of the Federal Courts, and immediately re-establish it with a new set of trustees."

August 13, 1955

Coleman also spent considerable time reviewing his record as an opponent of racial segregation.

"Where was my distinguished opponent in 1951? Coleman asked rhetorically, "When I stood alone before a hostile U.S. Supreme Court and showed those Communist lawyers they could not fool... with the great state of Mississippi." He repeated his account of who he interrupted his campaign during the first primary to drive all night to Vicksburg and dispose of a petition by Negroes there to integrate the schools.

"I handled that situation in less than twelve hours," he declared. "It was the shortest integration attempt in the history of the South."

October 25, 1955 p.1

Holding that Mississippi is the only Southern state that still retains 100 percent segregation, Coleman also attacked states righters for attempting to make integration a campaing issue.

"They are picking flaws in perfection," the governor declared. "We haven't had one school integrated; yet, they cry integration. Democrats in Mississippi have enacted integration laws as regards to schools that no States Righters have been able to improve upon or even suggest an improvement (sic)" Coleman declared. "What can the States Righters find wrong with the 100 percent segregation now in effect in this state?" Coleman ssked.

STATEMENT PRESENTED TO CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING ON JUNE 22, 1965

by the Rev. Ian McCrae, the Rev. W. Raymond Berry, John Pratt

We appear here today as representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ. For two hours yesterday, we inspected what we can only describe as a concentration camp in which were incarcerated hundreds of citizens of the United States of America.

This concentration camp is located within the continental borders of the United States and is being operated with the full support of one of our state governments and apparently with the full knowledge of the government of the United States.

We learned to our horror and disgust of the systematic efforts to dehumanize, demoralize and degrade these citizens...We heard how many of the male prisoners were forced to run a gauntlet -- a double line of police swinging clubs and blackjacks. We heard of a woman dragged across the bare concrete floor in full view of the other female prisoners, her clothes partially ripped from her, her private parts exposed, her body beaten and kicked by police.

We were told of the young man who was lying bleeding from a blow to the head. When other prisoners suggested that a doctor be called, one of the guards swore at him and kicked him in the head.

Fear was induced by a policeman with a bullwhip which he cracked again and again. Morale was undermined by separating all the leaders and removing them to another penitentiary. Exhaustion was achieved by waking the prisoners repeatedly throughout the night by banging nightsticks on garbbage cans, amplifying music over bullhorns and subjecting prisoners to the cold air of huge blowers...

The female prisoners were subjected to constant lewd and suggestive remarks...Women asking for medical attention were subjected to physical examinations in full view of staring policemen. Medicine prescribed by the doctor was not delivered and often requests for medical treatment went totally ignored.

In Jackson, Mississippi we saw -- with our own eyes -- fellow countrymen who were forced to remain all day on an absolutely bare concrete floor...We saw -- with our own eyes -- these individuals subjected to a brutal "gassing" -- euphemistically termed a fumigation by Jackson police. We saw -- and were ourselves subjected to -- a choking, eye-smarting cloud of gaseous fumes ten to fifteen feet high...

We saw -- with our own eyes -- the stitches in scalps which closed the gashes inflicted by the clubs of policemen.

We talked with these prisoners and learned that no fresh fruit, no fresh milk, and no meat except for one bologna sandwich per prisoner on one day had been served within that compound since the first persons were interned in it seven days ago. These human beings were being subjected to a diet of grits and syrup for breakfast, beans and corn for lunch and beans again for dinner, day after day after day.

We have made a thorough investigation of the Jackson compound; we have talked with over a hundred prisoners confined within it; and we have read some thirty-five affidavits from citizens confined within its walls. We are absolutely convinced that the primary purpose of the Jackson concentration camp is not to serve as a place of incarceration, but rather to serve as a place to break the spirit, the will, the health and even the body of each individual *who dared to assemble peaceably* to seek a redress of grievances....

American citizens who have not seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears what we saw and heard yesterday would not believe that such conditions would be practiced and tolerated anywhere in the United States of America. But these conditions do exist...

HOW DOES SNCC WORK

SNCC is a loose group of organizers--one of the first things that a SNCC organizer does is move into the county where he plans to work and just get to know the local people. We believe that one of the aims of the organizer in a county is to aid people in realizing that their problem is larger than their community, that that things are pretty much the same all over a county and all over a state. So the organizer tries to help people talk to each other more regularly so they can become more effective in our attempt to change things. We attempt to build a "Peoples Movement." By that we mean a local organization that is run by the "Local People" who understand their problems much better than some outside "leadership." It is important that we help local people build their own organization; because as soon as they are strong enough--SNCC organizers can move on. One of the ways that SNCC tries to help people realize that they are not struggling alone, that there may be people with problems very much like their own twenty miles, two hundred miles or maybe even two thousand miles away is through photographs and tapes. From photographs and tapes booklets and exhibits can be made about a community and sent to people in the north to help explain what is going on in your county. These are generally helpful when you are trying to raise money or gain support for the movement in your area. When there is not enough money to send someone to talk about the problems in your area, you can send a 15 minute tape with 3 or 4 people explaining the work you are doing in your county. At present, we're completing a booklet and photo exhibit for Lowndes county. Within the next couple of months we should have been to all of your counties.

PROGRAM FOR DISCUSSION MONDAY, MAY 24, 1965

1. Gee's Bend Project
2. A.S.C.S.
3. FREEDOM SCHOOLS
4. FREDERICK DOUGLAS FREE PRESS
5. SENDING STUDENTS FROM SELMA NORTH FOR SUMMER & TO COLORADO
6. STUDENT CONFERENCE-TUSKEGEE JUNE 6-JUNE 11
7. MOTHERS CONFERENCE--GEE'S BEND-JUNE 13th ALL DAY- (Bring friends and food)

ALABAMA STAFF

Birmingham, Ala.
BOB, DONA MOSES
CORTLAND COX

MONTGOMERY
RANDY GLENN
LARRY FOX
FRED MOODY

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
BILL HALL

PERRY & GREEN COUNTY
ED SMITH

LOWNDES COUNTY
STOKELY
SCOTT
BOB MANCE
WILLIE VAUGH

ALABAMA PHOTOGRAPHERS
WILLIE LEE SQUIRE
DOUG HARRIS

WILCOX COUNTY
ERIC JONES
SHIRLEY
ERESTINE
GERALD GLOVARY

SUMTER COUNTY
CYNTHIA WASHINGTON
CHRIS
STU
ALVERY

HALE COUNTY
ANNIE PEARL AVERY
SINCLAIR JETTER

SELMA
SILAS NORMAN
WILLIE EMMA
ELAINE MOORE
SUE & ELMO HOLDER
ROY & LOUISE LOE
WILL HENRY ROGERS
JOHN LUNTKAS
SHIRLEY
ERNESTINE WILDER
TERRY SHAW
EUGENE PRICHARD
TINA HARRIS

(THE ALABAMA STAFF HOPES THAT YOU WILL HAVE A FRUITFUL MEETING)

FHA LOANS

The Farmers Home Administration makes loans to farmers to enlarge, improve, and buy farms and to refinance debts. It also makes loans to Farmer's Cooperatives. You apply for one of these loans at your local FHA office, usually found at the county seat. Loans are made only to farmers who cannot get loans elsewhere at reasonable rates. So you should first try to get a loan from a local bank and/or the Farm Credit Administration . The Farm Credit Adminstration has its nearest district office in New Orleans. The Farm Credit Administration makes loans to Farmer's Cooperatives at 4½-5½ percent for up to 20 years to enlarge or start cooperatives, it also makes loans of operating capital at 4½-5½ for one to five years, and commodity loans at 4-5 percent for less than one years.

The following is the kind of loans available from the FHA:

1. Operating loans

Operating loans are to be used to buy livestock and equipment, pay operating cost, to build fences, to make minor improvements to buildings and land, to develop water supply, for medical care, personel insurance, to finance recreational businesses, to refinance debts, to grow trees and harvest them, and to buy stock and membership in farm cooperatives.

The interest rates is 5 percent a year and must be repayed in at least 7 years. The highest loan that can be made is $35,000, but most are much smaller.

2. Farm Ownership Loans

These loans are made for almost the same purposes as operational loans. The interest rate is 5 percent and they must be paid in a period shorter than 40 years. The loan can not be for more than 60,000 or exceed the value of the security put up.

3. Loans for water systems and shifts in land use.

These loans are made both to individual farmers and to communities of farmers. The loans is made for a period not to exceed 40 years. The interest rate varies between 4½ and 5 percent. Loans to individual farmers average about 5,000 dollars and to community associations about 4100,000. An individual farmer cannot borrow more than 60,000 or a sum more than the value of the security he puts up, whichever is less.

4. Rural Housing Loans

Rural Housing loans are made to small farm communities to build and repair homes and farm buildings. The interest rate is 4 percent for a period not to exceed 33 years. Loans made average around $nine thousand dollars.

5. Emergency Loans.

Emergency loans are made to help farmer's in times of flood or drought to buy feed, seed, fertilizer, replace equpment, livestock,etc. The interest rate is 3 percent, and the length of time for payment varies according to the time income after the disaster comes in. Loans average about $3,000, but vary a lot.

6, Watershed loans.

Watershed loans are made to local organizations to pay for watershed programs which have been approved by the Soil Conservation Service. They are made payable over periods up to 50 years and the interest rate is around 3 percent.

7. Rural Renewal Loans

These loans are made to communities for improvements like building sewage systems, serice buildings, water systems, subdivding large tracts of land, building water reservoirs, building roads, etc. Rural renewal loans are made for periods up to 30 years. The interest rate is around 3 percent.

8. Opportunity Loans.

Opportunity Loans may be used to buy livestock, poultry, tractors, and other farm machinery, to drill wells, build ponds, to build and repair homes and buildings, to buy feed, seed, fuel, lime, fertilizer, chemicals, and other essential operating expenses. These loans are also made for non-farm purposes like trucking, painting, welding, etc.

These loans are made only to small farmers in small communities to finance small businesses, trades and services.

The loans are for not more than $2,500/ The longest term of payment is 15 years. The interest rate is 4-1/8 percent a year on the unpaid principal.

Opporturity loans are also made to Farmer's Cooperatives who are made up primarily of low-income families in small communities.

file SNCC Southern Program

HOW THE ASC COUNTY COMMITTEE AND COMMUNITY COMMITTEE ARE ELECTED

Each county is divided into communities. In each community an ASC community committee is elected. Any farm owner, tenant or sharecropper of legal voting age can vote. If a person is under 21, but he is fully running a farm, he also can vote. The candidates are chosen by the community committee, the county committee, and by petition. A valid petition must be signed by at least 6 farmers eligible to vote in that community ASC election.

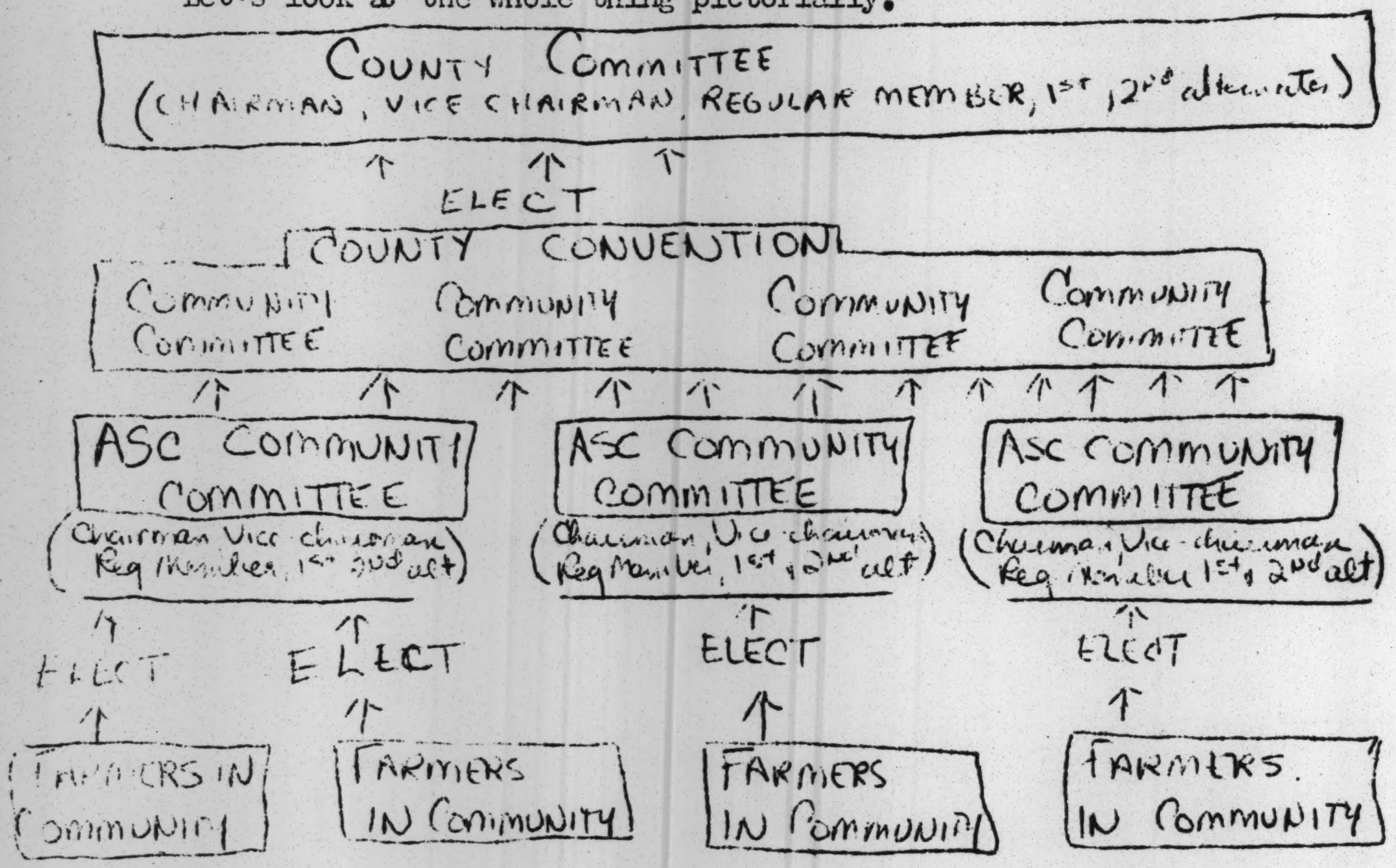
There are three types of community elections: meeting, mail, or polling place. The community committee selects one of the 3 types.

Each community committee had 5 members: Chairman, vice-chairman, regular member, 1st and 2nd alternates.

This year the chairman, the vice chairman, and the regular member of each community committee are delegates to the county convention. At the county convention they elect the county committee.

The county committee has 5 members: chairman , vice chairman, regular member, 1st and 2nd alternate. Starting this year the chairman, vice chairman, regular member will each serve for 3 years. The county convention will elect one for 1 year, one for 2 years, one for 3 years. After that each year the conventions will elect one of the three officers, i.e. chairman, vice-chairman, or regular member, for a three year term. The two alternates will be elected yearly.

Let's look at the whole thing pictorially.


COUNTY COMMITTEE
(CHAIRMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN, REGULAR MEMBER, 1st, 2nd alternates)
ELECT
COUNTY CONVENTION
Community Committee
Community Committee
Community Committee
Community Committee
ASC COMMUNITY COMMITTEE
(Chairman Vice-chairman Reg Member, 1st 2nd alt)
ASC COMMUNITY COMMITTEE
(Chairman, Vice-chairman, Reg Member, 1st, 2nd alt)
ASC COMMUNITY COMMITTEE
(Chairman, Vice-chairman Reg Member 1st, 2nd alt)
ELECT
ELECT
ELECT
ELECT
FARMERS IN COMMUNITY
FARMERS IN COMMUNITY
FARMERS IN COMMUNITY
FARMERS IN COMMUNITY

WHAT THE ASC COUNTY COMMITTEE DOES

The Asc County Committee handles U.S. government farm programs. The four most important programs are :

1. Price Supports-- The ASC handles price support programs for some farm crops such as cotton , cotton seed, peanuts, corn, wheat, and others.

2. Acreage Allotment-- The ASC handles acreage allotments for cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts and tobacco. To see how it works, let's look at cotton allotment. Each year the U.S. Department of Agriculture decides how many acres of cotton will be planted in the United States that year. They divide the acreage up, and they give each state a certain number of acres. Each state divides up the the allotment they have been given and gives a certain number of acres to each county. Each county ASC committee divides up the county's allotment They then decide how many acres of cotton a farmer can plant.

3. Crop Storage - The ASC stores certain farm crops. It loans money to farmers to build their own storage buildings, bins, silos, etc.

4. Agriculture Conservation-- The ASC helps farmers change cropland into forestland, grassland, or recreation area.

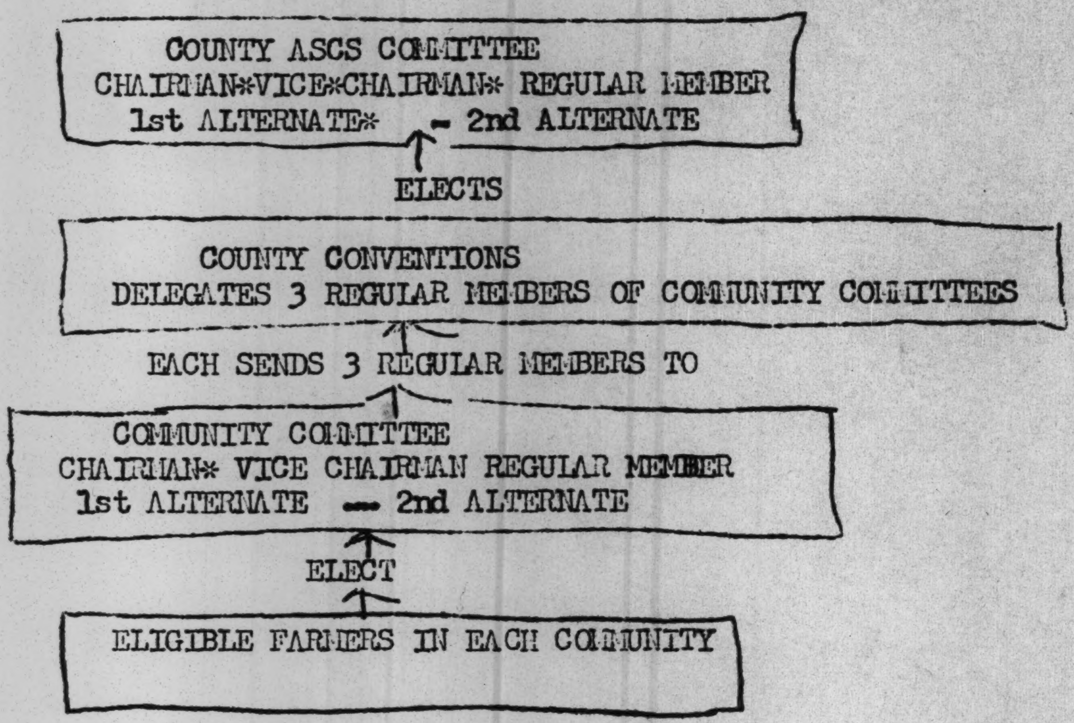
A.S.C.S. ELECTIONS

A.S.C.S. ELECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY AND COUNTY COMMISSIONS

SOURCE: **Part 1 of Handbook 1-Ca updated through amendment 60 of USDA**

I GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF ELECTIONS :

ELIGIBLE FARMERS IN EACH COMMUNITY ELECT A COMMUNITY COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF A CHAIRMAN, VICE*CHAIRMAN, REGULAR MEMBER, AND 1st and 2nd ALTERNATES. AS OF THIS YEAR ALL THREE REGULAR MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY COMMITTEES WILL BE VOTING DELEGATES AT THE COUNTY CONVENTION TO ELECT COUNTY COMMITTEES WHICH CONSIST OF A CHAIRMAN, VICE*CHAIRMAN, REGULAR MEMBER, 1st AND 2nd ALTERNATES. AT EACH COUNTY CONVENTION HELD IN '65 ONE MEMBER WILL BE ELECTED FOR ONE YEAR, ONE FOR TWO YEARS, AND ONE FOR THREE YEARS. FIRST AND SECOND ALTERNATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE ELECTED ANNUALLY. THE LAW DOES NOT PROVIDE WHICH OFFICE WILL STAND FOR WHICH LENGTH OF TERM IN THIS YEAR'S [illegible] CONVENTIONS. AS OF THIS YEAR NO ONE MAY SERVE FOR MORE THAN THREE CONSECUTIVE TERMS ON THE COUNTY COMMITTEE.


COUNTY ASCS COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN*VICE*CHAIRMAN* REGULAR MEMBER
1st ALTERNATE* - 2nd ALTERNATE
ELECTS
COUNTY CONVENTIONS
DELEGATES 3 REGULAR MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY COMMITTEES
EACH SENDS 3 REGULAR MEMBERS TO
COMMUNITY COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN* VICE CHAIRMAN REGULAR MEMBER
1st ALTERNATE - 2nd ALTERNATE
ELECT
ELIGIBLE FARMERS IN EACH COMMUNITY

II. Period of Elections:

Elections will be held by law between July 1 and December 30 of each year. State ASCS Committee sets exact dates within these limits. Although the normal procedure is to have all elections at the same time throughout the different counties in the state and the different communities within the counties, the law does not so require. Thus, possibly, different counties may have their community elections at different times, and different communities within one county may have their local elections at different times.

III. Eligibility Requirements for Voting in Community Elections

A. Any farmer owner, tenant, or sharecropper over 21 is eligible.

B. Anyone under 21 who runs an entire farm is eligible if he meets the following requirements:

1. Will receive or is receiving grants, services, or material under current agricultural conservation program or whose farm is benefitting from one or more of the current programs approved for the State by the State committee.
2. A marketing quota or acreage allotment is currently made for the farm.
3. Is eligible for a cooperator's loan, any other price support, A Sugar Act program payment , or any other program administered by the county committee.

C. An eligible voter may be an individual, partnership, association, corporation, estate, etc. any legal entity, even the state or agency thereof who has interest in a farm as owner, tenant, or sharecropper.

D. Appeals: All disputes on eligibility first decided by incumbent community committee, next appeal by incumbent county committee, and appeals from county level by State committee.

IV. Limitations on Voting

1. Only one vote per person in any election.
2. If one has famr interest in more than one community in the county, he may only vote in one community.
3. No voting by proxy.
4. The vote of any legal entity, except an individual, may be made by any duly authorized person.

V. Eligibility Requirements for Holding Any County or Community ASCS Office:

Disputes on eligibility decided by State and County Committees. To be eligible you must meet all the following requirements:

1. Be eligible to vote inASCS elections in the county or community where you are running.
2. Not have been removed or disqualified for future service from any ASCS position or any county office for failure to carry out duties, fraud, incompetency, "for cause", stealing embezzlement or felony. This requirement can be waived by the State Committee or Deputy Administrator.

3. Not be a member of or candidate for th county governing body or any Federal, State, or county office filled by election. BUT members of or candidates for school boards soil conservation district boards, irrigation districts, drainage district boards, weed control district boards, or similar boards ARE eligible if they meet other requirements.

4. Not be an officer, employee or delegate of any political party or organization.

5. For office of county committeeman, not be sales agent or employee of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation.
6. Not be a full-time employee of the U.S. Dept. of Agricuture.

7For office of delegate , not be a county committeeman for that county during the ninety days preceding election.

8. Not have been dishonorably discharged from armed services. This requirement can be waived by the state committee.

VI Restrictions on Holding Dual Offices
A. Community Committeemen:
Community committeemen may not, at the same time, be:
1. a member of a county committee.
2. secretary or treasurer of county committee.
3. a member of the state committee.
B. County Committeemen
County committeemen may not at the same time be:
1. a member of a community committee; if community committeeman is elected to county committee, he loses his community position.
2. a delegate to a county convention.
3. the secretary or teasurer of a county committee.
4. a member of the state committee.
5. county office manager or any county office employee.
C. Delegates to county convention
1. must be a community committeeman.
2. Not have been during the ninety days preceding community election, a member of the State committee, county committeeman, or county office manager.

VIICommunity Elections.
Community elections may be made by meeting, mail, or polling place. The state committee may prescribe or authorize county committees to select for their counties the election method. Although different counties may have different methods, the method within a county must be uniform.
A. Election procedure by meeting.
1. Election timetable : all times are minimum.
a. 40 days before election state committee must approve community boundary changes that have been suggested by county committees.
b. 30 days before election , public designation and boundaries of communities must be given.
c. 10 days before election, public notice SPECIAL NOTICE by mail to each eligible voter of record is given of the time, date, and place of election of meeting.for elections. Since this is the first official indication of who is

is recognized as eligible, those who do not receive special notice should immediately begin trying to get themselves on the registration list.

2. Nomination and election procedures.
Both are for individual positions beginning with nomination and election of chairman, and on down to the second alternate. Each position must be completed and results announced before going on to nomination and election of next position.
b. Nomination may either be by secret written ballot or be oral, as determined by state committee.
c. Elections are by secret ballots.
d. No provisions are made in the law for witnessing counting of ballots, but the ballots must be kept for 30 days in the county office and may be reviewed with approval of the state committee.

B. Election procedure by mail :
1. Election timetable: all times are minimum.
a. 30 days before elections, public notice of right to nominate by petition. A special notice to the same effect will be/ mailed to each known eligible voter. Those who do not receive special notice should immediately begin trying to get themselves on the registration list.
b. 40 days before election , state must approve community boundaries.
c. 30 days before election, public notice must be given of community boundaries.
d. 20 days before election , deadline for receiving nominating petitions mentioned above in(a).
e. 15 days before election , final day for completing slate of nominees.
f. 10 days before election, public notice of mail election and mailing of ballots to farmers.

2. Nomination and Election Procedures.
Any 6 eligible voters can petition to nominate another eligible voter. You may be told that the county committee makes up the list of nominees. THIS IS NOT CORRECT. The county committee can nominate, but all people nominated by a six-man petition, provided all requirements are met, must be on the ballot. BE SURE ALL CANDIDATES NOMINATED ARE ELIGIBLE. THE ELECTION OF AN INELIGIBLE CANDIDATE MAY LEAD TO THE DISQUALIFICATION OF EVEN ELIGIBLE DELEGATES AT THE COUNTY CONVENTION

SIX people at a minimum must sign the petition. However There is always the chance of disqualification of one or more of the signers of the petition so it is safer if more sign.

The ballot will contain the names of all those nominated plus five blank spaces to write in anyone in addition you may choose who is not on the list. The voter marks the ballot one to five times, more than five times would disqualify his ballot, andseals it in a plain envelope.He puts this envelope in the addressed envelope which has been provided with the ballot and sends it to the ASCS office Manager. The office manager opens the envelopes as they come in and places the unopened blank envelopes containing the ballots in the ballot box. This is to assure a secret election. The ballots are counted in public.

C. Election Procedure by polling place
  1. Election timetable.
    a. 40 days before election state committe approval of anycommunity boundary changes.
    b. 30 days before election , public notice of any community boundary changes.
    c. 30 days before election, public notice of right to nominate by petition .
    d. 20 days before election , deadline for receiving nominating petitions.
    e. 15 days before election, slate of nominees completed.
    f. 10 days before election, public notice of location of polling place.

  2. Nomination and election procedure.
  Nomination procedures are the same as other methods. There will be one polling place for each community. They must be open at least 8 hours. A farmer can vote for up to 5 people. Ballots will be secret. Write-ins are acceptable. Ballots are counted publicly immediately after the closing of the polls.

VIII Annual Election of County Committee.

STATE committee either lets county committee set the date of the convention or does it itself. It will not be earlier than three days and shouldn't be later than ten days after the date of the last regularly scheduled community election .

Normally if a valid election in some communities hasn't been completed by the convention date, the convention will be postponed until they are completed . BUT if 2/3 rds of the communities have completed valid elections and state committees determines that valid elections haven't been completed within 60 days, the convention shall be convened without further delay. In such cases those communities in which valid elections haven't been completed, will be represented by delegates elected in the preceding year. **IF THERE HAS BEEN A VIOLATION OF ELECTION PROCEDURES OR IF THE STATE COMMITTEE DECIDES THERE HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT PARTICIPATION IN ANY COMMUNITY ELECTION, THE STATE COMMITTEE CAN THROW THE ELECTION OUT.**

Public notice must be given at least ten days before convention meets. The convention is open to the public .The convention is temporarily chaired by incumbent chairman of county committee. Once a permanent chairman is chosen all incumbant county committeemen must leave the meeting,A Quorum is 51% of actual delegates.

Nominations are by secret ballot or orally; elections are by secret ballots. Nomination and election for each office is done separately, starting with chairman of county committee and on down.

THE AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE
WHAT THE ASCS IS

Organization

The ASC is an agency of the United States Department of Agriculture and operates on a national, an area, a state, a county and a community level. At the national level, the ASC is headed by an Administrator, an Associate Administrator, and three Deputy Administrators. Ray Fitzgerald is the deputy administrator in charge of state and county operations. Under Mr. Fitzgerald are six area directors which serve as a link between the head quarters in Washington and the committee system of the states, counties and communities. Alabama is in the Southeast area; the other states in this area are Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, and the Caribbean area. State Committees, appointed by the Department of Agriculture, in each of the states report to their respective area directors. In Alabama the members of the State Committee are: Jack Bridges, chairman, W.J. Foshee, John L. Morrison, and Robert N. Williams. Each county within Alabama has its own county committee which reports to the state committee. Each county is divided into communities which have their own community committees. A community committee is elected by the farmers of each community. A county committee is chosen at a county convention by the all the community committeemen in that county.

In diagram form the organization of the ASC looks as follows:

U.S. Department of Agriculture

appointed by the U.S. Dept. of Agric.

ASC
Administrator - Associate Administrators

Deputy Administrator in charge of State and County operations
Deputy Administrator in charge of Commodity Operations
Deputy Administrator in charge of management

MidWest Area Director
South East Area Director
South West Area Director
North West Area Director
North East Area Director

Alabama State Committeemen
Jack Bridges, Chairman - W.J. Foshee - John L. Morrison - Robert N. Williams

elected by Community Committees

County Committees
Chairman - Vice-Dhariman - Regular Member
1st Alternate - 2nd Alternate

elected by farmers of community

Community Committees
Chairman - Vice-Chairman - Regular Member
1st Alternate - 2nd Alternate

Commodity Inventories

The ASC is in charge of storing farm products that it has in inventory, or is holding for security for price support loans. It stores those products in both privately and CCC owned storage facilities.

The ASC loans money, through a Facility Loan Program, for farmers to build their own storage facilities. The loans are for 5 years at 4% interest.

The ASC attempts to sell the products it has stored or to give them to other governmental agencies like school lunch programs, welfare organizations, etc.

Price Supports

The ASC asministers price suppot programs fro wheat, corn; cotton; peanuts, rice, tobacco, butterfat, milk, wool, mohair, honey, tung nuts, barley; oats, rye, sorghum, grain, flaxseed, soybeans, olry edible beans, cottonseed, and crude pine gum. Price supports are made through loans, purchases and purchase agreements. The government will buy at per centages of parity cotton and the other products that the farmers are unable to sell on the open market. Parity means the amount of money that the farmer would have received for his cotton, had he been able to sell it on the open market. With marketing quotas, the government will give price supports to farmers for cotton, etc. that they are unable to sell, at 65% to 90% of parity. Marketing quota means the amount of cotton, etc. a farmer may sell without penalty. With marketing quotas, if a farmer grows more cotton, etc. than he is alloted, he must pay a penalty before he can sell his excess cotton.

Acreage Allotments

The ASC also administers acreage allotments for cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and most kinds of tobacco. Each year in October, the U.S. Department of Agriculture decides how many acres of these products will be planted in the U.S. in the coming year. They divide the acreage up, alloting a specific number of acres to each state. The state ASC committee divides up their allotment, giving a certain number of acres to each county. Each county ASC committee divides up the county's allotment, giving a specific number of acres to each farmer. The acreage allotted to each farmer should be his fair share of the amount allotted to his county for the crop. Generally, a farmer's fair share is based upon the past crop history of his farm. Naturally there is discrimination in these allotments.

The local ASC is also in charge of the surveys made of this acreage, i.e. the arces allotted to each farmer for the planting of the crop.

Agriculture Conservation

The ASC also administrates the cropland conversion to other income producing uses which also conserve soil and water resources. It provides 5 to 10 years agreements with farmers to convert cropland to grass, forests, recreation, or wildlife development.

DRAFT

not for quotation or publication

file
Newark Project
SDS.

REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT IN NEWARK, N.J.

Prepared by Walter Thabit, Planning Consultant
76 Reade Street, New York 7, N.Y.

for the Newark Summer Project of:

Newark Committee on Full Employment
Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council
Students for a Democratic Society
National Committee for Full Employment

August 15, 1964

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Staff: Robert Heifetz prepared initial drafts of major portions of Chapters I and III and contributed in various ways to the development of the ideas and contents of the rest of the report. Linda Greenberg was of material aid in developing the tables on unemployment used in Chapter II, and assisted in the preparation of other parts of the report. Judith Schwartz assisted in editing, and was responsible for reproduction.

Official Agencies: Thanks are also due to the large number of officials in various city, state and federal agencies who discussed unemployment issues, made data on their activities and programs available, and helped to identify further sources of information. Their hlep was of inestimable value throughout the preparation of the report.

Newark Summer Project: Finally, the report was influenced to a considerable degree by the groups participating in the Newark Summer Project. Informal discussions, formal meetings and the reports and statements issued by the constituent groups were all extremely helpful in focusing on the problem. Jill Hamburg and Jane Doyle of the SDS field staff supplied insights into the local unemployment situation and its implications for organization.

While acknowledging these contributions, the interpretations of the data and the conclusions and recommendations contained in this report are those of the author alone, and not necessarily those of any other person or group.

Walter Thabit

INTRODUCTION

The program outline for the summer project presents its objective in the following terms:

> The general objective of the summer project will be to organize a local neighborhood constituency around the basic issue of unemployment, supplemented by the issues of housing and education for which there is already a base in the community. A set of demands based on local community needs will be developed and pressed upon the city through direct community action with technical support.

There is implied in this statement a basic relationship between employment and local community needs, one which is not spelled out in detail. At the time it was written, there was some vague belief that the private sector could not supply the needed jobs, and that it made sense to reduce unemployment by satisfying community needs. It was felt that local people would respond to this type of approach.

Detailed analysis of the employment situation reveals an even more basic relationship between the needs of the local community and unemployment. It suggests that local inadequacies in education, in training, and in acculturation together with discrimination against non-whites is responsible for the major share of the unemployment in Newark today.

This is not meant to imply that the question of full employment can be solved by better education or the elimination of discrimination. Far from it. Technological advance, unbalanced by manpower and conversion planning, will probably create increasingly critical problems such as higher unemployment rates and sudden economic depressions in isolated locales. But it does not appear that immediate attention to these problems will help solve the basic inadequacies in Newark today.

In Newark, we face the problems of low educational achievement, recent in-migration from the South, lack of skills and lack of jobs for people with these characteristics. Some people have been made jobless by automation or the closing down of plants, many people are kept out of work by discrimination, many older workers are not hired because of age, despite their skills. Yet the greatest number of unemployed by far are those without skills or education, among whom the young are at the greatest disadvantage.

There are jobs in Newark, but lower income groups are unable to compete for them successfully. Our organizational efforts might well concentrate on creating this capacity through a positive program for meeting their educational and training needs.

In practical terms, it means fighting for school programs that will provide adequate training for the young, that will turn them out confident in their ability to qualify for and get jobs (assuming that substantial progress is made on the discrimination front). To gain this confidence, to be willing to undergo the training, positive encouragement must be given to the potential dropouts and poor scholars. Their whole life style must be affected; living conditions must be improved, social, medical and welfare services expanded, financial aid provided and recreational possibilities and cultural enrichment made available. Without these aids, real "equality of preparation" will not be possible.

If the situation is improved along these lines, a major expansion of the public sector is inevitable. Increased numbers of teachers, construction workers, public administrators and social workers will be required, mandating a substantial increase in public employment.

It is only after "equality of preparation" has been achieved that the issue of insufficient employment can be raised in a meaningful way. This issue cannot be successfully be raised by the poor or by the unskilled, but only by the majority of workers. This is, in fact, taking place. Unionized labor is already reducing hours to protect jobs, gains have already been made in unemployment insurance benefits. Programs to shorten work weeks to increase employment, to balance manpower and employment opportunities or to give incomes to the unemployed will also primarily be won by the employed labor force.

Meanwhile, the poor, fighting for "equality of preparation" will be stressing the needs of millions of people for high quality community services, providing a focus for expansion of employment opportunities everywhere. This is the proposed focus for action, as developed in the course of the following analysis.

CHAPTER I

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN NEWARK

Two basic characteristics of unemployment in Newark are lack of skills in the job seekers and racial discrimination. If these twin problems were solved, almost every household head in Newark could be gainfully employed. Both problems exist in large part because of the shift in employment opportunities from manufacturing to non-manufacturing jobs, a shift which has been accompanied by increased employment in the suburban counties in New Jersey at the same time as unemployment is increasing in the cities.

There is no lack of work for well-educated, trained and skilled workers, (with the exception of non-white discrimination and some specialties not in demand). Newark has not yet experienced a major employment crisis such as that which hit the Northeast textile centers in the 1950's or the Kentucky coal fields. It may do so in the future, but at present, there are more than enough jobs for skilled people. Every day, 200,000 people come into the City of Newark to work while 50,000 of Newark's 157,000 workers go out of the city to work. Table I, on the following page, indicates employment trends in the Newark Labor Market Area. (See Appendix, Tables F and G for further detail.)

What has happened in Newark is typical of the pattern throughout the nation. A general decline in the percentage of semi-skilled and unskilled manufacturing jobs has taken place. A report on Industrial Potential in Clinton Hill, prepared by this office for the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council in 1962, refers to major work force reductions and plant closings as follows:

> Westinghouse Meter is reported to have cut its work force from 2,000 to 1,000 men; Federal Telephone in Clifton went from 4,000 to 1,600; Monroe Calculator, which was absorbed by Litton Industries, reduced its 1,200 man force to 300; Keerfott Engineering closed its 1,000 man plant altogether...

Reference in the report is also made to the closing of the Mack Company assembly plant. These examples are only some of the changes which have reduced the employment in "auto assembly, machinery, shipbuilding, and other categories which use large amounts of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, jobs that have not been replaced - and are not likely to be replaced - with similar ones."

Analysis of ten of the largest plants to move into the area during the past decade suggests that new plants will not materially reduce unemployment in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled. The new firms, including electrical equipment and instruments, firms in fine chemicals, perfumes,

TABLE I.

EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP, NEWARK LABOR MARKET AREA, 1958-1961

Industry	1958 employment* (000)	%	1961 employment* (000)	%	% change, 1958-61	weekly wages, 1963
Construction	26.4	4	29.3	4	+11	$120.35[1]
Manufacturing	232.0	37	235.9	36	+ 2	97.44[1]
Transportation/ utilities	45.4	7	48.2	7	+ 6	121.24[2]
Trade	122.9	20	129.4	20	+ 5	76.03[1]
Finance	45.4	7	45.6	7	--	87.95[2]
Service	86.2	14	96.9	15	+12	58.13
Government	63.4	10	69.4	11	+ 9	--[3]
Total	622.8	100**	655.5	100	+ 5	

Source: Employment and Earnings Statistics for the State and Areas, 1939-1962, Bulletin No. 1370, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1963.

* Business cycle recovery years: 1958, began in April; 1961, began in February. Bureau of Economic Research, Rutgers.

** Difference in totals due to rounding.

[1] Employment and Earnings, Vols. 8 and 9, March, 1963, Table C-6; current dollars, January, 1963. National figures.

[2] Ibid. Weighted averages of subcategory earnings based on number employed in each subcategory nationally.

[3] Not available.

and aromatic chemicals, are all cyclic industries. There is one metals processing firm including the drawing of wire which might employ some semi-skilled labor. Others are in metallurgical research, chemical and catalytic research, which employ higher skills predominantly. Thus, while heavy users of unskilled and semi-skilled workers tend to reduce work forces or to liquidate, the new industries tend to employ far fewer such employees, or to provide only seasonal work.

The end is not yet in sight for reductions in unskilled and semi-skilled labor in manufacturing. Many of those currently employed in manufacturing are threatened by loss of jobs now or in the near future due to continuing automation and technological improvement. The most rapid changes will occur in large manufacturing operations where wages are relatively high. An additional factor aggravating this situation is the erratic performance of industries related to defense contracts. As future defense cuts are initiated or program emphasis shifts, their impact on the affected firms (electrical machinery, aircraft, etc.) will only tend to further the decline of manufacturing activity in the Newark economy.

Manufacturing shows more dramatic rises and falls than other sectors, fluctuating in Newark by 10 percent in a two year period and exhibiting a tendency to decline over the long term. In the Newark Labor Market area, manufacturing employment seems to be fairly stable, at least from a comparison of 1958 and 1961 figures (which are, of course, not conclusive) which shows a 2 percent rise. Nevertheless, the long term picture is not good, and over the past decade, there has been a substantial reduction in the numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs available in the Newark area.

The occupational composition of those seeking jobs has been noted as follows in the January 1962 issue of Covered Employment Trends, published by the New Jersey State Division of Employment Security (DES):

> Noticeable concentrations include construction craftsmen, semi-skilled machine operators, apparel workers, sales persons, packers, truckers, warehousemen, clerical and various service workers.

For youth, the lack of any skill is a serious problem. The Youth Career Development Center (YCDC) in a random sample of unemployed youth in 1962 found that only 38.5 percent had previous work experience, 55 percent were school dropouts, two-thirds needed counseling and only 11.9 percent had any vocational training.

Job openings do exist in many areas, primarily for those with higher skills and training. In the January 1962 issue of Covered Employment Trends, referred to above, the "hard-to-fill" jobs were listed as follows:

> "...electrical engineer, audttor, sales manager, physicist, aerodynamist, chemist, physical metallurgist, economist, psychiatric social worker, programmer and nurse. The highly skilled section includes television serviceman, oil burner installation and serviceman, tool-and-die maker, machinist, nurseryman and baker."

Men with high skills have as yet experienced little difficulty in finding new jobs. As was proved in a study of Mack Company employees, those with real skills such as machinist or tool-and-die maker had no trouble in getting new jobs, nor was age an impediment.

Even among non-whites, the Essex County Urban League in 1955-56 found that "more than 150 job orders could not be filled" for lack of qualified applicants.

One of the more significant effects of the rise in unemployment has been the increased participation of women in the labor force - pushing unemployment totals still higher. When men cannot find jobs, women must look for work. They work for less wages, and at different kinds of jobs. They work in seasonal jobs and as domestics, all of which is less remunerative and stable.

A depressed economy also seems to attract certain types of industry which thrives on a labor market which provides intermittent low-wage female labor. Thus in Newark there has been an increase in seasonal and cyclical industries which employ women. Growth in apparel, cosmetics and drugs, among other industries, has been rapid, and tends to raise the chronic unemployment level. Yet many union and non-white leaders would like to see "40 or 50 more apparel firms" which would employ mostly female non-white workers and on this basis, supported the Light Industrial Project for Clinton Hill which would have displaced 6,000 families.

Newark's business and governmental efforts to attract new industry and business is more directly oriented to increased taxes and utility use than it is to reducing unemployment. The Commerce and Industry Association of Newark, the Newark Industrial Development Commission, the Greater Newark Development Council, the Public Service Electric and Gas Company, the Newark Area Redevelopment Corporation (a semi-public corporation) and the Federal Small Business Administration cooperate in various ways and have various purposes and functions in attracting new business and industry to Newark. In part, these groups help in finding locations, giving general development assistance, financing and even managerial assistance for new firms, old ones which must relocate and for small business which has a potential for expansion.

Aside from this largely promotional effort which to one extent or another is undertaken throughout the country, the Newark business community has strong ties to the city government and almost directs its renewal effort - especially its downtown and industrial renewal efforts. While the business leaders give lip service to creating jobs that reduce unemployment, they would prefer the highest type of industrial research laboratory (which would supply few jobs to the unemployed) to apparel firms, and they want those plants at any price. It is the business community which has pressed for the Clinton Hill Light Industrial Project, and it is a matter of indifference to them that 6,000 families, mostly nonwhites, would have to be displaced.

There is no overall policy or program by which these efforts are guided. An "Overall Economic Development Plan" being prepared for the Federal Area Redevelopment Administration is simply an inventory of existing programs, more detailed than that set forth above. The Urban Renewal program, through which it is hoped to attract industry, is moving very slowly, to the tune of local opposition, government ineptitude, and private interference. It seems unlikely that any private or government effort at increasing the number of jobs in the manufacturing sector will change the pattern of fewer jobs for semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

There are sectors of the Newark economy in which employment is increasing, however. While manufacturing employment rose by only 2 per cent between 1958 and 1961, adding 3,000 new jobs, employment in construction, service, and government rose by 11, 12, and 9 per cent respectively, adding 3,000 construction, 11,000 service, and 6,000 government employees. In the service sector, where the bulk of the new jobs for the unskilled and semi-skilled are appearing, wages (as shown in Table I) are 60 per cent of those in manufacturing. Trade, in which an additional 7,000 were employed, also has an average weekly wage level about 75 per cent of that in manufacturing.

To summarize the increases and decreases in employment shown in Table I, we would show 12,000 new jobs which pay average weekly earnings of more than manufacturing, and 18,000 which pay less.

While the number of jobs in the Newark Labor Market Area has been increasing, the number of unemployed has been rising even more rapidly in Newark itself. Since 1960, the unemployment rates have been climbing. Work certificates issued to underage youth have declined from 3,750 in 1959-60 to 2,747 in 1963-64, a decline of almost 30 per cent in four years. Newark unemployed and Newark youth are finding it more and more difficult to enter the labor market.

One reason for this is discrimination against nonwhites. Discrimination is far more pronounced in non-manufacturing industries and, with the downward trend in manufacturing and the upward trend in non-manufacturing, it is easy to see how the unemployment situation for nonwhites can get steadily worse. In the report by Rapkin and Grier on Group Relations in Newark - 1957, at least partial discrimination is still practiced in manufacturing at higher levels, in apprenticeships, construction, the brewery industry, public utilities especially in the "front office," railroads, white collar work in general, insurance companies, banks, department stores and smaller specialty shops.

The Rapkin-Grier report goes on to say that "...the above average Negro today experiences little difficulty in job placement; but the...Negro of average ability continues to experience discrimination in hiring as compared to the white applicant of equivalent qualifications."

The elimination of discrimination would by no means solve the unemployment problem. There are more unemployed whites than there are Negroes (or Puerto Ricans, who may be classified as white), and the problem would seem to be one of education, training, and retraining at least as much as it is a lack of jobs.

Technological advance has caught the nation unprepared. Just as agricultural jobs gave way to manufacturing jobs, the new cycle of technological advance is replacing manufacturing with non-manufacturing jobs. And the economy is already beginning to experience the introduction of the next advance, the replacement of service trades with professional-administrative activity. For all this we are worse than unprepared. Youth is coming out of school with an inadequate education for the new tasks, we are still experiencing an inmigration of untrained nonwhites and whites from rural areas, and we are now facing the impact of the postwar baby boom as youth enters, or attempts to enter, the labor force in increased numbers. Of the 100,000 projected increase in the Newark Labor Market Area labor force by 1970, 58 per cent will be under 25 years of age.

Accompanying this projected addition of 100,000 to the labor force will be a 10 per cent decline in the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, an increase of skilled accupations of only 2 per cent. By contrast, service employment is expected to increase by 25-30 per cent, while professional employment will rise by 50 per cent.

Even assuming that our educational and training programs are shifted to meet the emerging employment patterns (a very questionable assumption), there is some evidence to suggest that there are not enough jobs for everyone, even if labor force skills and training mirrored the employment opportunity pattern. R.S. Eckaus, writing on "Economic Criteria for Education and Training," in The Review of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 46, No. 2, May, 1964, calls attention to trends in the relationship between jobs and education:

> In 1940 and 1950, according to the Census of Population, the proportions of employed persons who actually had at least a full high-school education were 31.2 and 39.0 per cent respectively. Those needing that much education for their job according to this study were 28.5 and 32.4 per cent of the labor force. On the other hand, the higher education represented in the labor force is quite fully employed: in 1940 and 1950, the percentage of employed persons having four or more years of college were 5.9 and 7.4 per cent respectively while the percentage of those requiring such an education were 7.1 and 7.4 .

Mr. Eckaus concludes by suggesting that "These numbers seem to show a growing amount of 'unemployed' high school education in the labor force." The implication is quite clear. Increased educational achievement may only increase the competition for a declining number of jobs overall, the consequent labor surplus driving down wages (through such devices as seasonal work for females) and resulting in considerable unemployment and badly paid and unstable employment as a permanent condition for a growing sector of the population.

This possibility has given strong impetus to demands for drastically reduced work weeks and for expansion of public sector employment as one device for distributing benefits to the poor in the form of increased services. The fear that there are not enough jobs in any event, or that they cannot be made available over the short term, has inspired the Triple Revolution and civil rights demands for income without work.

The Eckaus analysis, valuable as it is, does not take into account the emerging trends in employment. It may well be that our educational levels, rapidly rising as they are, will be insufficient to cover the job needs of the future. Even now there is a gap between available jobs and the work that needs to be done, and it will tend to widen. There may also be a tendency to correlate too closely job requirements and education and training, losing sight of the growing requirement for education in off-the-job activity.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

In comparison with the current and possible future opportunities for employment, the labor force balance is at least partially reflected by the numbers and composition of the unemployed. A 2 per cent unemployment rate is considered a normal percentage to take care of labor turnover; anything above that represents a surplus in general or specific categories. There is, on the other hand, little information on labor shortages, and they are not dealt with in this chapter.

To obtain a reasonable measure of unemployment was not a simple task. Starting from the assumption that there was indeed something wrong with existing estimates, several possible ways of modifying U.S. Census findings were tried, with mostly negative results. In addition to this critical analysis, comparable and detailed statistics are hard to find; the various agencies employ a variety of definitions, often fail to collect meaningful statistics, and generally do not seem concerned with measuring total unemployment. Our final unemployment table, shown on the following page, is an amalgam of national, state, labor market area, and Newark data, fitted together as best it could be done.

This estimate, shown in Table II, differs from the 1960 U.S. Census figures in only two basic respects. First, the numbers of the unemployed have been increased by the negative differences in the Newark and national labor force participation rates. This was based on the assumption that in a depressed economy such as Newark's, some persons of working age will drop out of or fail to enter the active labor force because they have failed to find work for a long time or see no possibility of getting it. Some 3300 males were added to the unemployed total in 1960 as a result of this modification. Second, the table has been updated by an amount equal to the rise in unemployment as reported by the ARA (Area Redevelopment Administration) of the Federal government.

On the basis of these modifications, Newark is seen to have an unemployed total of 23,100, a rate of 12.8 per cent. This is 2.2 per cent higher than the official ARA rate for the city.

As will be seen from the table, white and non-white unemployment is almost equal in number, though non-whites account for only a third of the labor force. The relative unemployment rates are 9.5 for whites and 19.8 for non-whites. As will also be noted, the highest unemployment rates are found in the 14-24 year age group, where the white rate runs around 20

TABLE II

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED, BY RACE AND SEX, NEWARK, 1964

Age	White				Non-White				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	#	% *	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
14-17	400	26.7	300	21.4	100	20.0	200	66.7	1,000	27.0
18-24	2,000	21.7	800	12.3	1,900	36.5	1,400	30.4	6,200	24.3
25-44	2,500	6.6	1,800	9.6	2,900	17.3	1,500	13.9	8,700	10.3
45-64	1,800	6.6	1,300	10.1	2,000	16.8	1,000	13.3	6,200	10.4
65 & over	600	14.3	100	6.3	100	11.1	100	20.0	900	12.5
Total	7,400	9.2	4,300	10.5	7,100	20.1	4,300	18.1	23,100	12.8

Source: U.S. Census, and others. See text and Appendix for derivation.

* All percentages refer to unemployment rates: uenmployed/labor force.

per cent while nonwhites are above 30 per cent unemployed.

To gain a fuller understanding of what these unemployment figures mean, we must add data on occupational skills and potentials. On the following page, a matrix has been drawn which distributes the unemployed by occupational desires. This matrix is based on known skill levels of experienced unemployed, knowledge of the educational level of unemployed youth, and assumptions about the remainder of the population; a required educational and training level for certain types of jobs adapted from work by R.S. Eckaus, and general data on the distribution of various kinds of work held by males and females, whites and nonwhites. (See Appendix, Tables D and E, for the basic data from which the estimates were derived.)

Before attempting to interpret this matrix, two points should be clear. First, though it may appear that applicants for jobs have the required education and skill to perform them, they do not have jobs. Either they are not attractive from the employer's point of view (because of a disability, color, race, personality, unusual education or experience, poor grades or other reasons) or there are no jobs in that field at present. There is, of course, a fairly large component of job-seekers who are very attractive to employers and who will find work within a week or two.

The second point is that the table is not meant to be definitive. It is not meant to show more than general or average conditions. In those looking for manufacturing jobs, for example, there will be many high-school graduates, and there may be many non-high-school graduates looking for clerical or sales positions. No attempt was made to refine the matrix along these and other lines.

With this clarification of the table, we can move toward an analysis of its contents. We will start with the job-seekers having the most education and training, and work our way down to those with the least.

Professional and Managerial

Of the approximately 800 people in this category, 700 are white and 100 nonwhite. Three-quarters are over 25 years of age, and half of these are over 45. Considering the general unemployment rate of 3.8 per cent, it is difficult to get excited about unemployment at this level ; but a few points are worth making, both for their own sakes as well as for their assistance in undertaking the total problem.

Of those under 25 years of age, about 25 per cent are entering the field or moving from job to job. In neither case will they have too much difficulty. Those between 25 and 44 years of age will also have no difficulty. But when we reach those over 45 years of age, discrimination against

MATRIX OF UNEMPLOYMENT, NEWARK 1964

Occup'l Potent'l and Total in Group	Educational and Vocational Training - Total Years Required			
	College required 14-15 yrs: white 16-17 yrs: NW	At least HS grad plus vocational 12-13 yrs: white 14-15 yrs: NW	About HS grad or equivalent 10-11 yrs: white 12-13 yrs: NW	Less than HS grad 8-9 yrs: white 9-10 yrs: NW
Prof'l Mgr'l --- 800	Prof'l & Mgrl 800; 90% white 90% over 25 yrs Most whites over 45 yrs. 30% females Mostly qualified			
Clerical Sales Crafts --- 6,600		Craftsmen, const 800; 300 NW All over 25; many over 45 All males Mostly qualified	Wholesale, retail, finance, pub adm. 5,800; 75% NW Mostly under 25 and over 45 40% female - half are NW Mostly HS grads	
Oprtvs. Service Laborer --- 15,900		Bus. & Repair Svc Ent. & Rec. Svc 900; mostly white All over 25, most over 45 All males Partly qualified	Manufacturing 10,700; 60% white Half 25-44 yrs, others young & old Half female - half are NW Never finish'd HS	Personal and hshld service 4,300; 60% NW Mostly under 25 & over 45 Half female - half are NW
Totals --- 23,300 *	800	1,700	16,500	4,300

* Total does not add to 23,100 because of rounding

age does begin to operate. In a city like Newark, where plants have closed down, where substantial contractions and expansions of employment and rapid population shifts may have forced older professionals and executives to seek new positions, they are at, at least, a temporary disadvantage.

For nonwhites, it is reasonable to expect discrimination to be heavily at work. Though the nonwhite unemployment rate of 4.0 per cent is close to the white rate of 3.4 per cent, the fewer nonwhite professionals in the 45 year or older category makes one suspicious of an unemployment rate about double that of normal turnover.

This does not mean that nonwhites do not have jobs. These people are well enough equipped to get jobs at lower skill levels without difficulty, and do so because they have to feed their families. What probably happens is that frustration with these lower-level jobs is a constantly recurring theme. They quit and look for better jobs more often than whites. Their employment may also be less stable. This group is therefore constantly turning over, taking and leaving jobs, probably ending up in clerical, sales, civil service or other jobs that are open to them. Since whites hold almost 8 times as many jobs in this category as nonwhites, it is safe to say that discrimination in the professional-managerial categories, and in the school systems which produce these elite categories, is massive.

Craftsmen, Construction

At least two-thirds of this group is white; the one-third that is Negro is probably less qualified because of discrimination in apprenticeship training, inability to get into unions, and similar problems. Here, the lagging construction industry is to blame for the lack of work. As in the professional- managerial class, however, this unemployment in the construction field is one that varies from week to week. One firm will not have work, another will. The following month, a new group of workers is laid off, the net result being an average of 800 unemployed, involving perhaps a total of 10 to 15 per cent of the whole construction industry when semi-skilled and unskilled laborers are taken into account.

The effect of unemployment on this group, therefore, is less work over the year. There may be some chronic unemployment among older workers and the less skilled, and some of these may tend to move into lower level employment. On the whole, however, this class of worker is not likely to accept lower-paying jobs.

Business and Repair, Entertainment and Recreation Services

Again, this is rather a small number of unemployed. Most of this group is older, with the exception of nonwhites, who may be discriminated against.

Nonwhites, as in the construction field, however, are less likely to be fully trained, and there may be some validity to hesitation to hire men who are not fully qualified. Long periods of training are necessary to turn out really skilled technicians in these fields, and the lack of training programs of reasonable duration and people capable of undertaking such programs and completing them, results in continuing shortages of qualified people.

Another part of the problem in this area is the relatively small size of most organizations dealing in such services. It is difficult to start and maintain these small businesses at profitable levels, and many desired services cannot be adequately performed for the community nor can employment in the services be maintained at demand levels because of this complication.

Wholesale, Retail, Finance, Real Estate, Insurance, Public Administration, etc.

Here we meet the first large component of unemployed, the 5,800 applicants for clerical and sales positions. It is interesting that 80 per cent of these applicants are non-white. As with the professional-managerial situation, discrimination is an undeniable component of the situation. And in this category, younger workers make up a substantial portion of the unemployed.

This group is composed for the most part of high-school graduates, and is made up equally of the 14-24, 25-44, and 45 and over age groups. If we assume that nonwhite preparation is somewhat lower than that of whites, and that twice as many nonwhites as whites are not attractive to employers for reasons other than color alone, we are still left with about 2,800 nonwhite males who are being actively discriminated against and who should have jobs.

Going into somewhat more detail, we find 300 white males, 1,100 white females, 1,100 nonwhite females and about 3,400 nonwhite males. In percentages of the unemployed, these figures amount to 4 per cent of the white males, 28 per cent of the white females, 28 per cent of the nonwhite females, and 48 per cent of the nonwhite males. The nonwhite male is the victim of massive discrimination while the nonwhite female is in no worse general position than the white female. She may have to take the lesser jobs, but she is not shut out of the market. The nonwhite male obviously is.

The pattern of those employed in clerical and sales positions bears out this general finding. Only 2,250 nonwhite males are employed in clerical and sales positions compared to 12,000 white males.

The extent of discrimination against nonwhites in clerical, sales and similar positions is further borne out by consideration of employment in the

Newark Labor Market Area (which includes Essex, Morris, and Union Counties) and of the composition of the labor force in the City of Newark. In the Labor Market Area, 20 per cent of the jobs are in trade, and 11 per cent in government. In the City of Newark, by contrast, only 16 and 5 per cent are so employed. Newark people are unrepresented in these jobs by about 18,000; nor is this imbalance purely a function of nonwhite discrimination. It would also seem to have to do with the generally lower educational levels of Newarkers in general.

Of this entire group, many may remain unemployed for long periods of time, but the majority will be flitting from one job to another. Failing to get employment in white-collar areas, they will take jobs in industry or service. Since their competitive position is much better than that of those without a high school diploma, they are more likely to get lower level jobs when they apply. This will be more true of young people, of course, older workers not being acceptable even in lower level jobs. It is also undeniable that there will be a greater percentage of continually unemployed in this group than among the professional-managerial applicants; a much steeper status drop occurs from white collar to blue collar work than is involved in dropping from professional to clerical or sales levels.

Manufacturing

To this point, we have been dealing with the elite of the unemployed, amounting to 30 per cent of the total. The overwhelming majority of the unemployed, a full 70 per cent, is without a high school diploma or an acceptable skill. Of this group, the bulk is aiming at a job in manufacturing, the remainder at a job in service.

There are, of course, a wide variety of jobs in manufacturing. Highly skilled technicians with decades of experience and relatively high wage levels stand at one end of the scale while the sweeper or helper in a marginal operation stands at the other. When we are dealing with the unemployed group, however, we are dealing primarily and predominantly with the unskilled level. There is a component, amounting to about 10 per cent of the unemployed, which is skilled and employable, and which will be working at a steady job within a week or two. There is another component (perhaps of equal size) which is skilled but unemployable because either temporarily or permanently there is a surplus of such skills. But the great bulk, about 9,000 of the unemployed, have neither the education or training to qualify for skilled positions.

Some idea of the composition of this segment of the unemployed can be had from the YCDC (Youth Career Development Center) study of the characteristics of youth signing up for employment and counseling. Fully 45 per cent of the signups were inmigrants during the last three years, some 65 per cent of them from the South. Not only do these young people have poor school records and little vocational training, as indicated earlier, but a substantial proportion have the added burden of adjusting to urban life.

A goodly portion of this group looms as an unemployable group, and it is not restricted to nonwhites (who make up only 40 per cent of the unemployed in this category). Puerto Ricans probably account for another 5 per cent, but whites are clearly in the majority. Half of this group is in the prime working ages of 25-44, a quarter each in the younger and older age groups. Half of those looking for work are female, equally distributed between whites and nonwhites.

That there is little demand for this pool of labor is evidenced by the high unemployment rate. While 70 per cent of the unemployed are seeking or qualified for operative, service, and laborer positions, only 53 per cent of the labor force is currently employed in this type of activity. In this group, there will be much intermittent labor, much job finding and losing, much changing. Most of the long term unemployment is also found among this group, the competition for jobs being stiff enough to freeze out older and very young persons from any job.

And of course, there is nowhere to go from here, except to the service jobs, in which the tenure has no stability at all, low wages prevail, and the work is considered demeaning. Still an average of more than 4,000 people in Newark are seeking such positions at any one time.

Personal and Household Services

Here at the lowest employment level, as in the white collar world, nonwhites predominate among the unemployed, making up 60 per cent of the total. Most of the people seeking this type of work are under 25 or over 45 years of age, neither being a prime working age. Half of this group is female, and half the females are nonwhites.

Here at the bottom of the ladder, there is no dscrimination. Nonwhites can find jobs as easily as whites, but neither will find permanency, decent wages, decent working conditions or much in the way of job satisfaction. Much of the work here is temporary, by the day or week; there is a continuous revolving door into and out of the employment office. In this and in much of the work open to those seeking manufacturing jobs, unemployment insurance will not often be available. It is a short step to welfare at these employment levels, and the choice to work is not always easy to make.

The matrix shows several major components of unemployment with which we must be concerned. First is racial discrimination. About 3,500 non-whites are denied employment or adequate training on the basis of color alone. This breaks down to about 100 in the professional-managerial field, 2,800 in the white collar field and about 600 in the skilled services and construction fields. This cannot be considered the sum of the discrimination, of course, It is likely that twice this number, or 7,000 other non-whites are underemployed, but there is insufficient data on which to base an accurate figure.

There is, of course, plenty of evidence of discrimination. In the ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) prospectus for the Newark Summer Project, a partial picture is given:

> For example, of 1,576 managerial and supervisory jobs at the nearby Western Electric plant in Kearny in 1962, only three were held by non-whites. Of 1,102 skilled jobs in the same plant, only eight were non-white. Of 941 employees at Newark's (and the state's) largest banking chain, 56 were Negroes (exclusively messengers, custodians, cleaners and similar positions). Of 3,600 in the state-wide apprentice-training program for skilled craft jobs, there were only 14 Negroes in 1962.
>
> Discrimination in employment against Negroes and Puerto Ricans is obvious everywhere in Newark - in construction, in public utilities, especially in the "front office," in insurance companies, in banks and department stores, in nearly all types of white collar jobs.

A second component is the group seeking white collar work, who need more training and perhaps additional education before they can successfully compete for white collar jobs. Subtracting those who are frictionally unemployed, this amounts to 2,100 persons, both white and non-white.

We now come to the laboring groups for whom there is no work or only intermittent work. Subtracting a two percent frictional unemployment rate, we are left with 13,800 in this group, which breaks down into three different levels of concern.

Of these, almost half appear to be unemployed because of the economy's decreasing need for their skills or because they have recently entered the labor market and lack vocational skills. About 6,500 fall into this third component.

A fourth component includes most of the recent in-migrants, with limited skills and education, who require a more extensive preparatory program before becoming capable of competing effectively for stable, decent-wage employment. Among this group are the apparel workers, domestics, personal service workers and others in cyclical and uncertain jobs, totalling about 5,500.

The fifth component, can more realistically be termed "hard core." It includes those who cannot hold a job for any period of time, whose skill levels, education, work habits, personalities and general attitude makes it difficult for any employer to accept them as steady employees. Many workers over 65 years of age would fall into this group, many under 25 would also. This group is personally unattractive; its members may drink, steal, be unreliable, be destructive. Long-term rehabilitation is the only - and not very promising - cure. About 1,800 persons must be classified in this group, most of whom work in services when they get work; there are likely to be somewhat more non-whites than whites in the group.

In summary, the situation is somewhat as follows:

Numbers Affected	Type of Work Sought	Remedy
100	Professional-managerial	Eliminate discrimination
600	Craft Skills	Eliminate discrimination
2,800	White collar	Eliminate discrimination
2,100	White collar	Up to 1 years training or educ.
6,500	Manufacturing	Up to 1 years training or educ.
5,500	Manufacturing & Servc.	Two years rehabilitation and training.
1,800	Service & Manufacturing	Four years intensive rehabilitation.

If discrimination were eliminated in the white collar trades and highest skill level opportunities (it should also be eliminated in manufacturing employment at lowest levels, but is not a major problem there), and if the education, training and rehabilitation equivalents were supplied, unemployment would drop to the frictional rate in Newark and full employment would be achieved.

CHAPTER III

PROGRESS IN REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT

It is interesting to note that the analysis given in the preceding chapters is almost identical with that of the Manpower Report of the President, issued in March of 1964. The findings of that report coincide to a remarkable degree with this one, both in terms of the causes of unemployment and the characteristics of the unemployed. Whatever inadequacy exists, therefore, is not basically one of misunderstanding the problem, but of unwillingness to solve it.

Though all its basic components have been accurately spelled out, not much is being done to correct the inadequacies. Though nothing is being done to improve the education and skills of rural people, programs are in prospect which will accelerate their movement to the cities. Our educational system, segregated, scandal-rocked and antiquated, is still playing around with "experimental" programs which should have been standard for decades. Nothing has been done to control the impact of automation or to make employers more responsible; in fact they often benefit most from government programs to reduce unemployment. Government programs continue on their merry way, overlapping, expanding, and prey to special interest groups such as employers and employment agencies, without paying much attention to the needs of the labor force. Nor have civil rights groups, bowed but largely unbloodied, done much to correct the situation.

In this chapter, we will outline the efforts being made to reduce unemployment, including future programs which seem well on the way toward implementation. This analysis, crude though it is and needing basic supplementary study, adequately demonstrates the bankruptcy of our present efforts to deal with the situation.

Basic Deficiencies in Education

Newark's school system is probably no better or worse than that of many central cities - which means that it is not good. At the high school level, complaints of students include large classes and poor books and equipment, and there are universal complaints about poor teaching. All these complaints would seem to add up to a poor education for Newarkers, a fact amply documented by high dropout rates and low achievement levels.

While an analysis of the Newark school system has not been undertaken as part of this report, an attempt was made to find out what the city is doing about the impending crisis in youth unemployment. In addition to numerous committees appointed by the Mayor which are considering various aspects of the problem, the Board of Education has recently initiated programs to expose some deprived children to an enriched program, a crash program to encourage dropouts to return to school, and to develop schools for retarded and disabled children, supplemented with job placement efforts. All of these programs are experimental in scope, and do not represent a substantial improvement in education in the City of Newark.

Information was also sought on the Essex County Vocational Schools (90 Washington Street, East Orange), operated by the County, with some Federal and state assistance. It is here that the bulk of the MDTA programs are taught, and it is here, also, that poorer students are sent by the academic high schools,

Enrollment in the Vocational Schools is about 3,000 full-time day students, of whom 2,000 come from Newark. The bulk are Negro, probably amounting to two-thirds of the total students. All but 200 or 300 are in grades 9 through 12. Many potential dropouts come to school for a few sessions and then drop out; often when they do complete their programs, they remain incapable of passing employers' examinations. Low IQ's are cited as one reason.

In the evening program, there are 5,400 students, 4,400 of whom are enrolled in high-school degree programs and about 1,000 in apprenticeship-supplementary and post-high-school courses. More of these night students come from outside Newark; only 40 percent come from the city. Some of the students currently employed are receiving skill-upgrading training with Federal sponsorship under the Smith-Hughes Trade Improvement program.

While daytime enrollments have been going up, this is mostly because of increased tendencies to send potential dropouts to the Vocational Schools (claimed by some to be a way of reducing the city's high-school dropout rates). Evening session enrollment is increasing, but not rapidly. Apprenticeship and upgrading programs have not been receiving much support from local employers. In fact, such programs have been on the decline since the postwar GI Bill beneficiaries left training. Dr. Coughlin, of the Vocational Schools, has little faith that present efforts will be successful, and is convinced that until the city provides on-the-job training for youth in city jobs (as is being done in New York), substantial progress will not be made.

As a result of its program, the Vocational Schools graduate approximately 400 to 500 pupils a year, representing about 75% failure. In its graduate programs, 125 to 155 adults receive post-high-school training certificates.

In assessing the effectiveness of the school, one must be struck by the fact that not much more than $500 per full-time students is spent by the Vocational Schools, an amount insufficient even to begin to provide reasonable education, especially in the vocational area. And, since its program emphasis is on the poorer students and the dropouts, it probably neglects the vast demand for general post-high-school training of high standards which would prepare most Newark students to compete effectively for jobs.

High school education in Newark produces 24 percent dropouts, 9 percent of these from the academic schools and approximately 75 percent from the vocational schools. Almost 1,000 pupils a year are thrown into the job market without the basic education now required to apply for a steady job. In all probability, an additional 1,000 are graduated without having absorbed enough knowledge to compete successfully for steady jobs.

Current Training Programs

The national Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) is the sponsoring legislation for the bulk of Newark's official job-training efforts. The Division of Employment Security (DES), through its professional, commercial, industrial and youth (YCDC) offices, administers these programs.

The Youth Carreer Development Center (YCDC) is the youth intake office for the MDTA training program. (1 Clinton St., MA 4-9300; Mr. Simeon Moss, Coordinator) Unlike the other intake offices (professional, commercial, industrial), it also provides fairly extensive testing and counseling services and a special training allowance for those clients who enter MDTA courses. Its list of unemployed out-of-school youth now totals over 12,000 with an additional average daily intake of 30. The "active" list, those who have been in contact with the Center over the last three or four months, is some 4,000 to 5,000.

MDTA courses are set up after consultation with private industry sources, who give a rough idea of the need for manpower in a specific job category, and with the DES intake offices, who must establish the job surplus in the category under consideration. After submission of a training proposal and budget to the Federal government, courses are instituted either through the Essex County Vocational Schools or with private firms (for on-the-job training).

Admission qualifications require that trainees:

a) must be unemployed (applicants for on-the-job training may be underemployed);

b) usually must pass an aptitude test;

c) depending on the qualifications likely to be set up by employers, other requirements, such as a specified number of years of high-school education, may be imposed.

Trainees may receive an allowance if they are heads of households or contribute significantly to their households' support; and if they have had three years of gainful employment before entering training. Trainees between the ages of 19 and 22 who do not qualify under these rules may receive an allowance from the YCDC.

Typical of the 20 courses given over the last year and a half are the two examples below, one a regular training project for the unemployed, and one an on-the-job program:

> A clerk-typist project which started June 29th, and for which there were still openings close to the starting date, had the following qualifications for admission: high-school graduate, female, touch-type ability, between the ages of 16 and 21. Trainees were to receive an allowance of $20 per week. (Few of the unemployed have touch-type ability; one gets the impression that this is a short refresher course in typing for those who cannot pass employers' tests. Pay for this type of work is between $65 and $75 a week.)
>
> A second project is pre-apprentice training for painters. It was initiated by the Newark Paint Trade Board of Essex County and the National Institute of Labor Education in Washington, D.C. Instruction is given by the Paint Board and by manufacturers and contractors. Trainees will take part in on-the-job training for 52 weeks, supervised by journeymen painters. They will receive $1.35 an hour, the wages being paid by the unions from contracts with the city or with private industry. Those who qualify and finish the year would then be taken into the union as apprentices. One section of trainees was started June 29th; others are to follow. (Although employment is lagging in the construction industry, the painters union needs young blood. The present average age of Painters District Council #10 membership is 55, according to its business agent.)

Some 600 trainees have registered for these and other courses offered under the MDTA program. Of these, only 350 completed their courses; about 250 have been placed in jobs. (A full listing of courses, enrollments, completions, and placements is given in Table III, on the following page.)

Apprenticeship training programs.

As the table on the following page indicates, about 600 people have been served by the MDTA program in Newark since the courses were started at the end of 1962. Training programs conducted in plants under the general supervision of the Federal and State Bureaus of Apprenticeship and Training have served about another 500 persons per year (in Essex County). The apprenticeship programs are operated by either management alone or

TABLE III

MDTA TRAINING PROGRAMS AND RESULTS, NEWARK, 1962-1964

Name	Date begun	# Ent.	# Comp.	# Placed	% Placed of # comp
Institutional					
Machine tool operator (E)	11/5/62	109	68	44	65.
Tracers (E)	1/14/63	34	27	11	41/
Automatic screw mach. op. (E)	4/8/63	21	14	12	86.
Grinder operator (E)	4/8/63	26	21	11	52.
Clerk-typist (R)	5/20/63	46	36	30	83.
Clerk-typist (E)	7/18/63	32	12	10	83.
Clerk-typist (E) (YCDC)	7/24/63	42	24	13	54.
Waiter/waitress (E) (YCDC)	7/22/63	10	7	6	86.
Ward attendant (E) (YCDC)	9/9/63 (end)	41	29	29	100.
Nurse general (R)	9/16/63	79	74	43*	58.
Auto mechanic helper (E)	1/3/64 (end)	25	5	4	80.
Auto mechanic helper (2nd sect.)	1/20/64	16	(6)n.f.	--	--
Auto-body repair man (E)	10/21/63	18	6	2	33.
Bookkeeping mach. operator (E)	5/4/64	14	(9)n.f.	--	--
Clerk stenographer (E)	1/16/64	19	10	6	67.
On the Job					
Yarn workers	?	11	?	?	--
Asst. nursing unit managers	?	20	17	17	100.
Leather cutters	4/27/64	4	n.f.	--	--
Leather matcher	4/27/64	2	n.f.	--	--
Painter apprentice	6/29/64	40	n.f.	--	--
Totals		609	350**		(avg) 75.

(end): no date available for beginning of course;
date given is for end of course.

n.f.: course not yet completed

(E): entry level course
(R): refresher course

* 43 were placed in jobs at the training site (a hospital): some others went into employment elsewhere

** total for all completed courses

Source: Robert de Nicholas, Division of Employment Security by union-management apprenticeship committees. The Federal and State governments provide standards of training and certification for those who complete the programs.

The training courses conducted under the apprenticeship program last much longer than MDTA courses - a minimum of two years, up to six years - and are designed to teach a much higher level of skill, to more highly qualified trainees. While being trained, apprentices receive regular wages, with increases scheduled during the training period. At the end of training, workers receive a certificate from the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training which guarantees their acceptability to employers in any locality; thus the completion of an apprenticeship course offers a high degree of future job security, also unlike the MDTA programs.

The bulk of the present apprenticeship program goes on in the construction industry; under the auspices of YCDC and the Federal Manpower Administration, an attempt is being made to breaden the range of industries which will offer apprenticeship programs and to induce the committees which control trainee selection to accept routine referrals from YCDC and the other DES programs.

In the three months since this effort was begun, Mr. Miller, the chief staff person in the program, has been able to open (but not fill) about 75 training positions to DES referrees. Because the apprenticeship entrance requirements may include such items as four years of high-school mathematics, the rejection rate for YCDC signups is very high. But non-whites are as eligible as whites. Up to this moment, however, non-whites do not participate in this program to more than a token degree - if that.

Other training programs

The Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee, made up of business and civil rights groups, seeks jobs for members of minority groups as well as upgrading and job training. Unfortunately, we have no reports on its progress.

The DES, in conjunction with other groups, is undertaking a "CCC" demonstration program at Belleplain State Forest, to test certain features of the proposed Federal poverty program. Of 120 applicants, 15 were chosen for the program; 12 are still participating. They work four hours a day and learn certain skills, while studying another four hours toward a high-school equivalency certificate.

A few private companies operate training programs outside the MDTA on-the-job programs. The Prudential Life Insurance Company is operating two training program: the first trains groups of ten clerk-typists in a continuing program of evening classes five days a week, two hours each evening. The second trains ten machine shop operators in a continuing program four nights a week. Bamberger's Department Store has a program for hiring part-time workers during the day, night and/or Saturdays who have agreed to return to school and meet certain performance requirements in their school work.

Evaluation of Job-training Efforts

A major limitation of the existing job training programs is their small scale. Adding together the MDTA programs enrolling about 400 a year, the apprenticeship program (from which Newark and its non-whites in particular, benefit little) providing no more than 50 placements per year for Newark residents, and the other public and private programs adding perhaps another 200 enrollment, we have a grand total of 650 enrollments a year, and placements of about 40 percent, or about 250 per year. At such a rate, it would take the programs almost 100 years to eliminate unemployment in Newark.

A second limitation is that current training programs are predicated on a "reasonable expectation of employment" immediately on completing a relatively brief course of instruction. As far as the majority of the unemployed are concerned, no such short course will sufficiently prepare them for competitive employment, the net effect of which is to bar them from the courses. This emphasis on immediate employability is indicated by the atypicality of MDTA trainees. While 19 percent of the national unemployed population were under 19 years of age, only 9 percent of MDTA trainees were; while 27 percent of the unemployed were over 45 years of age, only 10 percent of MDTA trainees were; those with less than 8 years of education make up 36 percent of the unemployed total, but only 9 percent of MDTA trainees had such a small amount of schooling. It is, of course, just these characteristics which typify the largest proportion of the "hard core" unemployed.

The "reasonable expectation of employment" works along with the employer's desire to fill his openings as soon as possible, but does not do much to improve a worker's general skill level.

There is also evidence that not too many courses are offered for desirable jobs. Some "hard to fill" jobs such as leather cutters and matchers, for which there have been courses, are relatively low-paying jobs, averaging $1.75 an hour. Few white collar trades, with the exception of clerk-typists, are being trained for, and it is not surprising that many courses have too few applicants and too few finishing the courses when they are given.

The Prudential and Bambergers private training courses are based on philosophies of placement similar to the MDTA's. Both programs have relatively high entrance requirements and thus do not serve the "hard core." The

Belleplain pilot project, which does try and reach the hard core, raises a different question: Will ghetto youth learn enough on the farm to permit his survival when he returns to the ghetto?

Current job training efforts meet the needs of only a small proportion of the middle core unemployed, rarely touch the hard core, and are unavailable to those presently employed whose job skills are obsolescing or who wish to upgrade their skills.

Prospects for the Anti-Poverty Program

The President's anti-poverty program has been enacted, federal aid to education may be enacted in the not too distant future, the United States Employment Service may be strengthened, and other measures may be taken in the war against poverty. In this section, we will attempt to construct a picture of the kind of effort we will be making in the next few years, and how effective it will be in reducing unemployment.

First, let us look at the anti-poverty program. Briefly, it provides for rehabilitation programs for 40,000 youth, on-the-job training for an additional 200,000 potential dropouts, a work-study program to help 145,000 needy college students, $340,000,000 to help communities wage war on poverty, a domestic peace corps to be known as VISTA (which will not be visible in its early stages), and equipment loans for small business.

How might all this apply to Newark? Assuming that Newark obtains 0.5 percent of these resources (based on its rough percentage of total unemployment), it could hope to put some 200 youths into the job corps rehabilitation program, aid 1,000 pupils to finish high school, help 750 go to college, and develop a general community program of broadened educational, recreational, health and welfare services amounting to about $1,700,000, sufficient to give a little assistance to many thousands of individuals and families in a community.

When compared with the needs as expressed at the end of Chapter II, this program will satisfy some of the needs, partially satisfy others, and leave still others without satisfaction. One basically good effect the program could have would be to effectively neutralize the equivalent of the present yearly production of high-school dropouts. Through the jobs corps and the work training programs, it would be possible to create basic employability in many youths and to give others opportunities to finish school and obtain the skills needed to compete successfully for steady jobs. The Community Action Program would help in accomplishing this purpose through a general reduction of problems and a general increase in needed services to the population or to needy segments of it.

Unfortunately, we must immediately look forward to a higher yearly production of high-school students, amounting roughly to a 25 percent increase, In normal terms, this means a 25 percent increase in dropouts, which suggests that the expected program will certainly do no more than permit us to hold our own, if not fall slightly behind in the production of new unemployables.

What the program does not do is to touch the problem of discrimination. Nor does it permit us to work away at the backlog of unemployment in any systematic way. In effect, it leaves us just where we were before: Neither moving forward or backward, but in a position to gain valuable experience along the way.

For even these potential benefits of the program to accrue, it will have to be better administered than it has been up to now. At the moment, there is no reason to be overly optimistic about the results. Not only has the current program been unimaginatively administered, but there is every reason to believe that it has sunk to the level of mediocre aspirations. Already there is built into the program a self-defeating attitude. There is no will to win, no real belief in the claim of every individual to achieve gainful, satisfactory employment. There is, on the contrary, an almost conscious attempt to keep the young people down, to aim low, to accept failure as their rightful heritage.

The basic inadequacies of present programs, the built-in will to fail, has been pointedly stated in the April 1964 issue of the Newsletter of the National Committee for Full Employment:

> 1) Whatever the program mix, the major concentration has been on making youth "employable." Generally, attachment to a program is relatively brief, so that while there are many opportunities for a short rehabilitative experience, the absence of more thorough-going help prevents the successful graduate from continuing to make progress. For example, if a youth acquires good work habits and some basic training, there may be no place for him to utilize these newfound qualities at the end of the program. In effect, he has been picked up for a short time and dropped back into the same objective situation.
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> 2) There is considerable overlapping of function. Every program, for example, has a placement service and is engaged in so-called "job development" - the jargon of the trade for finding job openings. Each program has a different angle or set of contacts. In New York City, JOIN has the leverage of the Mayor's Office, the Public Employment Service has a large apparatus that presumably provides coverage of the unskilled and semi-skilled job market; individual programs may be able to utilize the influence of board members or

> special arrangements with large employers. But, as the jobs developers go to work, overlapping is inevitable. The pool of jobs for relatively unskilled entry workers is not limitless; it seems larger than it is because of turnover, and many programs thus tend to confuse turnover with opportunity. Nevertheless, many sectors are canvassed by more than one program while other sectors may be relatively unexploited.
>
> 3) Even if it can be demonstrated that special programs are successful in one particular program area - finding jobs, doing training, carrying on educational activities - the implication is that the institution already charged with a particular responsibility is not functioning well. The question that remains is how that success of the demonstration (if any) can be fed back into ongoing services. So far, the most common response is evasion and the building of more and more new structures for still more demonstration programs. If the public employment service is inadequate in structure and personnel to do vocational counseling, if the public school vocational and occupational training programs are unsatisfactory, the addition of still more structures to perform the same functions is unlikely to have much effect on improving them.

The Newsletter goes on to speak of overhauling the U.S. Employment Service, calling for salary upgrading, in-service training, and most of all, "orientation of staff to the needs of workers being served, rather than merely to employers." The great danger is that all this fine money will be largely poured down the drain while the unemployed remain jobless and dissatisfied. The bureaucratic structures will grow fat, the industrialists will have workers trained at the state's expense, the schools will require less money from local sources to do an equally poor job. And even if the highest potential of the program were to be reached, the unemployment problem would still take a good twenty years to solve, long before which automation may have made a shambles of the present approach.

CHAPTER IV

A RATIONAL APPROACH TO UNEMPLOYMENT

For those disillusioned by current approaches to the unemployment problem, several alternatives have been put forth, which at first glance seem conflicting and incompatible. On the one hand, we have the call by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution for income to replace the jobs that cannot be regained, and on the other the position of the National Committee for Full Employment which stresses job creation. The third general position, largely established by government effort, is that the economy is basically sound, and that inadequate preparation of the individual for work is the basic unemployment problem.

While these points of view represent different approaches to the unemployment problem, they do not mutually exclude each other. They differ mainly in emphasis, each component being selected from the total problem complex as the most important. While the government remains largely placid in the face of automation, evidently feeling that retraining and mobility of labor will neutralize its most critical effects while the service and public sectors continue to grow at equivalent rates, both the Ad Hoc Committee and the Full Employment Committee feel that government effort is lagging. The Full Employment Committee stresses the need for more jobs through rapid expansion of the public sector and other measures to increase the number of workers to absorb a much higher rate of unemployment than the government apparently believes is coming. The Ad Hoc Committee believes that even the expansion of the public sector and all that can be squeezed out of the private sector will be insufficient to prevent the rapid growth of unemployment.

We are faced in the Newark Summer Program, at least in part, with the necessity for choosing one of the three alternatives as the focus for our efforts. We must determine where in the chronology of automation Newark is and might be in the near future, paying considerably less attention to long-range trends or to the national or world scene as a whole. What happens in Hazard, Kentucky, or New England or to Long Island defense workers will have little to do with what happens in Newark, New Jersey. To the extent that these grim reminders of the sudden death that awaits industries and regions in the wake of the automation revolution can help us to understand the problems of Newark, they are useful.

In terms of the present situation in Newark, one would have to reject both the program of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution and that of the National Committee on Full Employment as deserving primary emphasis in a Newark Unemployment Program. There is not in Newark today nor will there be in the near-term future a situation so desperate as to call for either income- or job-creation as the basic way of insuring decent employment or its equivalent.

In support of this general position, let us briefly review the national unemployment situation. In the Committee on Full Employment Newsletter, issued in December, 1963, a prepared table shows unemployment rising from about 5.3 percent in 1962 to 7.3 percent in 1965 and to 8.5 percent in 1970. This was its conservative estimate based on present rates of job creation; it believed that a lower rate of job creation was more likely to prevail, one which would result in a 9.4 percent unemployment rate in 1965. Suffice it to say that in mid-1964 the unemployment rate still hovers around the 5 percent range, making it doubtful that 1965 will see a rise to anywhere near the conservative estimate of 7.3 percent, despite the expected additions to the labor force caused by the post-war baby boom. In order for the prediction to come true for Newark, the next year would have to see unemployment increase by 25 percent, or about 6,000 persons, only 1,000 of whom would represent extra youth entering the labor market. Newark's unemployment rise from 1960 to 1964 has been on the average of 1,500 a year, not necessarily related to a lack of jobs.

A careful look at the unemployment statistics for Newark clearly reveals that the lack of jobs is not the basic problem. Consider first those who aspire to white collar or skilled craft employment. Fully half of these are not working solely because they are Negro. If they were white, they would be steadily employed. Then there are those who can only aspire to blue collar work. They are almost all without a high-school education, a high percentage are recent in-migrants (45 percent of the unemployed youth fall into this category). The fundamental contrast between the unemployment rate in the city of Newark and the three-county Newark Labor Market area, a three to one proportion, demonstrates rather pointedly that the high unemployment rate in the city of Newark has to do with something other than a lack of jobs. If its residents could achieve unemployment rates equal to those in the labor market area, absorbing jobs now held by people outside the city, Newark's unemployment rate would be cut in half without adding a single job to the total.

It is not probable, moreover, that the elimination of discrimination and the successful training of the city's unskilled jobless would result in an equivalent loss of jobs outside the city. There is a large list of "hard to fill" jobs waiting for applicants. There is also evidence to suggest that the provision of steady employment to both white and non-white males who do not have such jobs now will result in a substantial reduction of females in the labor force. (Proportionately 10,000 females more than the national average are in the Newark labor force.) Further, to staff the successful training of the unemployed would of itself create several thousand new jobs. Finally, it is quite likely that the more and better trained people there are at work, the better things will go for the economy as a whole, the more easily it can expand, the more jobs will become available. While it is not possible to state with any accuracy how many new workers the market can absorb or how many women will leave the labor force if household heads get steady employment, (both questions should be studied in detail), the indications are that the major portion of the unemployed can be absorbed by the economy without adding to unemployment elsewhere.

We have gone to some lengths to present the case for a non-economic, bread-and-butter approach to unemployment for several reasons, not the least of which is the necessity for adressing ourselves to the immediate needs of the constituency. Most people are employed; they are not. Why not? Because they are discriminated against or because they do not have skills. They have no illusions on these points. They see no job lack; they are just not wanted by employers.

We may believe that automation has made it impossible for them to get work, and that it poses a serious threat to all factory workers and even to white collar workers, but to ask a working man to hang his hat on that prospect - and on the prospect of getting a job only after a basic change in our economic posture - is to offer him a very uncertain position. In fact, the economy is not that badly off, much of our unemployment is covered by unemployment insurance (and often used more than needed); our man may get a job tomorrow.

Just when the economic picture will become "ripe" enough to use as a basic organizing tool is questionable, mainly because of the large number of unknowns. What skills are going to be needed in the future, how many jobs will be created by these needs, what will be the composition of the labor force, how will income or wages be distributed and on what basis, and a host of similar questions must be answered before we can accurately predict unemployment rates. When a crisis in Newark will actually arise will also depend on the rate of technological advance, the rate of lag in expansion of the public sector, the role the United States will play in world development and similar broad-gauge questions. At this point, we have no answers to too many of these questions, and we can therefore not accurately predict the date of the coming crisis. And that is no basis for organizing today's unemployed.

None of the foregoing is meant to suggest that income instead of jobs or that job creation has no place in a Newark Unemployment Program. In crude terms, the situation suggests that one-sixteenth of the need might indicate income as a solution, and that one-fourth might involve job creation. Fully three-quarters of the present and near-term future unemployment, however, can best be solved by the elimination of discrimination and by better education and training.

Within this general framework, it is recommended that the Newark Summer Program organize around three major efforts, with priorities as follows:

1. Elimination of discrimination in employment.
2. Adequate education, training and financial aid for unemployed persons.
3. Expansion of community improvement programs and city services.

The reasons for the priorities and the basic approach to each of these objectives is discussed briefly below:

Elimination of Discrimination

There are several reasons for according top priority to this objective. First, a stroke of the legislative or administrative pen can bring it about. No training is needed; no jobs must be created. It costs no money. It is a demand which reflects the basic handicap under which non-whites have been suffering, and under which they will increasingly suffer as white collar work becomes the predominant source of employment in the community.

The employment of non-whites commensurate with their education and skill levels, furthermore, would add to the stability of employment for non-whites and would substantially reduce the participation of non-white females. When 3,500 additional non-whites get white collar or crafts positions in Newark through the elimination of discrimination, a sizable number of women would retire from the labor force. Assuming that non-white collar aspirants now enjoy a 37 week work year at about 30 percent less a week than they might earn if properly employed, a 60 percent increase in income would result. This would permit some 2,000 non-white females to quit the labor force, giving 2,000 unemployed these jobs, reducing total non-white unemployment by some 5,500 persons. If discrimination were eliminated, the non-white unemployment rate would drop to 11.3 percent compared with the white rate of 9.6.

There are other reasons for making the elimination of discrimination the number one priority in organizing. One of these is the encouraging effect il will have on non-white youth in school and in training. Breaking down the pattern of discrimination will give more non-white youths the impetus to learn and to aspire to the better positions. And as Negroes enter the white collar world more fully, the non-white community as a whole will become more familiar with it, begin to understand it and become part of it.

There is also the need to politicize the non-white community, to enable it to share more fully in the decisions which affect them directly. Much of the power in the community resides in the white collar field, particularly in public administration. If the Negro community is ever to get its full due from government expenditures, it will have to be in a better position to influence the policies and administration of programs than it is now. Forcing entry into the white collar world, into government as well as finance, real estate and other commercial areas, will help to accomplish this objective.

Education, Training and Financial Aid

Second priority must go to demanding adequate education and training for reasons fully discussed throughout this report. About three-quarters of the unemployed are in need of help in varying degrees, some with very serious problems. Recent in-migrants are at a great disadvantage, as are all those without sufficient schooling. Youth is also in a growing bind, both because of their increasing numbers and the archaic educational institutions they attend. While many of their traditional openings are disappearing, they are not being trained for new opportunities. Skilled technicians whose skills are no longer in demand pose a lesser but still significant problem.

To tackle this problem successfully, education must be studied in the context of preparation for employment, starting from the pre-school level through college and post-high-school training, and including special programs for the especially disadvantaged, such as recent in-migrants. A second area of concern is the MDTA and anti-poverty programs, the role they should be playing in job creation as well as in provision of skills.

The third element of successful preparation for work is adequate financial aid while training is going on. A young man cannot be expected to stay in school or post-high-school training if his family needs the little money he can earn or if he needs pocket money. Nor can a family head afford the (to him) luxury of undertaking a long course of training if his family cannot be taken care of in the meantime.

The entire emphasis here is on education and training rather than on jobs. While it sounds easy to demand new jobs, while it sounds like a hardship imposed on the unemployed when we ask them to undertake training instead of being gainfully employed, we must remember that the creation of jobs is no easy matter. In response to a demand for jobs for the unskilled - unrelated to training - the government necessarily will develop meaningless work programs which forestall the proper training of workers that much longer. It must be recognized that these unemployed are largely inadequately trained and educated, and if they are ever going to be productive, those inadequacies must be corrected.

The demand for "equality of preparation" is itself a job creation measure. If there were such "equality," the number of teachers and other professionals involved in the effort, for example, would be substantially increased.

Community Improvement Efforts

One of the chief reasons for preoccupation with the job creation issue on the part of the National Committee on Full Employment, ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project), the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council and the Newark Committee on Full Employment (all of whom have made separate statements on the issue as well as joined in approving the Newark Summer Project outline calling for expansion of the public sector to satisfy local community needs) is their universal interest in improving the living conditions in areas where most of the unemployed live. It is felt that the unemployed could do a great deal to improve conditions in their own neighborhoods, performing a useful function and earning money at the same time.

In this simplistic form, this is a dangerous concept. Since the unemployed are largely unskilled, they are incapable of undertaking the major tasks of rebuilding - and social servicing - of their decaying communities. If enough pressure is brought to bear, they will be put to work on leaf-raking and tree-pruning projects, work which will be temporary at best, which will not basically improve their skills, and at worst, which will become a permanent institution. They will be employed at slave wages - as a substitute for welfare - as they are in Kentucky right now.

If such local work programs are initiated, care must be taken to insure that it is part of a real training program, that the work being done will become part of a comprehensive effort, that there will be stability of employment, that wages (after the training period) will be adequate, that it represents a real expansion of the public sector in a meaningful way.

It would be better, in fact, if the demand for expansion of the public sector is made without reference to the employment of locally unemployed persons, leaving the problem of adequately educating and training the unemployed squarely up to the government. If an expansion of community improvement efforts is adopted as government policy, it would normally follow that an expanded or new government service would be established which would recruit employees in the time-honored way. To this could be linked the need for programs which would help to supply this new labor force, with pressure directed not toward employing the unemployed, but to recruiting them for the training programs.

In effect, we are talking about the demand of the whole community, its employed as well as its unemployed, for a much larger program of improvement and rebuilding which will benefit them. Better housing, better city services, expansion of health, welfare, medical and educational services, programs and facilities for youth and for pre-school children, etc., all become part of this general demand.

In organizing the unemployed, the expansion of the public sector and the improvement of the community must be given the lowest priority, following

CHAPTER V

TOWARD A NEWARK UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

In this chapter, an attempt is made to set forth the general perspectives of an alternate plan for Newark's unemployed, based on the needs of the community rather than the interests of the power structure. The approach to a Newark Unemployment Program is based on the objectives set forth in Chapter IV, and on the facts presented throughout the report. Its purpose is to demonstrate how the specific objectives can be interwoven to form a unified purpose and plan, and to point the way toward the development of a specific plan and program demands.

A second section in this chapter deals with notes on organization strategy and tactics which have been assembled in the course of study. These are not meant as specific guidelines for action, but merely as ideas and suggestions for consideration. They are also presented here to show the relationship between basic objectives, general strategy and actual organizing techniques and issues. As organization proceeds and further research and planning are undertaken, a more focused effort should become possible.

A General Plan for Achieving Full Employment

A key element in the evaluation of any plan for the improvement of Newark is how it benefits or fails to benefit the people living in Newark. The city's present plans, as reflected in Renew Newark (issued by the Planning Board), may benefit business, but it does not benefit the majority of the people. These renewal plans are dominated by the desire to improve the climate for business in the downtown area, and by the desire to increase taxes by substituting industry and expressways for thousands of families. Few programs have been developed for eliminating unemployment, for renewing the school system or for improving local communities for the people who live in them. Based on what it does for people, Newark's current program must be considered a failure.

When planning is based on the expressed needs of the people, the planning process yields totally different results. To achieve an end to discrimination, the political and administrative power of Negroes must be extended on a large scale. Breaking down discrimination in the white collar trades will achieve part of this objective; increased training of non-whites in public administration and in professional and white collar fields will make possible the remainder. To do this, the school system must be overhauled to insure that non-whites get adequate preparation in the lower grades, that in high-school and college levels there is space and courses for helping to achieve this objective, and that in training programs, the administrative skills are not shortchanged. And since part of the objective is the improvement of communities, an area of hoped-for expansion in the public sector, the school system should take the lead in this kind of training.

As is evident, the school system is a vital key to successful community revitalization. Since unemployment is such a basic problem, and since it is mostly related to the lack of education and skills in the labor force, the key area of inadequacy at the moment is at the high-school and post-high-school levels. Just for purposes of illustration, let us pose as one possible solution to this problem the establishment of a major educational institution called the Newark College Testing and Training Center. To satisfy the kinds of needs we have in Newark, this institution would have to accommodate between 15,000 and 20,000 students. At the end of two years in the regular high-schools (whose class sizes should be considerably reduced by the introduction of this new facility), every high-school student would gc through a careful testing and counseling procedure. If his work were below standard or if he needed specialized instruction in music, art, science, etc., he would automatically be given this corrective or specialized work. At the same time, his future would be discussed, and his best aptitudes focused on, his financial status determined and help, if needed, given. If he chose (or were best fitted for) blue collar vocations, he would be assigned to vocational training - after finishing his regular four years of high-school. If he wanted to move on to college, he would be given specialized instruction or make-up work if needed, aided to go on to the college of his choice, or enrolled in the Newark facility itself.

A second major role of this facility would be the training and retraining of those already in the labor force. Testing and counseling would be standard procedure when men lose or are likely to lose their jobs, the market for skills assessed, and alternatives presented to the worker for discussion and decision. Training courses and financial aid - in addition to unemployment insurance - would be made available as necessary; a coordinated employment service would be provided as part of the standard procedure. Thus, in one place, all the services connected with training and employment would be located, and a coordinated attack on the whole problem would be established.

Our third objective has to do with the expansion of employment in the public sector, specifically in the area of housing and city services. While a plan for doing this must be prepared, such a program would differ from the official city plans primarily by being practical answers to current problems. New housing would be built at rents people could afford without causing large-scale displacement; major emphasis would be placed on rehabilitation and environmental improvements. In the community facilities area, needs for health, welfare, social services, community cultural and recreational centers and other needs would be supplied. A general overhaul and modernization of the school system would also be part of such a program.

To get such a program moving properly, government employment might have to be increased by as much as one half, and the skill needs would have to be relatively high. One obvious method for insuring that the needed skills were developed would be to emphasize such training in the city's schools. Greater emphasis on civics, politics and urban affairs throughout the educational system would be part of the plan. In the new College Testing and Training Center, moreover, specialized programs for the training and recruitment of urban specialists and artisans would be an important part of the program. Programs and courses in construction, engineering, planning, housing, public administration, health, welfare, architecture, police work, medical care, and hosts of subjects would develop the necessary skills and encourage college or vocational training necessary in large groups of students. Ideally, careers in government service would start in Newark's school system, students undertaking earn-as-you-learn programs at the post-high-school level.

It is to be expected that non-whites will get half those jobs and ultimately exercise at least half the power over what is done in the city.

What will the costs of such a program as outlined above be? The school and its facilities might cost upwards of $20,000,000. Staff and other expenses, including corrective work with high-school students, running the vocational training center and the junior college, the testing and counseling facilities, and the employment structure might run well over $12,000,000 a year. Financial aid to students and to unemployed workers might also run to $5,000,000 per year. Assuming the building is paid for over time, the average yearly cost would be in the neighborhood of $17,000,000.

Costs of improving the remainder of the school system, including additional teachers, an accelerated school building program and an extension of services to include pre-school and other programs, might cost an additional $12,000,000 a year.

In terms of community improvements, including everything from new and rehabilitated housing to improved city services of all types, more than $2 billion will be needed, amounting to roughly $30,000,000 additional needed from the public sector per year for capital improvements. An expanded work force of some 6,000 people would also have to be recruited for administration and operation of the new services and facilities, an additional yearly cost of $35,000,000.

Expansion of the work force in the public sector would amount to 10,000 total, and could be added at the rate of 2,000 a year, or at a somewhat greater rate than unemployment has been rising in Newark.

On this very crude basis, it could cost up to $100,000,000 a year to pay for increased services and improvements over present expenditures, about

$1,000 per Newark family; or the equivalent of an additional 16,000 workers earning an average of $6,000 a year. On balance, the elimination of unemployment will pay for all the improvements.

What we have suggested above is only the most modest beginnings of a plan, much of it obscure, based on the most crude types of estimates, purely an overview of the kinds of emphasis needed, the rough costs, the rough statement on feasibility. A basic study is needed to develop in detail the kind of community improvement program needed, the kind of school facilities needed, the increased staff requirements and so on. Such a detailed study might show ultimate costs as much as a third higher or lower (or even more), and is therefore necessary if we are to develop more specific program demands. (An outline of the kinds of studies required is given in the appendix.)

Notes on Tactics and Strategy

We now come to the problem of community organization, the inspiration of the man and woman in the street to do something about conditions. The basic problem is that of reaching the constituency, of identifying it and involving it. While this report has presented the basic issues on which the constituency is most likely to move, there is enormous latitude within these general guides, and the specific interests of that portion of the constituency actually reached may well require modifications of approach.

From what we have been able to gather, the unemployed are largely invisible. Most people say they are working, those who admit not to be working are at the fringes of the labor force. A wino will complain that he wouldn't be drinking if he had a job, but it is evident that might not be able to hold one if he had it. An older man with one leg, a diabetic, but presentable, wants work. Very young teenagers desultorily admit they are not working - but one hardly expects them to be anyway. How does one organize around this?

Or how does one capitalize on the impressionistic evidence that intermittent employment and underemployment is very heavy? The talk is about 90 day jobs with the Post Office, of low paying work in the Radiant Lamp Company, of short-term jobs like trucking, loading and shipping work. There is a generally uneasy feeling because of the high crime rate, and the men roaming the streets aggressively at night are their own nightmarish story. Or you meet a young girl who says she wants to be a nurse or a beautician, but is a key punch operator - and you wonder whether she will ever get the chance to be what she wants. There is a feeling that the middle-aged and older workers are in trouble.

How does one organize around this kind of situation? There are two general sources from which some help can be obtained, one of them the tables in this report and the other the institutional structures in which the unemployed might be found. In Table II, for example, we find that the highest percentages of the unemployed are among the non-whites under 25 years of age. Since the Clinton Hill area contains about 10 percent of Newark's population, and about 60 percent more non-whites than the average for the city, about 15 percent of the non-white unemployed in any category can be found here. This means that of the 3,600 unemployed non-whites under 25, in Newark, about 540 are in the Clinton Hill area. One out of three young people you meet is likely to be unemployed.

On the basis of this kind of statistical knowledge, one method of organization is to seek to make contact directly with this group. The area can be surveyed block by block to try and uncover the young people (to continue the same example). To interest that group in participating in any program, a number of devices might have to be used. They might become interested in the project if programs of interest are offered. One kind of program might be social; another, more directly related to unemployment, might be a series of sessions on job opportunities. Specialists in various areas could be brought in to discuss needs in various fields, the education and training required, the ways open to employment and so on. Discussions of discrimination and what to do about it, the setting up of an actual employment service operation in the office (or getting some other group to set one up), are all ways in which a directly-contacted constituency can be assembled.

Institutional structures offer a wide variety of sources for identifying the unemployed, but also have their limitations. Standing outside an unemployment office brings you into direct contact with most of them, but on a city-wide basis. Nevertheless, it could well prove to be a way for finding even the locally based unemployed.

Since the quality of education is such an important issue, the organization of high-school students is a possibility with great potential. Again, the locally based can be identified, and could well form the base for organizing the students throughout the school.

Names and addresses could perhaps (under certain circumstances) be obtained from the files of other agencies. The YCDC files contain 4,000 or 5,000 active names, almost a full count of the unemployed in the younger age groups. The Urban League has files on many of those who are seeking work and there may be other service operations with similar files. Such lists may or may not be considered confidential, of course, and they may be withheld for several reasons.

Still another possibility is to stand outside a plant which is notorious for short-term hiring and firing and organizing on that basis.

Once organizational strategy is decided upon, the question of what tactics to pursue become important. This, of course, depends on the group which is finally organized. If it is possible, for example, to organize a group of unemployed or underemployed non-whites who are well qualified for white collar employment, the obvious tack to follow is a direct attack on discrimination in the white collar field. Vigorous attempts to get jobs for non-whites through boycotts, demonstrations, confrontations, etc., should be made. An especially strong demand for more non-whites in the municipal and county governments should also be made.

In the training programs, emphasis would be placed on training which leads to white collar jobs, most especially for non-white males. The best approach here would be to identify a wide variety of jobs in this sector, and demand training programs to match. Housing Inspectors might be one example. We must always keep our total objectives in mind.

Basic Record Keeping

Whether direct contact in the local community or the organization of the unemployed through some institutional device is used, the keeping of adequate records is of utmost importance. For each unemployed or underemployed person, a record should be filled out showing certain basic data. Useful types of information to obtain are shown in the form on the following page. It contains essential information on education and employment experience, in-migration and financial status, job-seeking activity to date, the manner of job loss and aspiration for future employment.

This kind of record is useful in many ways. First, it enables us to make a start in seeing what kind of constituency we have, and what their major problems are. Second, it gives the opportunity for following up efforts to gain employment. Other forms for follow-up in job-seeking can be attached to the original intake form. Where job help is being offered, it helps in referral work. If records are properly kept, they soon begin to deliver very pointed messages of where inadequacies lie, and more meaningful direct action can result.

It will probably be impossible to keep from doing some referral work, even if a service operation is not intended. Among the straight service functions that may have to be facilitated is the filling out of Social Security cards for which forms can be kept in the office. For people just entering the labor force, the project could help in obtaining Age Certificates, needed by persons between 18 and 21 years of age. These services could be offered in cooperation with official agencies, in return for which the YCDC and DES personnel would cooperate in discussion programs on job-seeking and training.

EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION FORM

Basic Information

Name______________________________ Phone__________________

Address______________________________ Age_____ Sex________

Length of Residence________ Place of Origin____________________

Head of Household?_____ No. of Dependents_____ Race__________

Educational Achievement

Years of School________ Course above Elementary________________

College or Vocational Training______________________________

Command of English (Speak, Read, Write)______________________

Employment Status

Unemployed____ Underemployed____ Wks. Unemployed____

Cov'd by Ins?____ Welfare?____ Name of Investigator____________

Occupation(last or present job)______________________________

Higher or lower skill than previous job________ Higher or lower pay___

Years of Work Experience_____ Physical Disability________________

If unemployed, reasons for unemployment:	Registration for training program:
Cannot find job__________	YCDC______________
On vacation or sick leave____	Other MDTA(specify)____
Temporary layoff________	Other(specify)________
Strike________________	Registration date______
Promised job____________	Testing date________
Hasn't been looking________	Training results_______
Wants second job_________	__________________

Agency which helped most in finding jobs______________________

Aspirations(what kind of work he would like)___________________

Why he doesn't get it (or what he needs if unqualified)_____________

____

Membership in local organizations____________________________

Comments____

Interviewer's signature________________________ Date_________

Program Testing and Development

Adequate record keeping is the only way that the progress of constituents in their job-seeking efforts can be rationally assessed, that training programs can be monitored, that new programs can be developed. Among other possibilities, theycould provide for:

1. A systematic check on performance of local applicants for training programs, placements rates after successful completion, wage rates on the job, length of unemployment, evidence of discrimination, etc.

2. Organizing a group of eligibles larger than can be accommodated by a program; filling classrooms and offices to overflow; demanding additional courses.

3. Organizing those whowould like to participate in a program but don't qualify, demanding a program for which they can qualify.

4. Organizing those who have been in programs but dropped out because of grievances with the program, or those who completed programs but are still unemployed; demanding jobs for trainees, remedying of faults in the program.

Among the things to watch for in evaluating and testing training programs are the following: Do the programs being offered meet the needs which exist? Are enough people of all types being helped? Is enough being done for older, younger, less educated, less skilled, or other types of unemployed with special problems? Are training courses available to the underemployed? Are training courses available to those who may soon be discharged? Are aptitudes being developed or are bare skills simply being strengthened? Are training courses long enough to do the job? Are training allowances being given as often as they are needed? Is enough emphasis being given to earn-as-you-learn? Is adequate counseling and testing being given? Is employment service after (and before) training adequate? Is frictional unemployment (the time lag between the creation of a job and its being filled) being reduced through improved servicing or through adequate training programs? Is training of more value to an employer than to workers? Is there evidence of discrimination either on the part of the training service or on the part of employers who do or do not make use of it? Are courses reflecting the need for improved city services and community improvement objectives?

With respect to the last point, it seems once again desirable to stress the importance of integrating the approach to unemployment in a way which excites the whole community. Local action to dramatize the need for housing improvement is one suggestion. Whether done in a provocative way such as a self-help work strike in which a building is demolished or improved and the city presented with a bill, or whether it is done through buying and rehabilitating a group of buildings (with the help of a foundation or government grant) as a dramatic presentation of need and potential, such action would serve to highlight the integrated nature of the employment and community improvement issues.

Notes on Job Creation and Control

As the unemployed are successfully organized, and as the basic objectives outlined in this report are met, labor generally should begin to press for general demands in the field of job creation and job stability. The City should be asked to exercise more control over industry, and perhaps to enter the industrial development field itself, acting as a balancing force. The federal government would be required to undertake national manpower control for purposes of maintaining employment levels and full productivity.

While it is unlikely that the unemployed in Newark are in a position to make many such demands at this time, it was felt desirable to set down such information as has been assembled during the current study.

In an early draft prospectus of the Newark Summer project, prepared by Robert Heifetz, some elements of a "job creation" program were set forth. These included the creation of jobs through meeting community needs and went on to detail additional measures that should be considered, as follows:

> "...a continual shortening of the work week, a reduction in the age for voluntary retirement with adequate pension, an expansion of educational upgrading during ones association with the labor force, expanded vacation plans and programs for varying the work experience available to all who wish to try their hands at new occupations, whether temporarily or permanently, without sacrificing their job security."

In an early draft on the economic section of this report, also prepared by Robert Heifetz, he calls attention to the necessity for establishing norms for the private sector of the economy "much as has been in practice for years in most developed and developing countries throughout the world, especially as regards the right to layoffs without adequate notice for initiating action to create alternative employment opportunities, both in training programs for filling unfilled jobs, and for generating those jobs needed to balance those in need of them." (Experience of Other Countries in Dealing with Technological Unemployment, Bulletin No. ES-220, Bureau of Employment Security, Manpower Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor, August, 1963)

One can go further and call for the coordination of all industrial effort on a metropolitan basis, government assuming the responsibility for developing and maintaining an industrial and economic complex whose activities are regulated so as to balance jobs, perform basic functions for the community and which acts to coordinate development, production, distribution and consumption programming for the entire region - becoming an integrated production unit competing in the world market.

Appendix A

DETAILED DATA ON THE LABOR FORCE AND THE UNEMPLOYED IN NEWARK

The following tables, summarizing the data on which the discussion of the size and characteristics of the work force and of the unemployed in Chapter II was based, were derived largely from the U.S. Census for 1960, primarily the Detailed Characteristics of the Population for the state of New Jersey. There follows a summary of the methods used to derive them.

Table A. Age Distribution of the Labor Force.

The Census provides an age distribution of the labor force by sex but not by race. In order to achieve an estimate of the racial composition of each age-sex group, the overall proportion of non-whites in the labor force was applied to the population of each group, with slight variation toward a greater proportion of non-whites in the 18-to-24 age group and a smaller number in the others. This variation followed the pattern found in the labor force for the Newark Standard Metropolitan Area (Essex, Morris and Union Counties) for which the Census provides more detailed data than for the city alone.

In the male age groups from 18 to 64, the total labor force estimate was raised to acoount for an assumed depression of the labor force participation rates in Newark; see section below on Table II for a discussion of this point.

A working assumption has been made that no change has occurred in the size or age distribution of the Newark labor force since 1960. The New Jersey State Division of Employment Security and Rutgers University Bureau of Economic Research, Newark Manpower Projections, 1960-1970, indicate an expected growth of some 61,000 in the labor force in the metropolitan area, about half of which may be expected to have occurred by 1964. However, the decline in the total population of the City of Newark, only partially offset by the in-migration of Southerners of working age, leads to a conclusion that practically all of the growth in the metropolitan labor force has been taking place outside of Newark proper, which may even have experienced a slight decline.

Table II (text) and Table B (appendix) Age Distribution of the Unemployed.

The Census provides no estimate of the age distribution of the unemployed for the City of Newark. In order to arrive at an estimate, the age-sex-race - specific unemployment rates for the metropolitan area were applied to each age-sex-race- group in the Newark labor force. The resulting total was about 4500 short of the Census total of unemployment in Newark and the surplus was simply distributed among the cells of the table in proportion to the total each already contained.

The Census understates both the size of the labor force and the number of the unemployed. In order to compensate for this understatement, an examination of the Newark and national labor force participation rates was undertaken.

In an economically depressed area such as Newark, it may be expected that some members of the working-age population will remain outside the labor force, as they either drop out after long-term unemployment, or, if they are young, postpone their entrance. It might also be expected that as male members of the working-age population drop out of or delay entrance into the work force, female members of their households take their places as the primary household wage earners. Examination of the labor force participation rates in Newark should therefore indicate rates lower than the national average for prime working-age males, and higher than average for females. Because Negroes are hardest hit by economic depression, both effects should be more marked for non-whites than for whites.

Appendix Table B indicates that the difference between the Newark and national rates are in the expected directions for both males and females, whites and non-whites, in the primary working-age groups: 18 to 24 and 25 to 64 years. In the 14 to 17 year old category, all race and sex groups in Newark have lower participation rates than the corresponding national groups. Since this age group contributes labor force members largely on a part-time basis while most of its members are full-time students, it was assumed that Newark retains more members of this age group in school than the national average. A check of the detailed Census material on labor force participation by age and school status confirmed this hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that part-time work by high-school-age family members may be as important an income source to families in depressed areas as work by older women; thus the uniformly low participation rates in this age category in Newark may indicate that the job situation is so bad that even secondary wage earners willing to accept marginal employment are discouraged from seeking such work.

It may therefore be said that the male members of the prime working-age groups in the population who are not in the labor force to the same extent as their (white) counterparts in the nation form part of the unemployed. If jobs were available, they would be working or actively seeking work, and would be counted as part of the labor force.

Accordingly, the members of both the white and the non-white male working-age population who would be members of the (unemployed) labor force if national participation rates for whites prevailed in Newark were added both

TABLE A

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE, BY RACE AND SEX, NEWARK, 1964

Age	White		Non-White		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
14-17	1,500	1,400	500	300	3,700
18-24	9,200	6,500	5,200	4,600	25,500
25-44	37,900	18,700	16,800	10,800	84,200
45-64	27,300	12,900	11 ,900	7,500	59,600
65 and over	4,200	1,600	900	500	7,200
Total	80,100	41,100	35,300	23,700	180,200

Source: U.S. Census. See text for derivation.

TABLE B

NEWARK AND NATIONAL LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, 1960

age, place	participation rate (labor force/population)							
	males				females			
	white	Diff.*	nonwhite	Diff.**	white	Diff.*	nonwhite	Diff.**
14-17								
Newark	19.9	-19.0	13.3	-25.6	18.8	- 5.3	7.4	-16.7
National	38.9		40.3		24.1		19.2	
18-24								
Newark	79.8	- 6.0	75.8	-10.0	56.3	+ 8.5	56.9	+ 9.1
National	85.8		83.2		47.8		50.9	
25-44								
Newark	97.1	- 0.7	93.2	- 4.6	41.8	+ 4.0	53.5	+15.7
National	97.8		95.9		37.8		54.8	
45-64								
Newark	91.0	- 0.7	84.7	- 7.0	46.4	+ 4.0	52.6	+10.2
National	91.7		87.4		42.4		53.9	
65 and over								
Newark	30.4	- 2.9	38.2	+ 4.9	9.5	- 1.1	19.6	+ 9.0
National	33.3		31.2		10.6		12.8	
total								
Newark	77.3	- 3.2	79.0	- 1.5	38.3	+ 2.8	47.4	+11.9
National	80.5		79.4		35.5		46.3	

Source: U.S. Census. See text for derivation.

* Difference between Newark, white, and national, white participation rates.

** Difference between Newark, nonwhite, and national, white participation rates.

to the labor force estimates and to the count of the unemployed.

In order to arrive at an estimate of the number to be added, the participation rate differentials for males from 18 to 64 noted in Appendix Table B were applied to the appropriate base figures given by the Census. The resulting additions to the unemployed portion of the male labor force were as follows:

Age	Whites	Non-whites
18-24	643	601
25-44	250	954
45-64	232	680
Total	1,125	2,235

Table C. Occupational Distribution of the Labor Force

The Census gives detailed figures for Newark on the occupation of labor force members. These figures were adjusted to bring them up to the estimated total labor force given in Table A.

Table D. Occupational Distribution of the Unemployed

The Census figures were adjusted to bring them up to the totals given in Table II.

Table E. Age and Occupational Distribution of the Unemployed

The column and row totals in this table were taken from Tables II and D. Breakdowns within the columns, unavailable for Newark or the metropolitan area, were constructed from percentage estimates given in a recent report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security (for Philadelphia).

TABLE C

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE, BY RACE AND SEX, NEWARK, 1964

Occupation	Both Races		White	Non-White	Total
	Male	Female			
Professional and managerial	14,400	6,800	18,900	2,500	21,300
Clerical, sales, craftsmen	38,900	24,100	51,000	12,100	63,300
Operatives, service and laborers	60,700	35,100	51,500	44,000	95,700
Total	114,000	66,100	121,600	58,600	180,200

Source: U.S. Census. See text for derivation.

TABLE D

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED, BY RACE AND SEX, NEWARK, 1964

Occupation	Both Races				White		Non-white		Total	
	Male		Female							
	#	%*	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Professional & Managerial	500	3.5	300	4.4	700	3.7	100	4.0	800	3.8
Clerical, sales, craftsmen	4,000	10.3	2,500	10.4	1,800	3.5	4,600	38.0	6,500	10.3
Operatives, svc, laborers	8,200	13.5	7,700	22.0	9,000	17.5	6,900	15.7	15,900	16.6
Total**	12,700	11.1	10,400	15.7	11,500	9.5	11,600	19.8	23,100	12.8

Source: U.S. Census. See text for derivation

* Unemployment rate

** Discrepancies in totals are due to rounding.

TABLE E

AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED, NEWARK, 1964

Age	Occupation: Professional & managerial	Occupation: Clerical, sales, craftsmen	Occupation: Operatives, service, laborers	Total
14-17	---	300	700	1,000
18-24	200	1,700	4,300	6,200
25-44	300	2,500	6,000	8,700
45-64	200	1,700	4,300	6,200
65 & over	100	200	600	900
Total	800	6,500	15,900	23,100

Source: U.S. Census

Appendix B

EMPLOYMENT IN NEWARK AND THE PROJECT AREA

The following two tables give the distribution of workers in Newark and in the project area by major industry group. Time-series data for the project area was not available; if it were, it is likely that the movement would be for greater and greater divergencies to develop between the city and the project area, as the population shifted from middle- to working- to lower-class people. The figures for Newark alone, from 1947 to 1957, indicate the decline in manufacturing and construction and the increase in service and trade occupations discussed in the text.

TABLE F

EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP, CITY OF NEWARK. SEPTEMBER OF SELECTED YEARS, 1947-1957

Industry	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1957
Manufacturing	93,460	86,593	96,933	98,127	87,610	88,251
Whlsl. & Ret Tr.	44,523	43,468	43,771	43,836	45,327	48,058
Transportation	9,068	10.055	11,347	10,917	10,241	10,763
Comm. & Util.	10,136	9,161	9,354	10,635	10,253	10,531
Services	14,106	14,601	15,490	16,753	16,854	18,805
Fin, Ins, Rl.Est.	24,144	24,659	22,958	23,012	23,268	24,446
Construction	7,035	6,122	7,504	6,112	5,335	6,245
Total	202,472	194,859	207,357	209,392	198, 88	207,099

Note: Data are for workers covered by unemployment insurance and exclude those employed in firms with less than four workers, in non-profit organizations, and in government.

Source: New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry. Taken from Second Interim Report of the Urban Renewal Demonstration Grant Study.

Appendix C

JOB CREATION PROGRAMS

Newark's official programs aimed at the creation of new jobs consist largely of industrial promotion efforts, aimed at the attraction to the city of industries which might otherwise settle elsewhere. Groups working on these programs are listed below, along with a brief description of their services.

1. Commerce and Industry Association of Newark: Located at 605 Broad Street. Aids firms in renting, purchasing, or building office space and assists local industries faced with particular problems, such as relocation.

2. Newark Industrial Development Commission: An official city agency. Provides governmental and private assistance to new industries or for expansion of old ones. Promotes the sale and development of city-owned land.

3. Greater Newark Development Council: Comprised of high-level Newark business leaders. Provides financial support of large finance and service industries for local economic development activities.

4. Public Service Electric and Gas Company: Provides aid in site location and general development assistance to firms seeking sites in Newark.

5. Federal Small Business Administration: Makes loans of up to $350,000 for ten years at 4% interest to small businesses in depressed areas, for plant construction, conversion, or expansion; purchase of equipment; and working capital.

6. Newark Area Redevelopment Corporation: A semi-public corporation, supported by the City and Federal governments as well as private business interests. Just formed, it plans to offer technical and managerial assistance to small firms which are felt to have potential for expansion.

Appendix D

OUTLINE OF STUDIES ON EXPANSION OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR,
by Robert Heifetz

1. Inventory of unmet local needs: i.e. housing.

    a. number of substandard units
    b. estimated cost to bring supply up to standard through rehabilitation
    c. estimated man-days required to undertake work
    d. skill distribution needed and available to do necessary work
    e. retraining needs and resources available to obtain these skills

This same type of inventory would be undertaken for other community services and facilities, such as the need for new housing, educational, recreational, health and welfare services and facilities; the construction program involved in meeting these needs as well as the new jobs that would be created to operate these additional or improved services and facilities.

2. An inventory of services and facilities presently unavailable to the community which would improve the area's livability (day-care center, hobby center, cultural center, health center, meeting rooms, indoor recreation facilities, etc.)

3. Cost of the above and the sources of necessary funds, concentrating on demonstrating the need for greater Federal expenditures to supplement limited funds available at state and local levels.

The final product of this study would include not only a listing of the results of such inventories, but would also present them in some order of priority based on 1. a community survey and/or discussions, and 2. the form of a community development plan. Another dimension of the presentation might include 3. drawings and models illustrating how such an improved community might look.

4. Additional analysis would involve costs (or benefits) of:

    a. unemploymentt insurance
    b. public assistance
    c. free lunch
    d. agricultural surplus distribution
    e. medical services
    f. housing services
    g. training costs
    h. capttal investment to put unemployed to work

i. social service benefit to public
j. morale benefit to the unemployed
k. increased value created for society
    1. taxable implications (incomes, improved property)
    2. social service contributions to raising productivity (transportation)
    3. improved income distribution - and effective demand
l. the costs of non-use of manpower (labor value/hour) and capital

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NEW YORK VIEWPOINT 1

DECEMBER 5·1964

FORTNIGHTLY NEWSLETTER OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - 119 FIFTH AVE - NYC 3

801 ARRESTED IN U OF CAL FREE SPEECH ACTION

Early on the morning of Thursday, December 3, police began to remove student demonstrators from Sproul Hall, the administration building of the University of California at Berkeley. By 6:45 AM, Berkeley time, over 100 students had been arrested and were being taken to San Rita Prison and the Oakland City Jail. The students were charged with trespassing, refusal to disperse, unlawful assembly, and resisting arrest. Bonds are being set at from $800 to $1400 per student, depending on the charges. By Thursday evening, eight hundred students had been arrested, with bails totaling about a million dollars, and 500 police were on the campus with most streets blocked off.

The currest demonstrations are the continuation of a semester-long campaign by the Berkeley student body to gain the rights to advocate political causes on the campus, to collect funds, and to set up tables to recruit members and distribute literature. During the last few weeks, following the massive demonstrations of October 1 and 2, the students have been exercising these rights, in defiance of existing campus regulations.

On Friday, November 27, the University Regents announced their support of the administration position while 5000 students, accompanied by singer Joan Baez, demonstrated their displeasure.

Although the administration has made a few token concessions on rules changes,

(cont. on p. 4, col. 1)

NY SDS AT-LARGE GROUP PLANS FOR ACTION

by Ellen Schneider

The second meeting of the New York at-large chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was held on November 24. Thirteen new members attended.

The focus of the meeting was to establish the direction the chapter's activities will follow. We discussed the ways in which we could become involved in community action: should we become involved politically (e.g. through reform clubs) or should we function as a service group (e.g. through tutorial and rent strike type projects)? We decided that it would ne necessary to study the various methods of action available to us with the hope of evolving a program which will be able to encompass several areas, e.g. housing, employment, tutorials and direct political action. Before projects can be started in these areas we will have to develop "experts" among our members who would have

(cont. on p. 2, col. 1)

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Hoover: Senility at Work p. 5

NEW YORK VIEWPOINT
A Fortnightly of SDS News, Views and Events

Editor: Mark Scher
Editorial Board: Jane Berry, James Brook, Brent Kramer, William Phillips, Mark Scher, Marilyn Servetah, Ellen Schneider

FREE SPEECH

SEE (2) NEXT COLUMN

READ THIS

(1) DONT FORGET - 3rd meeting of the New York At-Large Chapter, 7:00 PM at the Peace Information Center Building, 218 East 18th Street (near 3rd Ave.) Agenda; Constitution, Newsletter, Free Speech Support, Viet-Nam, Community Organizing, Chapter Building - TUESDAY - DEC. 8th

DEC 8
7 PM

(2) FLASH - FLASH - FLASH - last minute... while printing this issue, received word that SDS, CADA, NSA and others will hold city-wide pro-free-speech rally on Columbia Campus, Wed. Dec. 9, at 3 PM - GOOD SPEAKERS invited.

(3) SDS National Council coming up Dec. 28-Dec.31. WE NEED HOUSING SPACE FOR EXPECTED 150 DELEGATES and OBSERVERS!! Contact Jim Brook, N. Y. Organizer, at 119 Fifth Ave., AL-4-2176 from 9-5 pm. SDS National Council meeting will be open to all - put down the dates NOW.

(cont. from p. 1, col. 1)

the detailed knowledge needed to assume effective leadership of such programs. In line with the discussion, committees were organized to investigate the possibilities of working in various areas of the city, such as the Lincoln Center section, Columbia University area, downtown Brooklyn and the Lower East Side.

The possibility for meaningful action particularly involving students was further emphasized by Peter Brandon's report about his work in North Carolina. Brandon, a representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Union, is working on new approaches in the civil rights movement and the role of unions and students in it. It has become evident, he said, that progress in the field of civil rights is not enough and that economic issues must now be faced in order to achieve a better standard of living for both Negroes and whites. The main problem in organizing North Carolina meat workers was getting whites to recognize that their labor problems are shared by the Negroes and that more can be accomplished by joint action. Crucial to the program was the union's establishment of an uncompromising non-discrimination policy from the outset. A substantial part of the program was carried out by Negro and white students from North Carolina colleges who were sent out to organize in their home communities on a person to person basis. A measure of the success of this technique is that 95% of the workers in one factory in Chatham, North Carolina, were unionized, a feat which professional organizers had been futilely trying to accomplish since the 1920's.

Several other topics were discussed at the meeting. It was decided that part of each meeting would be devoted to an educational program through the medium of either a speaker, a movie or a discussion. It was the consensus of opinion that the education of its members is a vital part of the group's activity.

Another aspect of the chapter's work will be the creation or revitalization of campus chapters in New York City. The at-large organization hopes to co-ordinate some of the efforts of local chapters and, through this newsletter, inform them of activities ofSDS members on other campuses.

Discussion of the constitution was tabled for the next meeting, to be held Tuesday, December 8th, at 7:00 PM at 218 East 18th Street. All are welcome to attend.

VIET WAR ASSAILED. . .

DEMONSTRATIONS TO URGE U.S. LEAVE

by Bill Phillips

Nation-wide and world-wide demonstrations protesting United States policy in South Vietnam will be held Saturday, December 19. Participating groups include the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the Student Peace Union (SPU), the War Resistors League (WRL), the Socialist Party (SP), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and others. Dave McReynolds of WRL is coordinator.

The call to action was issued as a result of a November 17 meeting called by the Socialist Party to initiate some sort of action on the Vietnam situation. Groups which have taken a "withdrawal of troops" position were invited, and agreed upon a joint statement, which said in part:

"The present war in South Vietnam has involved the US in a most shameful way in a war of atrocities being waged by the government in Saigon against the people of South Vietnam, only a minority of whom support that US-backed government, and none of whom have ever had a chance even to vote for or against it.

"In addition, every day the war continues there is the increasing danger of the war being carried into North Vietnam, or into China, or even escalating into a nuclear war involving the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

"As Americans we are profoundly ashamed of the role our government has played and the actions it has initiated or condoned in South Vietnam. We call upon President Johnson to declare an immediate cease-fire on the part of American forces in South Vietnam, followed by their earliest possible withdrawal."

The call further urges a conference of the nations involved, including mainland China and the United States, for the purposes of (1) forming a cooperative "program of relief and rehabilitation, carried on through neutral auspices", (2) securing, through free elections, a neutral, independent government in South Vietnam, and (3) insuring freedom from military intervention by any nation for the indochinese nations of Laos, Cambodia, and North and South Vietnam.

International groups such as IFOR and the Socialist International have been asked to take whatever action they can and will in other countries during the week of December 13-20, to show disapproval abroad of America's Vietnam policy.

Time and place of the New York demonstration have not yet been decided upon (at press time), nor has its exact nature been determined. Participating groups are free to make their own decisions as to what their part in the action will be.

SDS has endorsed the joint statement, and may be contacted for further information on the demonstration.

FBI CONTINUED

(cont. from p. 4, col. 2)

directors.

The time has come, the sighted man said, to lead the blind and stop letting them lead us into fatal collisions; we advocate Johnson's rescinding his order allowing Hoover to stay in office after he reaches the mandatory retirement age of 70 at the turn of the year, and Hoover's being replaced with a man respected by the populace and sworn to uphold the spirit, as well as the letter, of Federal law. The F.B.I. shouldn't be a joke, especially where its active presence could stop bombings, murders, and continued general harassment; let's get the Bureau to work, and begin by ridding it of its chief source of inertia.

References:

New York Post, November 25, page 5
New York Times, November 30, page 1
Newsweek, November 30, page 29

FREE SPEECH

(cont. from p. 1, col. 2)

it continues to refuse to negotiate with the leaders of the Free Speech Movement, the representative body of the students composed of 23 organizations representing sectors of the campus from the Young Republicans to student socialist groups. Also, disciplinary action is still pending against six of the organizations and a number of students.

At its meeting on the evening of November 30, the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement voted to present an ultimatum to the University at a rally at noon, December 1. The terms laid down by the student body demanded that before noon of December 2, the University drop all pending proceedings against the students and organizations growing out of the free speech and agree to leave the adjudication of rights guaranteed by the first and fourteenth amendments to the courts.

The student resistance effort has been hindered by the fact that their lawyer and almost the entire steering committee of the movement is in jail.

Student picket lines have been set up around the Student Union and the student snack bar. The Teamsters Union is unofficially honoring the lines, as are individual members of other unions, and no deliveries are being made to these buildings at press time. A strike of graduate students and teaching assistants was set for Friday, December 4, but it appeared that the University might not hold classes.

An unprecedented meeting of the faculty was called on Thursday afternoon by an ad hoc group of faculty members. Professor Henry Nash Smith of the English department is heading a drive to collect bail money for the arrested students.

The action began at noon Wednesday when 7,000 students gathered at a rally to learn that the University had rejected the ultimatum. Later in the afternoon 1,500 students seized Sproul Hall with the intention of remaining until carried out one at a time or until the University granted political freedom on the campus. During the evening and night the students remained, even though threatened with arrest if they did not leave by 7:00 PM. Rather than simply "sitting-in", the students organized the "Free University of California", listening to lectures by sympathetic professors, showing films, and being inspired and entertained by Joan Baez. Throughout this time the students were in contact with their outside command post via two-way radio.

Support for the grievances of the Berkeley students has poured in from all over the country. John Lewis of SNCC has made a statement in support of the Berkeley action in which he said, "University administration attempts to curtail the activity of the Friends of SNCC are an attack on the civil rights movement in the deep South..." Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, sent a telegram to University President Clark Kerr, saying, "We cannot complacently support Southern Negroes who risk their lives fighting for democracy while denying students of all colors the rights of a democratic society..."

East Coast activities of the Free Speech Movement are being coordinated from the SDS National Office. Contributions to the Bail Fund can be send to Prof. Henry Nash Smith, c/o Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York 3.

FBI CONTINUED

(cont. from p. 5, col. 2)

of course, to the question of who Johnson will pick as Attorney-General. Presumably a vital head of the Justice Department will be capable of revamping the F.B.I. under any career G-man, but the unlikelihood of a cabinet member's being quite that vital (compared with, for instance, R.F. Kennedy, whose vitality was excellent but whose outlook must have been somewhat dimmed by J. Edgar's vast seniority) makes it essential that the next head of the Bureau be, undemocratic though it may sound, a political appointee--someone capable of exerting on the Bureau a personal influence and initiative beyond what could be shown by, say, the present assistant

(cont. on p. 3, col. 2)

SENILE OR WORSE?

TOP COP MUST GO

by Brent Kramer

"I have been one of these states' righters all my life...." "[Governor Johnson] is doing an excellent job as governor of Mississippi." "[The F.B.I.] can't wet nurse everybody who goes down to try to reform or re-educate the Negro population of the South." Barry Goldwater? Robert Welch? Strom Thurmond? Sheriff Rainey? No; J. Edgar Hoover, head of the chief law-enforcement agency of the United States.

For forty years, J. Edgar Hoover has been in charge of the investigative arm of the U.S. Justice Department, and his 69 years of age seem finally to be catching up with him. He has, of course, never been idolized by liberal groups, but his reaction to Dr. King's charges have finally aligned those groups concerned with protecting civil rights and liberties in a strong stand against Hoover and the apparent laxity of his organization; according to the Student Voice (a publication of SNCC), "For Negroes, the F.B.I. has become part of the oppression of the South." Several newspapers and magazines have discussed Hoover's unwise moves, and one of Jules Feiffer's recent cartoons depicted an F.B.I. agent not even taking himself seriously.

For the head of the F.B.I. to so speak out against what is the established public policy of the Justice Department, and what was confirmed as policy by Johnson's overwhelming victory in this election, is unconscionable and contrary to every standard of democracy. Although we should not deny a public servant free speech, we must recognize that Hoover's monolithic control of the Bureau implies to the public that his policy is F.B.I. policy; "It is an untenable situation for the Administration and the Justice Department to be saying and doing one thing and the chief of the F.B.I. to be saying publicly something quite opposed.... Hoover should resign before arguing publicly his state's rights position," as James Farmer so aptly put it.

That the reaction to King's charges of F.B.I. negligence should have been of such magnitude and with such obvious disregard for public policy seems to act as a potential verification of the essence of the charges; even if the majority of the agents King denigrated were in fact Northern-born, perhaps their stay under the white Southern sun and in the tight political-police structures of the states of the cotton belt has conditioned them to a sort of lethargy about carrying out appropriate investigatory procedure. Why hasn't the F.B.I. arrested the murderers of the three SNCC workers (their names have been known throughout the country and by many people all over the United States) or, if they fear insufficient possibility of conviction, revealed their names for public derogation? [author's P.S.: this was written just before the arrests; and though I praise the Bureau for finally fulfilling its responsibility here, I feel this does not reflect at all on the inappropriateness of Hoover's continuing in office.] Assuming the object of investigation is the improvement of the revealed situation, for what does the F.B.I. exist save to do what it is not doing in Mississippi and the rest of the deep South? According to J. Edgar, the F.B.I. is restricted by having to receive Justice Department approval for each investigation it enters. If indeed this is a point of friction, the machinery is in need of oiling; the Justice Department should make the approval procedure a simple and direct one, and L.B.J. should make it a primary point to assure the removal of that part of the machinery which not only rusts but even turns backward, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

As for who should replace Hoover, this is a tricky question. It relates closely,

(cont. on p. 4, col. 2)

UNIONIZATION OF NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS

In America today there are roughly two and a half million non-profit employees of non-profit institutions. The vast majority of them are employed at wages of less than $3,000 a year and under working conditions which are reminiscent of sweatshop days. Whenever Negroes, Puerto Ricans or Mexicans live in sizeable numbers, they will usually comprise a majority of the workers in non-profit institutions. Because of job discrimination on all levels and in every geographic area in our society, minorities are forced into jobs such as these, where they are easily exploited.

Non-profit institutions include universities, non-profit hospitals and religious institutions. Hospital workers make up more than one and a half million of the workers in these corporations, and it is there that most of the unionization attempts have been made. As of 1961, workers had succeeded in organizing only 290 hospitals out of a total of some 7,000. Beginning, however, in 1959, workers and unions both began to show a more active interest in attempts to gain decent wages and working conditions for workers in non-profit institutions. In that year there were 214 recognition drives by workers in these industries. And the number has increased each year since.

The fight of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers for decent wages and working conditions and for the right to be represented by a union is a growing and important struggle in America. CORE up to now has been at best only slightly involved in the fight. If we fail to seek out opportunities to assist these workers now, we will miss a chance to bring hundreds of thousands of minority group men and women into the civil rights movement. In the belief that CORE chapters want to become actively involved in defending black and Spanish workers in exploitive conditions, this paper will discuss the prospects and problems of unionization for workers in non-profit institutions.

It should first be understood that the immediate goal of every unionization drive is the recognition of the union the workers choose by the institution and the betterment of wages and working conditions for the employees. The second can only be effectively achieved along with the first. Workers who are granted pay raises and other benefits, but denied the union they want, will still be subject to the paternalism and, worse, to the exploitation of the management. Getting a union recognized isn't usually easy in non-profit industries, however. CORE chapters should understand the different legal situations in different states which prevent workers from having a free decision on a union.

Out of the 50 states, only 7 include non-profit institutions of any kind in their Labor Relations Acts. What this means is that when workers organize and demand from their bosses recognition for their union, there is no legal way to force the management to accede. The workers may ask for an election in order to show that a majority favor a union, but the election has no meaning unless the management wishes to accept it. In the 7 states where non-profit institutions are covered by State Labor Relations Acts, the unionization campaign is somewhat simpler. In Hawaii, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin and New York if one-third of the workers demand a state-supervised election, they may have one; and if the union wins a majority, the institution must agree to enter negotiations in good faith.

CORE chapters in the above states should be the first to help organize their local hospitals and educational institutions. There is a real chance of a quick victory--better wages and conditions, and new recruits for the chapter as well. In the other 43 states (and in New York for educational institutions) CORE chapters and unions interested in organizing will find the situation much more difficult. Even if 99% of the workers are behind the union, the effort may be defeated by lack of legal machinery for recognition or sufficient force to impose their will. Chapters here will have to employ political prussure on the state legislature for the inclusion of non-profit corporations in the Labor Relations Act, as well as the normal organizing procedures. Fights in these states can be won, but almost all have resulted in changes in the law. A good example of this is the Local 1199 organization of New York City hospitals, which extended the law to cover these institutions; and the Lawrence Hospital drive, after which the law covered all hospitals throughout the state. (Note: the New Jersey State Supreme Court has just (May 22nd) ruled that non-profit institutions must recognize and bargain with their employees' unions.)

Well, if you are now decided that your local hospital workers or university employees need a union, how do you go about helping them? I suggest that you first see if any of the locals listed in the Appendix have been organizing in your area. If they have, go down and talk to the workers yourselves and find out exactly what the conditions are and what the union is doing -- then decide whether the drive seems welcomed by the workers, and whether you want to help. If no work is being done and the conditions seem bad, find out if there are a few workers (five to ten) who are willing to fight for something better. The important thing here is that these guys from the workers are the potential organizers and leaders of the fight -- not you. They must choose a union to represent them and to coordinate the drive. Choosing a union is a tough job, and probably the most crucial decision in the campaign. Help these few workers pick a good local -- find out which ones have good reputations and which are willing to take on a new kind of effort (i.e., non-profit corporations). Make sure that the workers feel good about the choice and willing to work hard for the drive. If the organizer from the local doesn't understand that the workers must organize each other, he's probably no good. It indicates that decisions will be made at the top.

Once the union organizing drive is under way, it's the job of the CORE chapter to go out to the ghetto community -- and to sympathetic whites -- and solicit support. The two biggest arguments you can use are: 1. Nobody should make poverty wages for a 40-hour week (connect with "War on Poverty") and 2. workers should have basic democratic rights to vote on who shall represent them. Try and get the ghetto and liberal politicians to back the workers' right to a union. Demand that the mayor ask the institution to allow a union election if the law does not require that one be held. If the mayor doesn't take a strong stand, picket him. In all such decisions, however, make sure that your activities are known and approved of by the workers you are aiding.

The above suggestions should indicate that at some point during the drive workers should be invited to come to the CORE chapter and to help plan the community part of the drive. They should be actively interested in a wider strategy than just the internal organizing efforts. Let's suppose that at this point a good majority of the workers have signed union cards and the union has asked for an election. If the state is one of the seven (now New Jersey, too) which require the election your job should be one of publicizing the low wages and bad working conditions, so that the institution is embarrassed and so that there is sufficient external pressure on the management that the workers win a good agreement. This fight is considerably easier for a chapter to win than similar fights in states without mandatory recognition procedures. You might dramatize the poverty with parade or rally, but mass action might not even be necessary.

In other states, however, you will have to be the social vanguard. Your fight will have to be geared to make sufficient publicity and public pressure so that the laws are changed and the workers win their demands. Let's suppose the situation is the same as it was above -- but there there is no mandatory recognition procedure. The workers have got themselves organized; they've asked for an election and have been refused. You've been making their conditions and the denial of their right to vote known to the community. Maybe you've even gotten some of the local politicians to support the workers. Things are at a Stalemate.

The following are things you might do to win from here:

1. Conduct a "Freedom vote" among the workers, so that everyone knows they would have voted for a union if allowed to vote.

2. Have a bill introduced in the legislature removing the exemptions of non-profit corporations from the law. Get the community to sign a petition for it.

3. Try sending a delegation of workers and concerned citizens to see the management and ask for an election. If they refuse, try sitting-in.

4. Establish a daily picket line at the institution- even if it's only a token, and distribute leaflets downtown.

5. Stage a community rally in support of the workers, and have them lead a walk to the institution.

Now if the workers are willing to strike, and if the union has got sufficient resources and support from other locals to carry out a good walkout, then you must be ready to use tougher tactics. It is absolutely necessary that all publicity by given a strike. Workers making $50 a week can't stay on strike for long. If it's to be short, it must hit hard.

1. Attempt to halt all but emergency deliveries to the institutions. Use sit-ins, stall-ins, or sabotage, whatever necessary. But you must show the institution that it will not be allowed to defeat the strike.

2. Step up your marches and rallies. Bring in outside civil rights leaders to bolster support. The union will get outside union leaders and support. In fact some workers making deliveries might be willing to turn away. But they won't -- unless there is a picket line there.

3. Start collections of food for workers on strike. Even if the union has some money, it will involve more people in the strike and the workers will certainly welcome the gesture.

Summarized, your job as a CORE chapter is threefold. First, helping the workers get started organizing themselves, with a union to back them. Second, supporting their demands both with direct action and with legislative pressure. Third, involving the workers in the CORE chapter; and the community in the workers' fight.

One last reminder -- it's the workers who must lead, but it's CORE who can help them win it.

Appendix:

List of Unions that Have Organized Non-Profit Institutions

(Very Incomplete)

New York

New York City

-- Local 1199, Retail Drug and Hospital Employees, RSDWU
Pres. Leon Davis, 300 West 45th St., N.Y. 10036

-- Local 144, Building Service Employees International,
Pres. Peter Ottley, 797 Eighth Avenue, N.Y. 10019

-- Locals of American Federation of State, County and
Municipal Employees, National President Arnold Zander,
815 Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

-- Local 237, International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
President Jesse Kraus, 170 Nassau Street, N.Y. 10038

-- Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union, Hotel, Restaurant
and Bartenders International, President Joseph Fox, 853
Broadway, N.Y. 10003

Buffalo

-- Local 235, Building Service Employees International.
20 Lyndhurst Avenue, Buffalo 16. President William J.
O'Neill

-- Local 168, Laundry and Dry Cleaners, President Michael
Errolino, 174 Franklin Street, Buffalo 2.

-- Local 66, HRBJ, President Hugo Sagliani, 890 Main Street
Buffalo 2.

Rochester

-- Local 466, HRBJ, Sec. John Litto, 81 East Avenue,
Rochester 4

Appendix

New Jersey

Newark, Jersey City, Trenton

-- 1199 (see under NYC)

Michigan

Detroit

-- Locals of Public Building Service Employees Union (national address only: 312 W. Randolph, Chicago)

-- AFSC&ME (see same under NYC)

-- HRBJ, 525 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio

California

San Francisco

-- Local 250, BSEJU (Building Service etv.)

Illinois

Chicago

-- Local 1656, AFSC&ME

-- Local 743, JBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters)

-- Local 73, BSEJU

Washington

Seattle

-- Local 301, BSEJU

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

-- Local 252, BSEJU

CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10038
FEB 9 1965

THE PEACE CENTER NEWS

volume 2 number 10

56 Birch WA7-3210

Party Saturday Night

January 30th at 9pm, at the Peace Center. Featuring folksongs by Mike Steele and others, and a performance of Gary Moffatt's original Canadian satire O Canada (revised.) A collection will be taken, with procedes going to pay some outstanding bills owed by the Peace Center. All welcome.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT PROGRAMS

February 3rd 8:30 pm-HIGHLIGHTS OF PAST PEACE CENTER PROGRAMS

> On the occasion of starting its third year of operations, the Peace Center presents tape recordings of some of its most outstanding past attractions. We will hear Marj and Bob Swann of New England CNVA lead a discussion of non-violence, Stratford stars Douglas Campbell and Ann Casson open the Shelter with a program of Shaw and Shakespeare readings, Scottish poet-politician Hugh MacDiarmid reading his poems, and performances by Hazel Goldenberg and Dave Broadfoot at a recent concert to raise funds for the American election.

February 17th 8:30 pm-WHAT IS A CLASSIC?

> Postponed from January, Gary Moffatt discusses the qualities which distinguish a classic with examples from English literature.

NOTE: There will be no program January 27 or February 10th (closed for alterations.)

A MESSAGE TO PEARSON...

The following night letter was sent to Prime Minister Pearson while he was visiting President Johnson earlier this month: "American atrocities in Viet Nam are a crime against humanity. Canada must no longer evade her responsibilities as Geneva Truce Commission member. We urge Canadian government put all available pressure on U.S. to cease attacks on North Viet Nam and accept neutralization of North and South Viet Nam."

AND ONE TO SUKARNO

which stated in part: "We understand that you may feel that the existence of Malaysia is a threat to your country and people, particularly since it harbours a military base which depends on the armed forces of Great Britain...We believe, nevertheless, that the United Nations is the ultimate guarantor of the peace and independence of all countries, and that without this world peace organization there is no lasting security for any people. It is the duty of all of us, as nations and as individuals, to work for the increasing effectiveness of the United Nations, which should represent every nation on earth. We therefore feel that, despite extreme provocation, your government has damaged rather than advancing the cause of its people, and of all peoples, in withdrawing..." (Note-a letter has also been sent to Great Britain protesting the build-up of arms in Malaysia.)

MOFFATT'S MISCELLANEOUS MUSINGS

The Deputy-Since the death of Brecht there has been little serious attempt to deal dramatically with man's responsibility to men. Camus and Sartre have been more concerned with man's responsibility to himself; Albee has handled the theme but weakened it through the overinfluence of Becket and Pinter. It is refreshing to see a play abandon the cult of the absurd, speak out clearly and boldly and in doing so set straight the historical role of a world leader. Unfortunately, the effect is weakened by very serious dramatic deficiencies. In cutting the play to 2½ hours the Crest has deleted many of the faults, including lengthy divergences into superfluous characters like Gerstein and the fate of individual Jews. Other faults could not be removed without cutting the work below standard play length. For instance the confrontation of the pope by the young Jesuit, which should be the climax, has been considerably blunted in impact by having the Jesuit go over the same ground in previous scenes with various other church officials: the arguments both men will use are by now predictable. Most of the cast indulges in overacting more worthy of a 19th century melodrama, Ian Burton as the Jesuit being a welcome exception. In spite of these serious drawbacks the play is worth seeing-many of its scenes do come off quite well and the message is truly timeless.

The CBC-It is sometimes hard to account for CBC policy. Recently they insisted on showing two lengthy interviews with Nazis in a short period of time (thereby giving nationwide publicity and a quasi-respectability which will attract much right-wing support to this handful of sick men), yet they cancelled what was described as a "mild satire" on Canadian-American relationships by the Second City, causing one of their best producers to resign. The only way to convince the CBC that such tactics are unwelcome is to barage them with angry letters.

The Films of 1964-Hitherto uncritically worshipped in Hollywood, the military mind was attacked through satire (The Americanization of Emily) and drama (Seven Days in May.) Its weapons were also attacked through satire (Dr. Strangelove) and drama (Fail Safe.) Cinema Verite reached new heights (The Island, Only One New York) and new lows (Mr. Pearson.) Among directors who showed deterioration were Ingmar Bergman (The Silence, All About Women), Carl Foreman (Behold a Pale Horse) and Francois Trauffaut (The Soft Skin.) Wicked old British colonialism was rekindled by Zulu and Guns of Batasi (the second much less pretentious and more commendable.) The least wholesome trend was that towards presenting attractive criminals committing robbery (Topaki) and murder (The Best of Everything) in a way sympathetic to the criminal. Musicals continued in disrepute despite the sucessful filming of My Fair Lady.

The best performances came from Marcello Mastroianni in The Organizer and the Japanese woman in the island. Memorable performances were also given by Stanley Holloway as one of London's undeserving poor, Richard Attenborough as a British sergeant-major, Henry Fonda as an American president, Gunnar Bjornstrand as a minister without faith, George C. Scott as a dim-witted American general talking glibly of megadeaths and Robert Morley as a barrister defending four teenagers accused of murder.

CURRENT THREATS TO WORLD PEACE

Viet Nam

It has now become quite clear that this war has been actively extended into North Viet Nam by the United States, whose spokesmen have made no denial of the fact that U.S. bombers have recently been shot down in the territory of North Viet Nam. Other countries (notably China) can only regard this as an intolerable provocation. China takes as partisan a view on the opposite side as the USA does to the political developments in this part of the world, although it has not interfered militarily to nearly the same extent.

Viet Nam is known to be the recipient of "special methods" of warfare, including the widespread use of jellied gasoline and of poisonous chemicals. A recent report states: "Thousands of villages have been burned with naplam gas, and huge areas drenched with poison chemicals, killing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, as well as domestic animals ...The toll of dead, wounded and burned is now one million."

Is this the right "showcase of the West" for the people of Asia? It is certainly being used as such by those who wish to turn the people of Asia against the West. What better propaganda could they find?

It has been made clear that both North and South Viet Nam will accept neutralization of the area...So why not? For in this war the United States is defeating not "the enemy" but itself, and the cause of Western Democracy.

Indonesia

President Sukarno has announced the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations as a result of the admission of Malaysia to the Security Council. All advocates of peace must deplore the fact that this country has decided to leave the world organization, which is the ultimate arbiter and hope for peace for all countries and all people.

It is necessary, on the other hand, to bear in mind what Malaysia represents to many of the peoples of Asia, and to Indonesia in particular. Malaysia has been called an unnatural, abnormal formulation, in effect a colony of Britain, operating deliberately against Indonesia, and harboring a military base depending on the armed forces of Britain.

It should be recalled also that Sukarno has stated in the past, concerning his dispute with Malaysia, that he would accept the findings of an Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission in this matter. One acknowledged exper on Indonesia and Southeast Asia recently gave the opinion (in a broadcast over the CBC) that he would still stand by this pledge. So why should no this method be attempted? What can be achieved by the methods of East and West, 'if blood be their argument?"

continued on page four.

The Congo

A great deal of anger has been aroused in Western countries lately over the murder and maltreatment of missionaries in this area. It is advisable to consider, not only some of the terrible blunders made by the West, and also by the United Nations in this part of the world, but also to recall something of the historic (if frequently unwitting) role of Christian missionaries in backward countries. Thus Will Durant, in Volume 1 of his "Story of Civilization", refers to the conflict between the rulers of Japan and the imperialist countries in the late 16th century. Refering to the dedicated ruler Iyeyasu, he relates:

> his resentment was stirred by the discovery that missionaries sometimes allowed themselves to be used as vanguards for conquerors, and were, here and there, conspiring against the Japanese state. In 1614 he forbade the practice or preaching of the Christian religion in Japan.

A footnote to this account relates [illegible] in 1596, a Spanish galleon was driven unto a reef off the coast of Japan and was subsequently appropriated by the Japanese authorities. The pilot of the vessel, by name Lanchedo, subsequently protested to Japan's Minister of Works, called Masuda.

> Masuda asked how it was that the Christian Church had won so many lands to be subject to one man; and Lanchedo...answered: "Our kings begin by sending, into the countries they wish to conquer, religieux who induce the people to embrace our religion; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians; and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest."

When one considers the confusing, conflicting influences to which many Africans have been subjected in recent years, few of them with the benefit of education in coping with those pressures, together with the exploitation to which they have been subjected for centuries, it is not surprising if their confusion and anger combine to produce some of the tragic consequences that we have recently learned about. While not condoning these atrocities, we must weigh them against those committed by the Belgians in centuries of misrule of the Congo and, in recent months, by their mercenaries.

authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash.

return address:
Toronto Peace Center
56 Birch Avenue
Toronto 7.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York NY

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Val —
for
Wash area
press

The following night letter was sent to:

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

ATTORNEY GENERAL KATZENBACH

JUSTICE DEPT. WASHING, D. C.

SENATE MAJORITY LEADERMANS FIELD

U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

STRONGLY PROTEST COMPROMISE ON VOTING RIGHTS BILL THUS WEAKENING ITS EFFECTIVENESS. URGE COMPLETE BAN ON POLL TAX AT LEAST IN ALL STATES COVERED BY BILL. ALSO URGE ANY PREREQUISITE EXCEPT RESIDENCY BE FULFILLABLE 45 DAYS BEFORE ANY ELECTION.

APRIL 30, 1965

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SPUR

CORE
38 PARK ROW FEB 9, 1965
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10038

"There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't take part; you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machines will be prevented from working at all."

---

newsletter - w.e.b. dubois clubs of america

JANUARY 1, 1964

The man whose words we print above, where Dr. DuBois' usually are, refers to no more odious machine than the University of California at Berkeley. No more, no less. Those are the words which stopped the machine, which precipitated one of the first general strikes in the history of higher education in the United States, which shut down the main campus of the world's largest university for three days. This is not the place to write the history of the Battle of Berkeley, the months of demonstrations, negotiations, disappointment and duplicity which preceeded Mario Savio's declaration, the sit-in which followed, the mass arrests, and the strike. The National Office will print a lengthy history of these events as soon as possible. Now is the time only for some reflexion on the meaning of those events.

When Savio spoke he did so as a leader in the best sense of that word. He was not expressing a personal opinion or trying to exhort and persuade; he was merely articulating the conviction of thousands; he was merely leading the students at Cal

11

where *they* wanted to go. For the Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Cal is, indeed, a movement. It is not an organization, in the sense that the DuBois Clubs or CORE are organizations, operating *among* the people -- the FSM *is* the people, is effectively the majority of the students of the University of California. (We don't listen to quibbles about statistics when a pro-UC administration rally draws 500 at the same time the FSM leadership is speaking to 10,000, we know what to call the majority.) In the FSM, leadership and organization simply make sentiment clear, makes action coherent and disciplined.

To many ears in other places, Savio's words must seem oddly, unrealistically militant . It must seem sheerly incredible that even scores, much less thousands, would respond with cheers and sacrifice to act upon those words, but it happened at Cal. To understand how it happened one must understand the details of months of activity, the conditions peculiar to the Berkeley campus, the magnificent blundering of campus officialdom which steadily threw student and faculty sentiment behind the FSM and which steadily drove the FSM into more and more militant postures. But the basic issues and motives are clear and widely relevant.

To call it a movement for Free Speech is something of a misnomer. Free Speech *was* at stake - the liberty to advocate freely on campus - but also at stake were other forms of political freedom, the liberty to organize, meet, solicit membership and funds on campus. A large part of the success of the FSM is the result of the clear and undeniable justice of its demands: NOTHING LESS THAN THE FIRST AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS ! read the placard. If nothing else, the last three months at Cal prove that American students *will* fight to defend democracy. But they prove much more. The Battle of Berkeley has shown that the struggle to maintain and extend the political liberties of " bourgois democracy " is not a petty, unenlightened business best left to the liberals.

First of all, no one doubts that that fight was not simply for principle. It was the practical liberty of Cal students to continue to throw their organizations and their bodies into the Bay Area Civil Rights movement, perhaps the most militant and effective CR movement in the North. Second, no one doubts that, in one sense, the enemy was not the "liberal" administrators of UC, but the ultra-right in California (principally William Knowland, Barry's big boy in the state) which brought the pressure to clamp down on campus civil liberties last September. The victory of principle (if it is yet victory) is practically defiance of and a defeat for that ultra-right.

But still more, as things developed, the struggle changed in nature. To the demand for freedom from un-democratic obstruction and harassment of constitutional liberties was added the demand for democracy on campus --- that is to say, the freedom of the students (and the faculty) to participate in the governing of the University. Each new provocative, arbitrary, callous act of the administration added force to the question: Who should rule this, our community? Into the movement students poured all their resentment against paternalism, impersonality, meaningless curricula, sand-box "student government", kept student press, instruction by television, administration by decree and IBM , achievment by conformity, success by service to the status quo. (Many of the faculty have their own similar reasons for rancor which they vented admirably, at long last, in defense of the goals of the FSM.)

In this "simple fight for liberal principle" thousands of students learned to question the very basis of power in their community. They ripped through the smooth facade of liberal rhetoric and stared right into the eye of that power's ultimate resource and foundation: the helmeded, black-jacketed police of Oakland and the state of California.

Those thousands did learn about liberals. They learned that there is no such thing as and "establishment liberal". University President Clark Kerr, one of the nation's leading liberals, showed them that, when push comes to shove, you've got to choose. Kerr forsook liberalism for the establishment - that poor, bewildered pundit. Those thousands also learned that liberals, when they stick to principle, can be a trong, progressive force; that faculty, which finally swung around to support

Reprinted from the San Francisco Chronicle

THE TRAGEDY AT THE GREEK THEATER

Ralph J. Gleason

"I agree with you that this may seem to be a rather theatrical performance today," President Kerr said at the tragedy presented by the University of California Monday in the Greek Theater. And then he added "thanks to the audience, not to those of us up here."

And what he said had the sad ring of a truth greater than he knew because, as it has since the beginning, the dynamic of the whole tragicomedy, the whole farce, the whole incredible sequence of events has, indeed, come from the students and not from their elders.

* * *

"Indeed I live in the dark age," Berthold Brecht wrote 30 years ago, ". . . a smooth forehead betokes a hard heart..." And it is obvious that the students and the student leaders are not the smooth-forehead IBM products their elders want them to be (and in so wanting havebecome themselves). It is, really a continuing contrast in styles.

"There is a time whne the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick, at heart that youcan't take part; you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all apparatus and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machines will be prevented from working at all."

Those were the classic words of Mario Savio as he led the sit-in at Sproul Hall last week, later heard on the magnificent KPFA documentary.

* * *

And then the next morning-Berkeley's Black Thursday-the armed, booted and helmted police infested the building and dragged the students down the stairs, carefully covering the windows of the stairwell with newspaper so they could operate unseen.

"Don't drag 'em down so fast," one cop said to another. "Take 'em down a little slower, they bounce more that way."

It has been a contrast and a confrontation in styles all along, a struggle between a C. Wright Mills - Paul Goodman-Catch 22 generation for whom the bomb dropped before they were born and a generation where cleanliness is next to godliness and you don't make waves, must ride on them.

And the ultimate tragedy is that the older generation will never see how wrong it is, how deeply it has misjudged these youngsters, how sadly it has maligned them and how deviously it has taken refuge in rhetoric and in legalities when the youth has been speaking in plain moral terms.

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"We have been betrayed by articulate intellectuals, we have been betrayed by men who know better," the Graduate Students cries in Lawrence Ferlinghetti's playlet, "Servants of the People" in his newbook, "Routines" (New Directions). "We have no dialogue," and he adds," this is the true sadness of our position."

But the bright side, the redeeming feature of the adult tragedy whose most macabre moment came when the policeman slammed his arm across Mario Savio's throat, not only to remove him from the stage but to keep him from speaking (and what was it all about but the right to speak?) is what these students have done.

In the face of a university which abandoned its nerve center to armed police. on the first university campus outside Mississippi to be taken over by the cops, dragged to jail by cops who removed their badges so as not to be identified, in the face of a torrent of apoplectic outrage from the elders of the tribe who felt their positions threatened, this generation has stood up and continued to speak plainly of truth.

"When you go in, go with love in your hearts," Joan Baez said. Those words, and Mario's eloquent speech, remain the only rhetoric of these ten weeks that history will remember. Literature, poetry and history are not made by a smooth jowl and a blue suit. They are made with sweat and passion and dedication to truth and honor."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Friends:

In the opinion of this writer, the editorial in SPUR for October has a great deal of importance, and promises well for the future of the DuBois clubs, if it is taken as seriously as it deserves. It points to the sterility of traditional operations with political theories and ideas (discussion), and says "Understanding the relation between theory and practice, we emphasize that a true grasp of the movement can only come through experience..." It proposes in place of mere discussion, work not just in the small world of the campus, but in the community, on the problems of jobs, welfare rights, etc.

I miss in the Nov. 13 issue any further specification or planning of projects of the nature suggested; all positive proposal in the editorial are for actions recommended to the government, rather than actions the clubs themselves are to initiate. It is always hard to take the first step in a new direction!

In the same issue, under the head "I dissent" is a lettery by Terence Hallinan, which would seem to contradict: "...we are not simply an action organization. Our primary contribution is...an ideological one...developing a socialist perspective for young people in this country." It might be thought that the intetion here is to quarrel with such a statement as this, in defense of the needs of an organization adapted to action, to oppose the two sides. No.

For what is a "socialist perspective", what is the content of that expression? Socialists today, preoccupied with narrow political problems, or mayhap the affairs of a contracting labor movement, too often forget what socialism has been classically (and must be again, now that the years of demoralization, defeat, and diminishing perspectives are passing): namely a worldview and philosophy, and the science of the general interconnections of all fields of knowledge; correspondingly, often forgotten as well is that socialists were classically enjoined to go in their work not merely among the students, the workers, the minorities, not even merely among the deprived in general -- but to go into all sections of society. The ancestor of

(Continued on page 6)

AREA REPORTS

CHICAGO: A four point campaign to help end the war in Vietnam has been started. All the members will wear and distribute black buttons to symbolize mourning for those murdered in that war. Each DuBois Club in the area will distribute leaflets to explain the buttons and explain the issues involved in the war. A petition will be circulated asking the Johnson administration to respond to the calls of world leaders for a negotiated settlement of the war. The campaign will end with a speech given by Senator Wayne More sometime in January. Every month one of the local Clubs in the Chicago area will treat all the other clubs to a social or educational affair.

REGIONAL COUNCIL MEETING: It was decided that the Midwest clubs should center their activities around the slogan "train for jobs--not for war". The hope was expressed that after the meeting in early January of the National Coordinating Committee a similar campaign be launched as a national project.

IOWA: Students at the University of Iowa have decided to form a DuBois Club there. They feel that at present the chances for establishing a large, effective and influential club are excellent. They have just written to the National Office asking for some more copies of the Culture & Education pamphlet to sell in the campus bookstore.

MINNESOTA: At a meeting of the Program and Research committee these proposals for action were taken: (1) Formation of a Jobs for Youth council (2) Endorsement of the Minnesota plan against discrimination in employment (3) Elected DuBois club representatives to both groups.

On December 19 the club took part in a nationwide "End the War in Vietnam" demonstration. They also recently held a film party and went to see the Organizer. And, in between things, they are distributing and putting up stickers that say "Teach love not hate, don't buy war toys."

(Continued Page 8)

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In the opinion of this writer, the editorial in SPUR for October has a great deal of importance, and promises well for the future of the DuBois clubs, if it is taken as seriously as it deserves. It points to the sterility of traditional operations with political theories and ideas (discussion), and says "Understanding the relation between theory and practice, we emphasize that a true grasp of the movement can only come through experience..." It proposes in place of mere discussion, work not just in the small world of the campus, but in the community, on the problems of jobs, welfare rights, etc.

I miss in the Nov. 13 issue any further specification or planning of projects of the nature suggested; all positive proposal in the editorial are for actions recommended to the government, rather than actions the clubs themselves are to initiate. It is always hard to take the first step in a new direction!

In the same issue, under the head "I dissent" is a lettery by Terence Hallinan, which would seem to contradict: "...we are not simply an action organization. Our primary contribution is...an ideological one...developing a socialist perspective for young people in this country." It might be thought that the intetion here is to quarrel with such a statement as this, in defense of the needs of an organization adapted to action, to oppose the two sides. No.

For what is a "socialist perspective", what is the content of that expression? Socialists today, preoccupied with narrow political problems, or mayhap the affairs of a contracting labor movement, too often forget what socialism has been classically (and must be again, now that the years of demoralization, defeat, and diminishing perspectives are passing): namely a worldview and philosophy, and the science of the general interconnections of all fields of knowledge; correspondingly, often forgotten as well is that socialists were classically enjoined to go in their work not merely among the students, the workers, the minorities, not even merely among the deprived in general -- but to go into all sections of society. The ancestor of

(Continued on page 6)

AREA REPORTS

CHICAGO: A four point campaign to help end the war in Vietnam has been started. All the members will wear and distribute black buttons to symbolize mourning for those murdered in that war. Each DuBois Club in the area will distribute leaflets to explain the buttons and explain the issues involved in the war. A petition will be circulated asking the Johnson administration to respond to the calls of world leaders for a negotiated settlement of the war. The campaign will end with a speech given by Senator Wayne More sometime in January. Every month one of the local Clubs in the Chicago area will treat all the other clubs to a social or educational affair.

REGIONAL COUNCIL MEETING: It was decided that the Midwest clubs should center their activities around the slogan "train for jobs--not for war". The hope was expressed that after the meeting in early January of the National Coordinating Committee a similar campaign be launched as a national project.

IOWA: Students at the University of Iowa have decided to form a DuBois Club there. They feel that at present the chances for establishing a large, effective and influential club are excellent. They have just written to the National Office asking for some more copies of the Culture & Education pamphlet to sell in the campus bookstore.

MINNESOTA: At a meeting of the Program and Research committee these proposals for action were taken: (1) Formation of a Jobs for Youth council (2) Endorsement of the Minnesota plan against discrimination in employment (3) Elected DuBois club representatives to both groups.

On December 19 the club took part in a nationwide "End the War in Vietnam" demonstration". They also recently held a film party and went to see the Organizer. And, in between things, they are distributing and putting up stickers that say "Teach love not hate, don't buy war toys."

(Continued Page 8)

NEW YORK - Reprint from The Nitty-Gritty*

MFY FIGHTS FOR ITS LIFE

Mobilization For Youth was organized as a test project to fight poverty in our neighborhood. It's easy to see why the Lower East Side was their landing ground. Where else could you find moral corruption, destruction, and poverty so openly? The East side has been my neighborhood all my life, and I've seen and done these things myself. I thought such things would never end. People I knew were unemployed, on welfare, not because they were hustlers or had no ambition, but because they had no way out.

Some people in this country think that poverty is a joke, but when you have scarcely enough to keep going day after day always worrying where the family's next meal is coming from, it isn't funny.

Unemployment is a cause of poverty. A teenager in school cannot learn when he has to come home to a dump and he can't get a decent meal. The first thing you know he quits school so he can get a job and hustle some bread so he can eat. Pretty soon he loses his job and maybe starts jitterbugging, stealing, drinking and maybe starts on junk. Then he gets busted and after that he doesn't stand a chance.

Then MFY moved in to try to straighten some of these guys out. They started programs to train and help the unemployed youth. It gave them a way to face their problems. It helped cut down gang-fighting and helped some people find jobs. Would you boost or destroy a program like MFY?

Unfortunately there are people like Goldwater who want to destroy MFY. Barry thinks we are dirt because we didn't have the brains to be born rich, like him. He's against the government spending money for MFY to help us, but he's all for the big weapon makers getting more money from the government for new planes and missiles when we already have enough of them to wipe out the whole world. Goldwater sees MFY as an obstacle to his total domination. If there were a few communists in MFY that shouldn't worry us as long as they do their jobs. If Barry and the Daily News succeed things will get worse again. But if you fight for MFY's success NOW many more groups like MFY will be put in other poor working class neighborhoods.

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*Newsletter of the Lower East Side Club

MINNEAPOLIS

JOBS FOR YOUTH*

When President Johnson announced the first 120 projects to come under the War on Poverty, there were no projects being set up in Minn. Although Minn. may be one of the more prosperous states, there is still a great need to set up training centers for more young people so they will be employable in a labor market that is depending more and more on skilled persons.

With this in mind a Jobs for Youth Council in the Twin Cities is in the formative stages. Although the idea for a youth organization concerned with jobs has been in the minds of DuBois Club members for a number of months, such an organization is just now beginning to take a concrete form. At the present time it seems that Jobs for Youth Council will be an independent Council made up of representatives of youth groups that are concerned with youth and employment. These representatives will lay the groundwork, and later any young people may join.

In order to carry out a Jobs for Youth program, pamphlets will be distributed in key areas and educational programs will be set up at communnity centers. The program will at first center around making young people aware of training opportunities, instilling a growing awareness of unemployment as a group problem, and attempting to put pressure on St. Paul and Minn. to speed up plans for setting up training centers. It is hoped that the first demonstration of effective pressure will come in carrying out a demonstration calling for "End the War in Viet Nam and Begin the War on Poverty". Perhaps by organizing young persons to show their concern for high school dropouts, youth unemployment, and job training, the local state, and federal governments will be readier to act.

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*Reprint from the Northern Voice, newsletter of the Twin-Cities DuBois Club.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (Cont.)

modern socialism was the encyclopaedism of the Enlightenment; certainly the essence of the thing, socialism, is not mere dry and trivial propaganda for a kind of social order whose desirability has been recognized, on the liberal side, to the point of mere truism. The living essence of it is practical work toward the recognized objective. Now, is that "action" work or "ideological" work?

The ideology is (ought to be) what makes the action intelligent; the action is what gives the ideology reality, allows of its restatement, correction and refinement -- for the October editorial, is also very right in pointing to the need to "develop new ideas."

This is the way it works out. We wish to go among the deprived, the poor, and build the movement there? Very well, but what use are we? Encouragement, technical aid, a bit of organization experience, the boldness to go into the streets or sit in the offices and make demands? Yes, all that helps to a certain extent. The liberals often do as much. But we are not merely liberals, we are socialists.

How does that change our behavior? This way: if we are socialists (in the classic sense) we have gone not only into the slums, but into the schools, among the architects, the city planners, the environmental designers. And there, mastering (as socialists ought) the latest developments in the specialized fields in order to draw a continuous balance of the connections between fields, we find that the traditional panaceas for slums, namely slum clearance, urban renewal, and subsidized mass housing, are extremely problematical in their application and indeed obsolete as remedies. We do find, however, that certain city planners of insight, such as Jane Jacobs and her followers, have developed new conceptions of the growth of cities, have learned to treat them not as inert things but as organisms whose life is not just in the buildings, but in the web of uses people make of them, and have proposed definite steps for the "gradual unslumming" of decayed areas, which will not destroy the city organism but give it new health.

Such specialists, being specialists isolated in establishment society, have little power. They have not been able to convince city governments to try their schemes, which go against establishment financing patters. Nor have they any way of influencing masses of slum dwellers to press for such plans.

We, however, have means of access to the masses. If the specialists have the fulcrum, we the lever and more than that the capacity (this is the very thing that makes us socialists) to understand the connection of the two and bring them

(Continued Page 7)

A number of people throughout the country are receiving unsolicited a publication entitled "Antithesis" containing a large number of quotes (many completely out of context) from marxist writers and leaders. The latest issue which seeks to explain "Why Antithesis?" contains the following:

"As to our identity, we can only state that because we have no illusions about the capitalist system, we remain anonymous."

The editors of Spur cannot recall reading anything like that in Lenin, but then we haven't read anything.

Letters continued

together.

Here, then, is a complete model of the kind of practical activity which is possible for us, as socialists, as it is possible for nobody else. It is evidence only that the self-claimed socialists and radicals of all stripe, were in fact not socialists, that they have neglected this excellent opportunity and stuck with the obsolete remedies of demolition, mass barrack-housing and etc.

Now is such a thing the affair of an "action organization", or does it on the other hand amount to propogation of "socialist ideology"? It is the one and the other, one because simultaneously the other, the one through the other. Such examples could be multiplied. What are really needed are specific plans for activities of this kind.

Phil Mac Dougal
Berkeley

* *

Editor of Spur:

I have read every word you have written to me and I have enjoyed all of it until the present copy just arrived. This one too, is all right except for one line:

-allow self-determination for Puerto Rico

This, to me, is a step backward and unthinkable for us at the present moment when Civil Rights have just begun for the Negro race here in the USA even after one hundred years since the emancipation proclamation.

The Negro today wants equality - in jobs, housing, status, etc. - as a citizen.

The reason the people of Puerto Rico have been kept backward is because of the Negro people here and there. What is wanted now is Statehood for Puerto Rico with equality of opportunity; of jobs, wages, housing, statehood, and citizenship. Not backward, but forward. Racism and Nationalism is going out here in America. A new type is being formed. Let us go forward to the human race. This can only be done - by not cutting off Puerto Rico as the racists of the South want, but with equality and justice as the NAACP is trying for Negroes.

James Ellison Parker
New York

ALBUQUERQUE ---- The University of New Mexico chapter of the Campus Americans for Democratic Action has blasted the action of the university administration in refusing to grant campus recognition to the W.E.B. DuBois Club there. In a statement issues by CADA the ban on the club was denounced as "Completely undemocratic, a total denial of established due process, and in dangerous conflict with the constitutions of the United States, the State of New Mexico, and the Associated Students of the University.

"The essence of a democratic systemat is that no idea, no person, and no group will be suppressed for reasons other than acts contrary to law. We will fight for the right of the DuBois Club or any other group to be treated equally on campus. We wish to enter into public debate with the DuBois Club as we are opposed to its philosophy."

At the same time CADA lashed out at what it called "popular frontism". The group called the DuBois clubs "nothing more, nothing less, than a resurrection of the old Popular Front Movement on the American Left."

"We are opposed to the philosphy of the DuBois Clubs, and will fight to make liberal minded students aware of the nature of the organization," they said.

AREA REPORTS

NEW YORK (Cont. Pg. 10): A DuBois Club on the Brooklyn College campus is being organized. Since there already exists a DuBois Club chapter on the CCNY campus, and the formation of a DuBois Club chapter on the Hunter College Campus is already in progress, the college division of the Brooklyn DuBois Club will undertake the founding of the college chapter. They should attract greater membership for the college division from the Pratt, LIU, Brooklyn Community and Brooklyn College student bodies.

The club is starting an action program surrounding the issues of tuition and academic freedom. They are forming a speakers bureau, holding rallies and distributing leaflets.

PHILADELPHIA: The Philadelphia club is starting a big campaign to keep the public transit company from raising student fares from .85¢ to $1.00 a week. They are also demanding extension of the rates to college students and better services and facilities. They held a demonstration on this issue on Deeember 12 at the general offices of PTC.

Celia Rosebury managing editor of the Insurgent spoke to the club. This was part of her trip to find out what the clubs were doing and to discuss plans for the new magazine.

Sandy Patrinas was elected president of the chapter and Rookie Gabow was elected Secretary-Treasuree.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: OR WHO'S RUNNING THIS COUNTRY? THE PRESIDENT OR LIFE MAGAZINE?

"Clare Booth Luce said in Chicago yesterday the United States should withdraw its support from the UN if Red China is admitted without first agreeing to a long list of conditions.

"The former ambassador to Italy said such conditions would involve Southeast Asia, India, Nationalist China and a nuclear test ban agreement."

The winter edition of FREEDOMWAYS, a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement will be devoted to an extensive appraisal of the life and works of Dr.W.E.B. DuBois. In this book-sized issue, more than 30 contributors will examine the life and work of the man for whom our clubs were named. The national office urges everyone to buy, read and circulate this issue. If copies are not sent to your club and do not appear in your area, contact:

FREEDOMWAYS
799 Broadway- Suite 542
New York 3, New York

GR-7-8866

DUBOIS PAMPHLET GOES INTO SECOND PRINTING

The recently-released pamphlet on the life of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois is now well into its second printing with orders coming in from all over the country. The piece has been much accepted outside the ranks of the club and the national office urges all clubs to use the pamphlet in order to dispell the fog about this great man being spread by J. Edgar Hoover & Co.

VIETNAM POSTER OUT
PAMPHLETS STILL AVAILABLE

The National Office has issued a poster calling for an end to the war in Vietnam. The poster is 11" x 17" and includes a quote from Senator Wayne Morse: "The American people will bluntly and plainly call it murder. The American people do not want to go to war in or for South Vietnam."

Please send_____DuBois pamphlets (10¢ or $2 for 25
_____Vietnam Posters (25 or more at .10¢ each)
_____Election issues paper .10¢
_____Culture&Education report (10¢ or 25 for $2)
_____DuBois Club buttons (25¢ or $20 for 100)

Enclosed $_____

Name_______________________________

Address_____________________________

____

(Cont. from Page 9)

But Your Honour, I demand a Tomorrow, I demand a Tomorrow for myself, for my wife, for my daughter; I demand a Tomorrow for you and your family, for the whole Human family; I demand a Tomorrow without fear, a Tomorrow when all men - Black and White, Worker and Farmer - will be free masters of their own destinies; I demand a Tomorrow when each man will be free to help his fellow man build and not destroy. Yes Your Honour demand is an angry word, a word sprung from frustration and outrage. Is it unforgiveable Your Honour that We who are determined to lay the foundations of kindness do not have time enough to be always kind. Your Honour, I ask you not to judge us too harshly.

John Ross
San Francisco
California

AREA REPORTS

(Cont. from Page 8) LOS ANGELES:...This was in conjunction with the Peace Exchange which includes 10 organizations but consists mainly of WSP and Friends Service Committee people. The topic for a recent educational was Vietnam. Also they are initiating an educational program on the Congo and are preparing an action program on that issue.

The West LA Club is most active in the FSM to the exclusion of almost anything else. There has been a telephone relay organized to keep in contact with 15 SNCC workers arrested in Jones County Mississippi.

The South LA Club just sponsored a speech by three Mozambique Freedom Fighters. They spoke about the country vis a vis Porgugese colonialism and the neo-colonialism on the African continent. They stated that their movement was interested in "elminating imperialism "from Cairo to Capetown."

EASTERN REGION: On November 26th the Eastern Regional DuBois Clubs sent 150 people to a demonstration in Washington D.C. on Vietnam. There were about 500 people in attendance - so our showing was pretty good. It was held in conjunction with SANE, WSP and the ADA. They had some trouble carrying DBC signs with the name of our organization on them, but somehow it was resolved.

The Executive Committee in New York has proposed that a good way to fight the issues of the war in Vietnam and the Draft would be to link them, especially in presentation to college students. They proposed to relate them to the War on Poverty by demanding an increase in funds allocated to implement the program through a cut in military spending and also to stress US infringement of the Geneva Conference Agreement. They also decided to elect a Committee at the Regional Conference that will attend meetings of the new NY State Legislature.

Upper West Side DuBois Club held their first meetings at their new clubhouse on November 22 and they handled the arrangements for the NY conference on December 12. They are holding several fund raising parties for the club. Their club newsletter will be put out in Spanish and English and they are going to install recreational items like a pool table and ping pong set to attract more young people in the neighborhood and to expand the social atmosphere of the club. They also held a Folk Concert at the end of November.

The college youth division of the Du Bois Club of NY on October 11 decided to split their meetings so that the working and college youth could meet separately and concentrate and their own specific problems.

(Cont. Pg. 11)

'MONKEY' PUTS OUT ANIMALS! The Animals pop group from Newcastle-upon-Tyne were turned away from the Royal Hotel, Bristol, yesterday. A member of the hotel staff told them they would be "detrimental to business."

The hotel under-manager Mr. G. Allen said they were asked to leave because they were not dressed normally. Mr. Allen said:"I did not know they were a pop group, and it would have made no difference if I had."

The Animals' drummer, 23-year-old John Steel, wearing a leather jacket and polo-necked sweater said: "We were dressed just as normally as the man in the monkey suit who threw us out."

SOMEBODY ELSE WONDERED

"...Dr. Kerr's concern is almost exclusively with the technologically productive uses of the university, only incidentally with such matters as quality undergraduate education. What is disturbing about this is that for all the realism of Dr. Kerr's approach, it overlooks certain of the most striking realities of American life. Most notably, it fails to come to grips with the fact that the very technology of which he writes so well is creating more and more difficult political problems. It would seem beyond dispute that many of the major problems facing American "middle class democracy" require that we decide what use we will make of our constantly increasing power: What will be our policy toward the underdeveloped nations? What if anything will we do about large-scale poverty and unemployment in our own country? To what extent will we tamper with the structure of our society in order to secure equality of opportunity in education? It would seem that, if national democratic decisions are to be made on these and a number of other urgent national concerns, the colleges and universities have an inescapable responsibility. "Education for responsible citizenship" is not simply a cliche out of the recent past but an increasingly difficult and important task. To leave such education to the mass media is to invite disaster. Though Dr. Kerr seems to have little sympathy with the political activists among American students and with the tradition of student involvement that is characteristic of many other countries, it is vital to American civilization that we develop a large class aware of and responsive to the complex-political realities of our time.

This is, of course, an extremely complex and delicate subject. How can education be political without becoming partisan? How can it escape becoming a means of control or manipulation in the hands of those who pay the bills? One could not legitimately demand of Dr. Kerr that he furnish us with an exhaustive analysis of the entire problem, but that this problem should be so completely ignored in a work of this kind by so able and influential an educator is indeed disappointing."

James McCue review of The Uses of the University, Clark Kerr, Harvard University Press, 1963 - in Pax Romana, magazine of the International Movement of Catholic Students and the International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, Journal 6, 1964.

PASSED ON TO SPUR BY FRIENDS OF THE WRITER -- HIS WORDS TO A JUDGE

" Your Honour, I am guilty of having violated the Selective Service Law of the United States of America. I am guilty of having refused to participate in War or the structure which supports War. I am guilty of refusing to carry arms, of refusing to harm my fellow-man. I am guilty, Your Honour, but I am not remorseful. If I had not been guilty of ignoring the Draft I might well have been guilty of killing the children of Vietnam with Napalm bombs and poisonous chemicals..

Your Honour, people are not my enemies. The people of Vietnam, the Russian people, Germans, the peoples of China, of Cuba, are not my enemies. War is when I am told to kill people who are said to be my enemies. I must kill them, I am told, or else they will kill me because they have been told that I am their enemy. How blind we all are not to see that War is the only enemy.

Your Honour, I am of a generation born and bred in the darkest hours of an age which has never known a day of Peace. We are a generation, Your Honour, impatient and desperate for an end to War, for an end to the threat of War. We are a generation so threatened that we fear even to bring our children into this world. Your Honour, we are a generation afraid of generatiing.

Your Honour, I have lived these past four years high in the Sierra of Michoacan State in Mexico. My Indian neighbours had not enough to eat and not enough to wear, and if three babies were born one always dies because there is no doctor for hundreds of miles around. No doctor, no food, no clothing; and yet we here in America stockpile pesticides and nerve gas and thermo-nuclear warheads as if hunger was not enough to obliterate the Hungry. We in America stockpile the obliteration of everyone's Tomorrow while all around us children starve to death today.

We who have inherited this troubled world from our fathers can no longer be silent. We have inherited a world in which all of our children, born and unbord, will never grow up if we do not now, today, each in his own way, cry out at the injustice of War and refuse to serve the Masters of War. I say Today, Your Honour, I speak and act Today, Your Honour, because I am never quite sure of Tomorrow.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

(Area Reports-cont. from pg. 3)

MINNESOTA (cont.): The Minnesota Daily at the University carried a story on a speech given at a DuBois Club meeting by a graduate student in Political Science, Mike Freeman, from Britain. The subject was the British Labor Party's recent victory in the British elections. Celia Rosebury from the National Office spoke to the club, supposedly on Insurgent but the discussion seemed to take second place to the exchange of views on action and approach.

The DuBois Club at the University of Minnesota joined with the Student Religious Liberals, the Student Zionist Organization and the Young Democratic Farmer Labor Organization to form an FSM chapter there.

TWIN CITIES: The Twin Cities DuBois Club HUAC Abolition Committee is circulating leaflets to make people aware of the important mandate vote in Congress that occurs on January 4. They are urging people to pressure their congressmen to vote against extending the committee's mandate and are circulating a petition for the abolition of the committee.

SAN FRANCISCO: The Culture & Education Committee of the San Francisco DuBois Club, in the process of launching a full scale program, has in the past month sponsored an educational on the Congo, shown the film A Raisin In the Sun (for an audience composed mainly of community people) as the first in a series, and are currently planning a jazz benefit for the 10th of January.

CLIP OUT AND MAIL TO ADLAI STEVENSON. IT WON'T BE ANYTHING HE DOESN"T ALREADY KNOW BUT IT MIGHT BE GOOD TO LET HIM KNOW THAT OTHERS IN THIS COUNTRY KNOW AS WELL.

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LEOPOLDVILLE: Wounded Congolese anti-government men were being shot "as an act of mercy rather than left to die in the bush," a white South African mercenary in the Congo, 22-year-old Bruce Morrison, said.

"We have shot them. These people are fanatics. If we don't kill them they will kill us as soon as our backs are turned," he added.

DAILY NATION (Nairobi) 6/12/64

Regarding internal education the S.F. DuBois Club feels it is badly in need of program; to that end they are attempting formulation of informal yet intensive study groups to explore in depth the basic concept of Marxism-Leninism. In conjunction with the proposed National program on job creation, the SF club has formed a committee whose first project involves Bodega Bay (potential state park near SF). They are working to insure the creation of this park; and demanding that it be built by young Californians who are unemployed.

BERKELEY: Besides their obvious involvement in the recent activity surrounding the FSM they have also been picketing the Oakland Tribune in support of the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination.

The Berkeley club held an educational on November 30, examining the Congo situation. It centered on a brief historical analysis of foreign interest - with an emphasis on US involvement.

Their mailer is carrying a two part reprint of an interview with Paul McCartney of the Beatles conducted by the London Daily Worker.

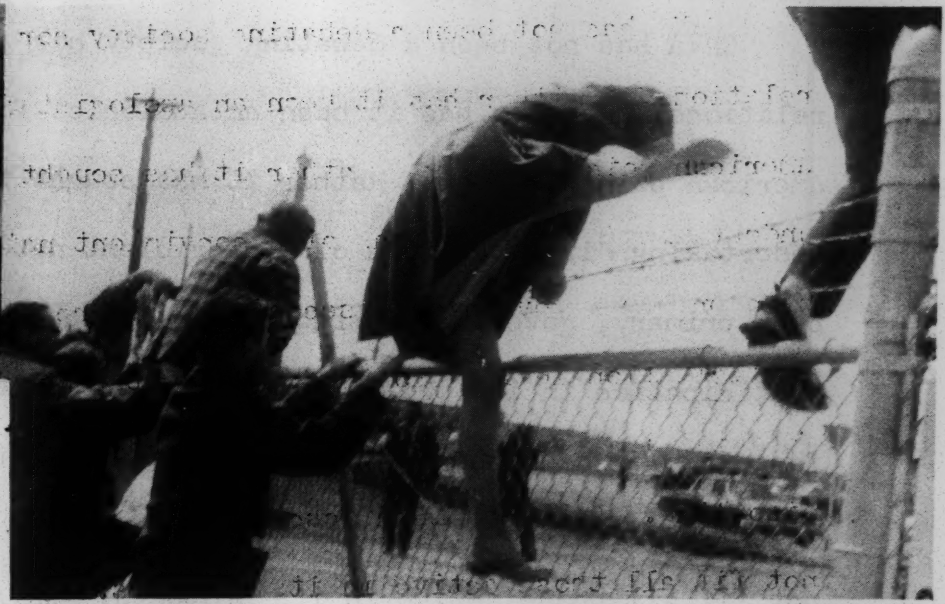
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE: The SF State Club is working on an overall plan for the educational, social and political program for next semester. Their idea is to present one issue in totality - showing its relation to the student community and exploring the socialist alternative for that problem in this country. It has been proposed that Socialism and the arts be the area of emphasis. The club also sponsored a speech by Mark Lane on the Kennedy assasination.

LOS ANGELES: On November 29 the DuBois Club of Central LA held a general meeting and presented Ernie Alvaraz who spoke on the Baker vs. Carr case and reapportionment. On November 30, they had an Educational on Marxist fundamentals and they had a fund raising party on December 25.

The LA area council initiated and carried out an "End the War in Vietnam" leaflet distribution, and although the attendance was poor because of rain they managed to hand out 40,000 copies.

(Continued Page 10)

another "nonviolent invasion" of the Oakland Army Terminal is coming June 22nd



THE LAST INVASION WAS ON MARCH 23
(Above) Refused permission to enter legally, we inform the Provost Marshall of our intention to commit civil disobedience.
(Right) Actionists scale the fence.
Photos by Dan Due

Post Office Box 5983, San Francisco

Committee for Nonviolent Action - West

This time we hope to have 50 participants going over the "CNVA-West Memorial Fence." Besides attempting to block military supplies, demonstrators will bring food, medicine, blankets, and flowers to load onto ships for Vietnam in place of weapons. We invite all in general agreement with our statement of purpose and willing to abide by the discipline of nonviolence to join in this witness against the War in Vietnam Final plans will be worked out by the participants. All decisions are by consensus. Each person is encouraged to prepare an individual written statement. Those who are considering joining the project should notify us as soon as possible.

MEETINGS TO PLAN THE ACTION

Monday, May 24, 8:00 P.M.
146 Dwinelle, UC campus at Berkeley
Thursday, May 27, 8:00 P.M.
271 Tresidder Union, Stanford campus
Tuesday, June 1, 8:00 P.M. at Mark Morris'
888 Waller Street, San Francisco
Tuesday, June 8, 8:00 P.M. at Monte Steadman's, 100 Edison Ave., Corte Madera
Thursday, June 17, 8:00 P.M. at Natasha Morris', 1050 Cloud Ave., Menlo Park

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In this "nonviolent invasion" we make visible our total opposition to U.S. military intervention in Vietnam. By placing ourselves directly in the path of the war machine, we act upon our opposition to all war and our belief that nonviolent direct action can be an effective alternative to organized mass violence. The food, medicine, and flowers we carry represent our concern for the well-being of all people. On this basis, we call for active nonviolent opposition to all injustice and violence, whatever its source, coupled with an insistence on resolving conflicts creatively and constructively. Unless this positive alternative is organized on a mass basis to replace war, mankind's prospects are dim indeed. It is inconsistent and ludicrous to think we can preserve peace and freedom by killing and bombing. The seeds of the next war are sown in the ashes of the last. If we are ever to change this self-defeating cycle we must break ground for a new way. Thus, we call for nonviolent revolution. We believe that here is the place and now is the time. We invite you to join us.

FOR PROJECT INQUIRIES, TELEPHONE

Mark Morris in San Francisco	Natasha Morris in Menlo Park	Britt Peter in Berkeley
UN 1-2257	854-4818	849-3360

CNVA has not been a debating society nor a seminar in international relations. Neither has it been an apologist for either the Soviet or the American point of view. Rather it has sought to preserve human society by undertaking direct actions of a nonviolent nature. To CNVA, people have been primary, governments secondary. There have been no political tests for participation in its projects: Goldwater Republicans and Johnson Democrats, for example, have been welcome if they agreed to abide by a nonviolent discipline. CNVA has been described as radical pacifist but this term does not fit all those active in its projects. CNVA does not screen applicants but tries to prepare them for all aspects of the experience, including possible prosecution and imprisonment. CNVA tests the viability of the open society in which we live. It wants to keep it open and the people within it alive. CNVA could not exist in a closed society, but it would like the people of the closed societies to live, too.

As for Vietnam, CNVA's position is clear. It cannot determine with pinpoint accuracy the relative claims of the government of South Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong). From CNVA's point of view, killing people to achieve political ends is wrong. CNVA hopes, through undertaking projects of nonviolent resistance to the military acts of our government, to demonstrate ways in which constructive change can come about without destruction of life. We believe there is a better way to resolve conflict than the way of Vietnam. It is in that spirit, and with humility, that we challenge the policy of our government..

NEW STARTING TIME : 7:00 a.m.

THE INITIAL CONFRONTATION BY THOSE BRINGING "PEACE SUPPLIES" INTO OAKLAND ARMY TERMINAL HAS BEEN MOVED UP TO 7:00 a.m. JUNE 22nd, THE SAME TIME THE VIGIL STARTS.

WITH SO LARGE A GROUP IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE DIRECT ACTION WILL LAST FOR SEVERAL HOURS OR FOR SEVERAL DAYS.

Our goal of 50 participants is likely to be reached. More than 50 persons have indicated tentative interest in taking part, with about 30 who feel definitely committed at this time, including 2 CNVA-West Working Committee members who served 30 day sentences as a result of the March confrontation at Oakland Army Terminal, Mark Morris and Eric Robinson, as well as 4 other Working Committee members, Bob Meriwether, Natasha Morris, Hazel Peter, and David Price. Also included are Ben Stackler, who climbed the fence in March but was not arrested, S.F. writer Lucille Melander, member of "The Committee" Alan Myerson, Cal student Mark Stahl, schoolteacher Howard Lee Miller, housewife Andy Gundelfinger, S.F. City College student Joe Kaplan, cancer researcher Bob Cantor, peace worker Tony Brown, and film-maker Sidney Cherpitel.

As part of the vigil during the confrontation, a small group of Buddhists will engage in silent meditation.

. . . .

PICNIC - SUNDAY JUNE 20
TILDEN PARK - 2:00 p.m.

A chance to meet and question participants in the Oakland Army Terminal confrontation. Location: the Upper Willows picnic area. To get there go into the park on Fish Ranch Road. At South Gate turn right onto South Park Drive. Upper Willows will be on your left a little way down the road. Bring your own picnic. Coffee will be provided and we'll have a fire, should you want to roast something.

Part of the strength of this demonstration depends on the peaceful vigil during the confrontation. Although we know the starting time of 7:00 a.m. is an early one, it is important that vigilers be there then, both so as to support those trying to enter the base and because after 7:00 a.m. the traffic is likely to become tied up, preventing vigilers as well as workers from reaching the terminal. Monte Steadman will be the CNVA-West spokesman at the vigil. Vigilers must agree to abide by the "Discipline of Nonviolence" during the demonstration and be in general agreement with the "Statement of Purpose."

A direct action project of this size is stretching CNVA-West's resources. Funds are urgently needed. Please support us with your money, as well as your time and energy.

. . . .

CNVA-West Working Committee
Betty Beach....Greg Campbell....Holly Chenery
Bob Meriwether...Mark Morris..Steve & Natasha
Morris.....Britt & Hazel Peter....David Price
George Reeves....Jerry Rubin....Eric Robinson
John & Candy Stephens.......Monte Steadman
Sam Tyson...Denny & Ida Wilcher..Martin Young

. . . .

To: CNVA-West, P.O. Box 5983, S.F.

Enclosed is my contribution of $__________ to help with this project and the on-going work of CNVA-West.

Name________________________________

Street_______________________________

City__________________ Phone__________

A DISCIPLINE OF NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolent action for peace, or any other humanitarian cause, derives its power from the degree to which those who act are able to express truth and love in imaginative, dynamic ways. Unlike the power of violence, which operates through inflicting or threatening pain and tends to find allies in falsehood and deception, the power of nonviolence is generated through the voluntary acceptance of unmerited suffering and is enhanced by openness, frankness and truthfulness. Nonviolence is dependent, therefore, upon reason, self-control and discipline.

This is the basis of all activities of CNVA-West. Although we are highly critical of certain policies and the actions of certain individuals, we are demonstrating out of a concern for the well-being and freedom of all men--including those whose actions we criticize most strongly. The success of this or any CNVA-West activity depends upon the degree to which this nonviolent spirit can be exemplified by all participants.

All those in general agreement with our "Statement of Purpose" and willing to abide by the following discipline are invited to join this demonstration.

1. We will not use physical violence regardless of what may be done to us by others.

2. Our attitude toward persons who may oppose us will be one of understanding, and of respect for the right of others to hold and express whatever views they wish.

3. We will not be violent in our attitude, make hostile remarks, shout, or call names.

4. We will adhere to the planned program of the demonstration and will not initiate any unannounced action unless approved by CNVA-West spokesmen. Upon notifying CNVA-West we are free to withdraw from the demonstration at any time.

5. We are all encouraged to speak as individuals to the public and the press. Questions concerning the policies of CNVA-West and the demonstration should be referred to CNVA-West spokesmen.

6. In our contact with the police and other officials, we will maintain an attitude of understanding for the responsibilities with which they are charged, be courteous at all times, and accept all requests which are reasonable.

7. In case of violence or other unforeseen occurrence, we will carefully follow the directions of CNVA-West spokesmen. Responsibility for changing or discontinuing the demonstration rests with CNVA-West spokesmen.

. . . .

CNVA-West hails the two schools in nonviolence here announced, hoping they will help meet the urgent need for direct actionists with a background in the study of nonviolence and the skills needed to carry out projects successfully.

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF NONVIOLENCE

Organized by Ira Sandperl, Joan Baez, and Holly Chenery, CNVA-West Working Committee member, the Institute will be based on informal yet scheduled and disciplined seminars. A day's schedule will include time for required readings in nonviolence & social analysis, original research, readings in news sources; ½ hour of physical exercise; an hour alone. One day a week will be spent in silence. The program will also provide for learning basic organizational and office skills, and training in work with the mass media. The first 6 week session will begin around July 10 to 15, in the Monterey, California, area. Cost, not including food, will be from $75 to $100. For more information, write Ira Sandperl, P.O. Box 206, Menlo Park, California.

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

An unusual 1 year professional course on the graduate level will begin September 20. This new program--training for leadership in nonviolent democratic processes of social change and conflict management--offers a curriculum in the history, theory, and techniques essential for work in such areas as action for peace, civil rights, full employment, housing, and urban development. Visiting lecturers experienced in such work, and supervised field work with social action agencies will be an integral part of the program. Situated in the center of the industrialized metropolitan area from Philadelphia to Wilmington, Delaware, the Institute will cost--tuition, food, room, and board--a maximum of $900. For more information, write The Upland Institute, Upland Avenue, Chester, Pennsylvania.

. . . .

Note: The poets Facino Cane, Gene Fowler, and Gary Snyder have allowed CNVA-West to use the poems on the last 3 pages of this bulletin in spreading the word about the present project.

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Blankets/not Bullets

Medical Supplies/not Mortars

On June 22nd a group of persons protesting the war in Vietnam plan to undertake a nonviolent civil disobedience action at Oakland Army Terminal.

But, this is not simply an act against, an act of protest, but also an act for, an act of giving. This is an action demonstrating positive nonviolent alternatives to the war in Vietnam--one of which is the offering of desperately needed food and supplies.

We encourage you to express your own concern and sympathy by contributing to the "love" supplies which will be carried into the terminal by the demonstrators with the request that these supplies be shipped to Vietnam in place of war supplies. If this request is turned down, the supplies will not be wasted; CNVA-West will get the supplies to Vietnam by other means or find another worthwhile use for them.

What to Bring...

Nonperishable goods, such as:
Rice and other grain staples
Canned goods
Blankets and clothing
Simple medical supplies (bandages, gauze, antiseptics)

Where to Bring Them...

Bring the supplies to the vigil at Oakland Army Terminal before 9:00 a.m. on June 22nd. (The vigil starts at 7:00 a.m.

☮ ☮ ☮ ☮ ☮ ☮ ☮ ☮

To support those committing civil disobedience on June 22nd, many others are needed. As well as giving or gathering supplies, you can help the project by participating in the vigil starting at 7:00 pm June 22nd and continuing as long as the confrontation lasts. Participants in the vigil will not be courting arrest and need not contact us prior to the demonstration.

For more information call UN 1 - 2257 (S.F.); 843-5638 (Berkeley); or 854-4818 (Menlo Park).

Funds are urgently needed to carry on this project ant the continuing activities of the Committee for Nonviolent Action--West.

. . . .

To: CNVA-West, P.O. Box 5983, S.F.

____ Enclosed is my contribution of $____

____ I plan to bring the following supplies to be carried into the Oakland Army Terminal:

Name________________ Phone__________

Street________________ City__________

Sausalito, Calif.
7--May--65

LETTER TO A PRESIDENT

Dusk; from the deck of a barge
moored behind an old ferry, grounded
and woven into a great structure
of planks, mooring lines, fresh-water
pipes; dusk in the silvers and greys
of the rising and slapping water,
the bruise-colored hills, the yellow
and red stains where the sun had been.
The quiet, the sea-quiet not of absence
of sound, but of quiet sea-sound, a quiet
of interval in sound, and balance.
A laughter in one direction, unhurried
and a sea-laughter in the easy dusk.
The flush of a toilet ashore, a moving
of water, embroidered by the less quick
moving of all the water with the darkening.
And the scattered lights come on like sounds.
My face grows brittle with the night cold
and wine in my belly is fine warmth.

the gentle slapping
of the restless water
comes thru the cold

crack!
A calloused hand, hard
on a cheek too young
to spread out the pain

What, in a colder dream,
is it to be a boy, skin
yellowed ivory from lost
meals, a bayonet blade
one and one half inches
into my belly--

puffed cheeks
of fear
burnt-out eyes
of failed
generations,

bent
over me
SCREAMING
questions i cannot

seem to hear.

gene fowler

IS VIETNAM
TO AMERICA
A STRAWBERRY
ICECREAM
CONE

IF SO
WHO
IS
SUPPLYING
WHO
WITH
WHAT

I MEAN
WHO
AMONG
THE
PEOPLE
THERE
AND
HERE
IS
ENJOYING
IS
EATING

I MEAN
IF
AMONG
THE
PEOPLE
IS
NO ENJOYING
NO EATING
WHAT IS
HAPPENING

DO YOU
KNOW
ANYONE
THERE
I CAN
SEND
A REAL
ICE CREAM
CONE ?

Facino Cane

DEAR MR PRESIDENT:

THERE IS NO BOMB IN GILEAD.
THE RED CHINESE ARE NOT RED INDIANS:
YOU COULD HAVE SAVED THE SIOUX.
PLEASE STOP THEM BUILDING ROADS
IN THE NORTH CASCADES.

THERE WERE GREAT WHITE BIRDS
IN THE TOPS OF THE BANYAN TREES
CALLING ACROSS THE TOWN,
WHEN I WAS IN SAIGON.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

GARY SNYDER
聽
風

cnva-west

Committee for Nonviolent Action--West
P. O. Box 5983, San Francisco, Calif.

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE
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San Francisco, Calif.
PERMIT No. 8587

Bob Gore
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

CHANNEL 2 EDITORIAL
WCBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

WCBS-TV editorials express the views of the station's management on important community issues. Because opinions on these issues may differ, WCBS-TV will consider requests for time on the station from those representing differing views.

Clark B. George
Vice-President, CBS Television Stations
General Manager, WCBS-TV

Last Wednesday, Channel 2 criticized the Congress of Racial Equality for its plan to demonstrate at the opening this week of the World's Fair. Here, representatives of CORE and the New York Civil Liberties Union reply to that editorial. The first speaker is CORE's Northeast Regional Director, Miss Joyce Ware.

BROADCAST: Monday, April 19, 1965, 6:55 PM
SPOKESMEN: Miss Joyce Ware, Mr. Marvin Karpatkin
SUBJECT: "Civil Rights 4"

To speak directly to the April 14 editorial against the proposed demonstrations at the World's Fair and to Mr. Michael Keating:

The proposed demonstrations are part of a total campaign against the re-election of Robert Wagner for Mayor. Why the Fair? The Fair was chosen because of what it represents as New York City's symbol to the nation. But what in reality is it to the Negro and Puerto Rican people of New York City?

The allocation of city funds to Harlem was cut to a bare minimum in a planning department meeting. A proposed hospital still remains unconstructed in Harlem. The school situation in NYC is at a chaotic standstill because the city officials refuse to deal effectively with quality, integrated education. The Gross Report, which was publicly discussed, results in one half of 1% integration for Negro and Puerto Rican students in New York City. In one instance where Mayor Wagner had the opportunity and power to move New York forward by creating an educational park, he sold the land to private industry.

(More)

Mayor Wagner has had many opportunities to deal constructively with these and other programs which are concerned with the needs of the Negro and Puerto Rican people of New York City. Instead he backs a Fair, a place for fun, as Mr. Keating calls it. We wish the Mayor had backed these needed projects with as much attention as the City has given to erecting a place for amusement.

Direct action for CORE is a last resort. We attempt to investigate the facts and negotiate. Only when these fail does direct action become an alternative. In this instance all measures of persuasion and negotiation have failed. So CORE takes its demonstration to the World's Fair, to the New York City pavilion, as a part of a total campaign.

In schools, Negroes are from three to five years behind the average white student. In housing, the pattern of racial discrimination and sub-standard accommodations have resulted in deathly ghettos. While recognizing many problems, clear implications of police brutality have been publicly acknowledged. The anti-poverty program which promised some measure of hope for our people has been bureaucratized and completely taken over by a city administration for political purposes. In urban renewal the pattern has been reghettoizing the Negro and Puerto Rican communities by not providing adequate low income housing in integrated communities. On two occasions in Queens and Staten Island, when an attempt was made to break the pattern and establish integrated communities, Mayor Wagner yielded under political pressure to stop the projects.

Recognizing these and many other crucial issues which affect not only Negro and Puerto Rican citizens but also the total community, CORE reaffirms its opposition to Mayor Wagner. Fifty-one million dollars of city funds and Mayor Wagner invited CORE demonstrations at

(More)

the Fair. The vicious cycle of poverty and discrimination must be broken to make New York City a part of a "Fair World."

-- 0 --

I'm Marvin Karpatkin, speaking for the New York Civil Liberties Union. According to Channel 2, the Fair "is essentially a place for people to have fun." We had thought that the Fair had an educational purpose which was equally important. Mayor Wagner, in his article promoting the Fair in yesterday's Sunday Times, described the Fair as both a "carnival" and a "campus." Four Florida girls, who demonstrated last year and who were arrested, wanted visitors to their State's exhibit to know that all is not "fun" in the State of Florida, at least not for its Negro population. Visitors to the Florida Pavilion might get their fill about orange juice and sunshine, but these demonstrators, who are being defended by our organization, wanted the visitors to be informed of the rest of the Florida story as well. Any ostrich-like attempt by the Fair authorities to close off the peaceful dissemination of information and opinion is sharply inconsistent with the Fair's chartered purpose, and an insult to the intelligence of millions of Americans. The Fair's motto is "Peace Through Understanding," not "Close Your Eyes to Everything, Let's Have Fun."

Furthermore, the Channel 2 editorial overlooks the crux of the problem. The Fair is public property used for public purposes, and there is a constitutional right to picket and engage in other forms of peaceful demonstrations. The First Amendment, with its inalienable right to free speech on public thoroughfares, does not end at the gates of the World's Fair.

-WCBS-TV-

Yonkers CORE
Bob Auerbach, co-chairman
914- Yo 8-0562

Picket - Friday 8:00 P.M. - Yonkers CORE
Housing Director - Emette Burke
486 Park Ave - Yonkers.

Tenants

Nancy Johnson -3 D, Build. 80 School St.
Kathleen Stares 6 D, " 55 "
Mrs. A.D Smith 86 "

Number of children 5 - 10 - 8 - Total No. (23)

Eviction ~~by~~ Housing Director Emette Burke effective Saturday July 17th.

(Legal)

Section VI Occupancy Standard -

to avoid overcrowding and prevent waste of space, dwelling are to be leased in accordance with the occupancy standard set forth below where it is found that the size of the dwelling is no longer suitable for the family in accordance with these standard, the family is to be required to move as soon as a dwelling of appropriate size become available.

Larger apartment is available ?

CORE-*lator*

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

October 1949

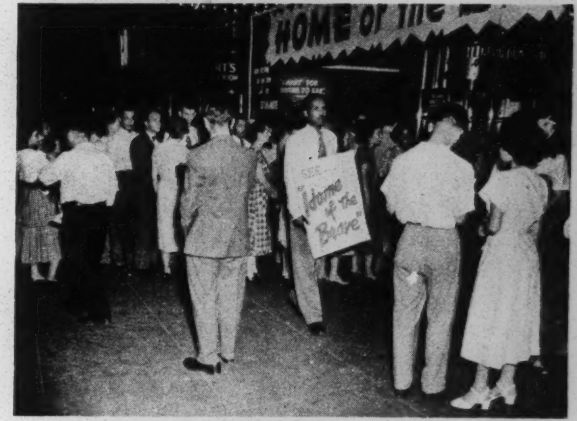
FAR-REACHING DECISION ON NEGRO RIGHTS

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—"The most important legal development in the struggle against discrimination in many years" is the way Hiram Elfenbein, New York CORE's attorney, characterized the August 10th decision of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia upholding the right of persons barred from the swimming pool of Palisades Amusement Park last year to bring suit under the federal civil rights law. Pointing out that the sale of pool tickets was a contract, the plaintiffs maintained that the law forbids any person to deny a Negro the same right to make a contract as is enjoyed by whites.

"The suit was not merely for the particular right of Negroes to be admitted to a swimming pool," Elfenbein explained in commenting on the decision. "It was for the right of Negroes to make and enforce contracts to the same extent as white people. The same right to contract means the right to make a contract for a seat at a local theater or the front seat in a bus. Thus the doctrine of segregation is destroyed by the logical extension of this Palisades case. The court found that the right was a constitutional right. In the past the great difficulty in civil rights cases has been to find a federal right that has been invaded. Now it is an almost omnipresent right, the right to contract, which can easily be found."

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—With the lily-white American Bowling Congress planning its 1951 convention in St. Paul, Minneapolis CORE is working hard on the local bowling situation.

The group is also investigating the practices of the recently opened Salvation Army's Evangeline Home for girls.



WAITING LINE TECHNIQUE USED AT TRANS-LUX

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The technique of waiting in line beside the box office with no attempt to block it has been adopted by the Interracial Workshop in its campaign to change the jimcrow seating policy at the Trans-Lux Theater here. Leaflets explain: "The waiting line you see in front of this theater is composed of members and friends of the Interracial Workshop who have asked to purchase tickets and have been refused. This denial of everyday rights to Americans because of their skin color is unjust and personally embarrassing." Donald W. Coan has reported a good deal of public support gained by this method of education.

The campaign started on the opening of "Home of the Brave", which according to the Workshop's leaflets shows "colored and white fighting together to protect those rights and ideals which are denied them in this theater."

The Interracial Workshop is working on the projects started by the summer Workshop in Washington, in which some 25 persons from all parts of the country participated.

CORE PLAN FOR POOL OPERATION ACCLAIMED IN WASHINGTON AND ST. LOUIS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A CORE plan for avoiding a repeat performance of the racial clashes which led to the shutting down of Anacostia Pool in Washington and Fairgrounds Pool in St. Louis has received acclaim in both cities.

In Washington some 20 civic groups joined the Interracial Workshop in presenting the plan to the Department of the Interior, which operates Anacostia. The Department agreed to put most of it into effect when the pool is reopened. A course in race relations for police has already been instituted, as recommended by CORE.

St. Louis CORE presented a similar plan to the mayor and to George Schermer, director of the Mayor's Interracial Council in Detroit, engaged to make a study of the racial clash at Fairgrounds Pool. In issuing his report calling for the reopening of the pool on a non-segregated basis, Schermer recommended adoption of most of the points in the CORE plan.

Both plans suggest ways of securing cooperation from the press, police, and public, and call for a clear statement of policy on the part of the authorities.

"The key to controlling the situation when the pool reopens on an unsegregated basis lies in the choice of trained and skillful personnel," the plans say. "This personnel should be interracial."

But though the authorities in both cities approved the plans, they did not have the courage to reopen the pools this summer, and thus gave in to the undemocratic elements which started the clashes.

NON-SEGREGATION WORKS AT PALISADES

NEW YORK CITY—The non-segregation policy initiated this season at the swimming pool of Palisades Amusement Park in New Jersey, just across the Hudson from New York City, worked smoothly throughout the summer. Irving Rosenthal, the Park's owner, stated officially that he is completely satisfied with no racial clashes and no loss of business. This ended CORE's 3-year-old campaign which had climaxed in the passage of a strengthened New Jersey civil rights law specifically mentioning swimming pools.

CORE FIGHTS LUNCH COUNTER DISCRIMINATION

By Billie Ames

In St. Louis there are three large department stores. The eating facilities are not satisfactory in any of them. But since our group was small we decided to work on one store at a time. We chose Stix, Baer & Fuller because several of our CORE members know Mr. Baer and Mr. Fuller. Both these gentlemen have done several humanitarian deeds in the past that led us to believe they would change their policy if pressure were brought upon them.

Attempt Negotiations

The first test made at the Stix lunch counter took the waitresses by surprise, and our interracial group was served. The second time our group asked for service we were refused. Following this incident, CORE sent a letter to the management asking that the discriminatory policy of their restaurant be changed. It was ignored.

A CORE member talked to the head of the public relations department shortly after the test. He said that he and the owners of the store did not believe in discrimination, but were afraid their customers would object if Negroes were served.

Next we distributed leaflets outside the store—about seven kinds over a period of six months. Once we dropped leaflets from an airplane. This was not very satisfactory because most of the leaflets landed on the tops of buildings.

Start Sit-ins

Then we began having small sit-in demonstrations. An interracial group of from four to twelve people would ask for service. When they were refused, they would continue to sit there for several hours. The restaurant is arranged in a number of short counters. During these sit-ins the restaurant manager would close the counter where we were sitting. Then we began spreading our group out over several counters, and wherever a Negro was sitting, the manager would close that counter.

One Saturday we had about twenty people there at 11:00 in the morning. Our group spread out so there was one white person and one colored at each counter.

In this way, we closed all but one very short counter. After three hours of this the waitresses began serving people at all the counters. But by this time, all the hot food had spoiled and the selection of foods left on the menu was very limited. After this incident, the restaurant abandoned the plan of closing counters.

Once two white persons went to the counter and bought sandwiches. Then two of our colored members went in, sat next to the white members, and shared the food.

Later we began having regular sit-in demonstrations every Saturday from 10:00 to 4:30. We usually have 20 to 30 participants, with 97 seats in the restaurant.

Refuse to Serve Negro Legionnaires

Several weeks ago the Missouri Legionnaires held a convention in St. Louis. A daily paper carried an advertisement welcoming the Legionnaires to St. Louis and inviting them to visit Stix. We arranged to have four Negro Legionnaires in uniform ask to be served during our Saturday demonstration. They were refused. Two of them went to talk to the management, and two sat with our group. This incident was featured in a headlined article in a Negro newspaper, and 500 copies of this paper, with leaflets asking people to boycott Stix, were distributed to Negroes going into the store.

Throughout our campaign we have urged people to boycott Stix. During the summer a group of high school students went from door to door in the Negro community getting postcards signed which stated that the signer would not patronize Stix until its discriminatory restaurant policy was changed. At least 600 of these cards have been mailed to Stix, and about 100 charge accounts have been withdrawn.

Wear Shirts With Anti-Jimcrow Slogans

During the last four sit-in demonstrations about ten of the participants have worn shirts and blouses with slogans painted on the backs. We have found these shirts very successful in attracting attention to our cause. We use such slogans as "Let's Make Democracy Work," "All We Ask Is Justice," "Wake Up, St. Louis," etc.

The feeling of the Stix managers seems to be that they want to change their policy, but they don't know how—they are afraid of "losing face." Stix' Public Relations Manager has suggested several times that we try some other place for a while. We know that representatives of Stix and of Famous, Barr & Co. have had meetings about the restaurant problem. Since Stix seems to be waiting for Famous to change its policy, we decided to start negotiations with Famous. After we were refused service at Famous we wrote to the manager asking for an opportunity to talk with him about his restaurant policy. We hope to have an interview soon.

At our last CORE meeting we decided that there are several dime and drug store eating counters in the downtown area that have discriminatory policies which we may be able to change easily. If we can get these small places to change, it should be easier to get Stix and Famous to change,

Campaign at Stix Continues

Even though we are testing the drug stores and dime stores and negotiating with Famous, we are continuing our weekly sit-in demonstrations at Stix.

During the summer two out-of-town interracial student groups helped in our demonstrations. Both groups were enthusiastic and plan to start new COREs at school.

We have not achieved our immediate goal of breaking down discrimination in the restaurant at Stix yet, but our efforts have achieved many lesser goals. Our active membership has more than doubled and our mailing list more than tripled during our 15-month campaign at Stix. CORE is now a well-known organization in St. Louis—a year ago not more than 40 people here knew a CORE organization existed. The public has become more aware of the problems segregation has caused; during our demonstrations we sit in every other seat so each participant can talk to the customers. Most important of all—we are getting the support of the public in our fight to end segregation and discrimination. When we first started our campaign very few customers were friendly, and there were many antagonistic remarks, but now many customers actually buy food for the members of our group during our sit-in.

BARTLESVILLE, OKLA.—The Episcopal Church here has become the first non-segregated church in Bartlesville. When a Negro Episcopalian moved to town she found no Negro Episcopal church. So she attended church with a white Episcopalian, a CORE member.

So far there have been no complaints, and some members of the congregation are actually pleased. One member from the Deep South told the rector, "I'm not used to it. I don't know that I like it. But after all it is the Church."

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The first CORE group here is working on a bar in a racially borderline area which serves Negroes but overcharges them. The restaurants in the neighborhood are non-discriminatory.

NEWS YOU DON'T READ IN THE PAPERS

Commenting on the last issue of the CORElator, Will Maslow, director of the American Jewish Congress's Commission on Law and Social Action, wrote that it was filled with significant news items that could not be found anywhere else.

That was true because the CORElator is the only news bulletin which gives special coverage of news on how racial discrimination is broken down by non-violent direct action.

There are many people throughout the country who would be as interested in such news as Maslow was. To get the news to these people, we must have a wider circulation. We have therefore decided to print the CORElator starting with this issue and to abandon (at least temporarily) the mimeographed form in which it appeared previously.

Let us know how you like the idea. If you like it, perhaps you would like to help us with the considerable additional expense of the printing.

If you are among those receiving the CORElator for the first time, let us know whether its content interests you.

And don't forget to send in news of whatever your group is doing. Others want to hear about it.

LITERATURE

ABC's of Scapegoating Gordon W. Allport	.25
CORE: A Brief History	.10
The CORE Way Helen Buckler	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough	.40
Erasing the Color Line George M. Houser	.40
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Nonviolence Versus Racism George M. Houser	.10
Races of Mankind Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish	.20
War without Violence (Selections) Krishnalal Shridharani	.15
We Challenged Jim Crow George M. Houser and Bayard Rustin	.15

Free Material

Action against the Quota System
CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Racism Sits in the Pews
The Socio-Drama
What Is CORE?

Note: The Discipline, Statement of Purpose, and "What is CORE?" are 2 cents each for ten or more. Single copies free.

Attractive ties bearing the slogan, "JIMCROW MUST GO," would make wonderful Christmas gifts. Blue, brown, or maroon. One dollar each postpaid.

- -

I enclose $______ for the following:

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

____

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32, N. Y.

A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

January 1950

INTERRACIAL BARBERSHOP BREAKS TOWN'S PATTERN

By Harold Graves,
Professor at Penn State College

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—This is the story of how an interracial barbershop, established through the efforts of local CORE, has broken the jimcrow barbering pattern in this college town of 20,000.

It opened in September with two barbers, had to add a third and now needs a fourth. The Community is not generally intolerant. No restaurant, store or movie discriminates. Penn State's football team was the first to insist upon and play Negroes in the Cotton Bowl. But local barbershops discriminate.

First step by CORE was to send committees to talk with barbers. The barbers had apparently agreed on a formula: "Sorry, we can't discuss that." Since the barbers themselves would not answer questions, CORE set out to demonstrate that in State College a business practicing full democracy might count on overwhelming support.

We circulated a petition: "We the undersigned pledge our support to any barbershop that does not discriminate between its patrons on account of race or color." Some people viewed even this friendly petition as a form of "pressure" and hence "unamerican" but nearly 2,000 signed it. The evidence was not enough. No shop was interested.

Next CORE embarked on a plan of selling haircut tickets which would be presented at any barbershop which would change its policy. Since CORE had no widespread sales force, the tickets went slowly at first. Then religious groups organized a canvassing force and three intensive "CORE days" produced a little over $1,800.

As promised, a committee offered the cash advance first to each shop in town, as a condi-

(Continued on page 2, column 1)

A CALL TO ACTION DURING BROTHERHOOD MONTH

The CORE National Council meeting held in Chicago Dec. 9-10 issued a call to action which would make Brotherhood Month (February) more than an occasion for pious words. It is hoped that this campaign will be backed by thousands of committed interracialists, particularly in the south.

The call to action states in part: "In a small town in North Carolina the students at a Negro women's college never attend the local motion picture theater. The reason is that by local law and custom they would be forced to climb 72 steps on the outside of the theater to the second balcony entrance each time they were to see a movie. In the stuffy jimcrow section they would have only a distorted view of the screen.

"The evil inherent in segregation is highlighted by the action of these students. Such action is the type we propose for Brotherhood Month."

If you are interested in receiving the full text of the call and the pledge to this action program write to CORE immediately at 513 West 166th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

INTERRACIAL BARBERSHOP (Continued)

tion for their changing their policy. No shop accepted it. Advertisements in metropolitan papers then announced: "Students and citizens of State College offer location . . . and $1,800 cash advance towards patronage to barber without racial prejudice." Over 60 inquiries were answered in detail. More than 20 came for interviews. The chief difficulties were finding a good location at reasonable rent, a man with some capital and living quarters for barbers.

The man who finally set up the shop, Mark Butler from Philadelphia, took a risk. He signed a long-term lease at a higher rental than most of the other shops pay. However, the location is excellent. He invested in new equipment which makes his 4-chair shop perhaps the cleanest and surely the most modern in town.

After the equipment had been installed, CORE paid him the $1,800 cash in advance. In return he signed an agreement to accept the ticket coupons and to give equal courtesy and service "without discrimination on account of race, color, creed or national origin." It is a legal contract that protects CORE's interests.

The shop opened without fanfare. Of course it is not labeled "Equality Shop" or "Interracial Shop." It is simply an excellent barbershop serving men without favoritism. Negroes go there freely, and nobody shows any surprise, but 9/10ths of the patrons are white. Butler and his men are overworked. The shop will have to expand.

One man whom CORE members had come to consider perhaps the most extreme racist in town had his hair cut twice at Butler's shop. His only explanation is: "I like Butler. He's a good guy."

SEEK TO MAKE BUSINESS COLLEGE ADMIT NEGROES

BERKELEY, Calif.—A campaign to get Armstrong Business College to admit Negroes is being carried on by CORE here. A poll taken by CORE on the premises showed that students would not object to Negroes attending. Aid of the Parent Teachers Assn. has been secured in a letterwriting campaign to publicize the fact that the college discriminates.

In addition CORE has visited almost all the bowling alleys in the Bay area. Some of the alleys tried to turn the group away on the grounds that they were closed. But the group in each case made a point of finding out when they would be open and returned at that time.

CAMPAIGN SHIFTS TO OTHER THEATERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Following a conference in New York with Norman Elson, president of the Trans-Lux Theater Corp., The Interracial Workshop has temporarily shifted its campaign and is seeking a conference with Carter Barron of the Loew's chain.

Elson granted the conference shortly after one of the group in the waiting line outside the theater was knocked to the ground by the assistant manager.

The technique of waiting in line beside the box office with no attempt to block has been used by the Workshop in its drive to end discrimination at the theater. In a fruitless attempt to defeat this technique, the assistant manager had repeatedly shoved various members of the group.

The conference with Elson, was attended by Don Coan of the Workshop and George Houser and Jim Farmer of national CORE. Elson rejected the compromises they offered, but said several times during the conference that he would be willing to change the policy if the Workshop could get one other theater to do so. It is with that in mind that the group shifted its campaign temporarily.

GROUP REFUSES TO MOVE FROM CENTER OF CHURCH

BARTLESVILLE, Okla.—As part of a campaign to end segregation in local churches an interracial CORE group refused to move from the central section of a church here, despite the plea of an agitated usher. The usher came up and in pantomime asked a member of the group to move. The person responded "We will stay here." No further attempts to remove them were made.

At present mixed groups are attending the Sunday Evening Federation of Methodist Christian and Presbyterian Churches.

$1,000 *REWARD FOR CAFE WHICH CHANGES POLICY*

LAWRENCE, Kans.—Local CORE will soon offer $1,000 to a cafe near or on the University of Kansas campus which will agree to serve persons regardless of color. The money will be raised by selling 1,000 one dollar tickets which the bearers will present when they eat at that cafe.

CORE recently had a big interracial skating party at the Rollerdrome. The manager had anticipated trouble, but none developed.

DRIVE AT BIG STORE PAYS OFF AT SMALLER STORES

ST. LOUIS—St. Louis CORE's weekly sit-ins at the lunch counter of the Stix Baer & Fuller department store have begun paying off in other downtown stores, although Stix continues its jimcrow policy. (See story, Oct. CORElator.)

In mid-September CORE members began testing the soda fountains and lunch counters at five drug stores and three dime stores. In several cases tests were made when the managers were not present, and members of the group were served after hurried consultations by the waitresses.

In all such cases CORE followed up with letters commending the managements on their policies and copies of What Is CORE attached.

Of the five drug stores where this technique was used only two subsequently have announced a "white only" policy. In the other three—a Liggett's store and two Walgreen's stores—subsequent tests were first met with hesitation, one with outright insult, then with poor service and finally with courteous and prompt attention.

At Liggett's a waitress, who had been overheard saying "We have to serve them, but I sure don't like it," served two CORE members chili. When they were through she tried several times without success to smash the bowl the Negro had used. As she became more exasperated, the remaining chili from the bowl began to fly in all directions to the obvious amusement of other customers. Finally she threw the bowl under the counter. Since that time, however, she has given courteous service several times.

END JIMCROW ON SOUTHBOUND RESERVED COACHES

NEW YORK CITY—Jimcrow seating on reserved seat southbound coach trains was abolished under an agreement reached between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

A campaign on this issue was initiated by CORE two years ago with leaflet distribution in front of Pennsylvania Station.

BOSTON—Greater Boston CORE has ended discrimination at the Red Fox Cafe in Lynn.

SAFEWAY PROMISES TO HIRE NEGROES

WICHITA, Kans.—Following 5 weeks of picketing of two of its stores by CORE and a boycott campaign, local Safeway officials in a first conference with CORE spokesmen, promised to hire Negroes.

Although several of the stores are in the Negro community, no Negro is employed by Safeway in Wichita—either in the stores, warehouses or offices.

ARREST NEGRO SEEKING HAIRCUT

CHICAGO—When a member of the Chicago CORE group, Joffre Stewart, Negro, went into Leone's Barbershop, he hoped to get a haircut. Instead, he got arrested. When he entered the shop the second time on the same day, a customer at the barber's request phoned the police.

Finding that Stewart's policy was one of nonviolent noncooperation, the policeman who arrived kicked him hard in the solar plexus. Aided by another policeman, he dragged Stewart to the wagon. The barber failed to appear in court, but because Stewart had noncooperated, the case was continued for 12 days pending an investigation of his sanity. Found to be sane, he was returned to court and the case was dismissed.

CINCINNATI—The Committee on Human Relations is conducting a petition campaign to get Negroes admitted to the College of Music of Cincinnati and the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. Petition forms may be obtained from the Committee, P. O. Box 54, Cincinnati 1, Ohio. Graduates of the conservatory are particularly urged to contact the Committee.

STORY BEHIND PAGE 1 PICTURE

This picture is visual evidence of the interracial barbershop in operation. None of the men in the barber chairs is a CORE member. An interracial CORE group arrived at about 8:30 one morning to take a posed shot for the CORElator only to find the barber chairs already occupied by these four men. So instead of a posed picture, CORE's photographer got an unposed picture.

NEGRO BAN ENDED AT SWIMMING POOL, RESTAURANT

NEW YORK CITY—Negroes can now swim at the pool of the Hotel Shelton, near Grand Central Station and can eat at the Artists & Writers Restaurant, in the Times Square section, as a result of CORE action.

In a survey of hotel swimming pools made by City College CORE's workshop last spring, the Hotel Shelton had been discovered to be the only one with a policy of discrimination. This Fall, New York CORE tested the pool three more times and found the policy unchanged. Whites were admitted by merely buying a ticket while Negroes were told that the pool was "a club" and that there was a long waiting list.

CORE then brought the matter before Bernard T. Davey, the hotel manager. In a subsequent conference with the group's spokesmen, Davey stated he had instructed the pool manager and its employees so that there would be no discrimination in the future. That such a policy is now in effect was determined by Negro CORE members who have gone swimming there.

When CORE members first went to the Artists & Writers Restaurant, they found that whereas whites were seated immediately, Negroes were told to return in an hour, even though many tables were vacant. On the third occasion when this happened, the whites who had been seated and the Negroes who had not, confronted the manager together. He refused to discuss the matter but a few days later CORE spokesmen were summoned by the restaurant's attorney, A. L. Samuelson, who guaranteed that there would be no further discrimination. That such a policy is now in effect was determined by Negroes who have since eaten there.

IMPORTANT: Make a note of the address of CORE's new national headquarters. It is 513 West 166th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

LITERATURE

CORE: A Brief History	.10
The CORE Way Helen Buckler	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough (Interracial action in the south)	.40
Erasing the Color Line George Houser (23 stories of nonviolent action)	.40
Look Away (Handbook of 50 spirituals)	.25
Nonviolence Versus Racism	.10
War Without Violence (Selections) Krishnalal Shridharani (Techniques of Gandhi movement)	.15
We Challenged Jimcrow (Interracial Southern Bus Trip)	.15
The Proof of the Pudding (How CORE Ended Jimcrow at Pools) Jim Peck	.05
Religion & Race: Barriers to College? A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross	.20
Anti-Jimcrow Neckties	1.00

Free Material

(For quantity orders there is a small fee)

Action Against the Quota System
CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Racism Stirs in the Pews
The Socio-Drama
What Is CORE?

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

I enclose $_____ for literature (specify which)

I enclose $_____ for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

____

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32, N. Y.

A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

April 1950

ARREST PICKETS PROTESTING HEIMAN'S THEATER POLICY

NEW YORK CITY—Ten of a group of pickets participating in a Lincoln's Birthday demonstration against Marcus Heiman's jimcrow theater policy were arrested when they refused to comply with an arbitrary police ruling that the number of pickets be limited to 10 for the first hour and two thereafter. More than ten other pickets continued the demonstration after the arrests.

All but one of those arrested were subsequently acquitted by Magistrate Charles Ramsgate. In the one case, that of the editor of this bulletin, Magistrate Ramsgate imposed a 10-day jail term because as spokesman for the group he had urged the others to continue picketing asserting that the police order was unconstitutional. This case is being appealed.

Purpose of the demonstration was to persuade Heiman to end racial discrimination at his Ford's Theater in Baltimore, now being picketed by the NAACP and at his National Theater in Washington, which he has transformed into a movie house rather than comply with the policy of Actors Equity Assn. of refusing to play there until Negroes are admitted on a basis of equality.

The picketing was in front of Heiman's main office, which is located in the heart of New York's theater district. Sponsoring the demonstration along with New York CORE was Students for Democratic Action.

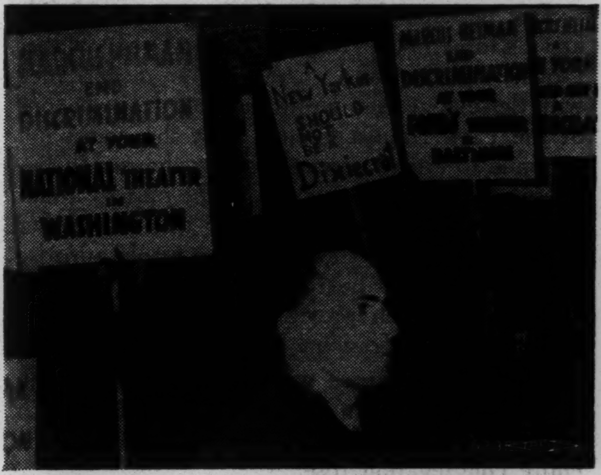
Save the dates

CORE annual Conference and Convention

Place to be announced

June 14 - 18

PICKETING HEIMAN



BOYCOTT-JIMCROW CAMPAIGN WIDELY ACCLAIMED

The nationwide boycott-jimcrow campaign conducted for the first time this Brotherhood Month (February) was widely acclaimed with persons in many sections having signed and circulated the pledge not to patronize facilities in which racial segregation is required. Among those who endorsed the campaign publicly were Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Representative Jacob K. Javits of New York.

Typical of the response was that of the Committee for Non-segregation in Baltimore Theaters, which requested 1,000 copies of the boycott-jimcrow pledge. A workshop group in Muncie, Indiana requested 2,500 copies. Mary E. Whetstone, Montgomery, Alabama, community service chairman for the southeastern jurisdiction of Methodist Youth, wrote that she had interviewed Negroes in the area and that they had suggested a Promote Common Courtesy Campaign for Brotherhood Month. In

(Continued on page 2, column 1)

Bartlesville, Oklahoma, the local paper printed in a prominent place an appeal for action written by a local spokesman for the campaign.

In Cincinnati eleven clergymen, of different faiths joined in appealing to local churches and schools. Seven theaters allowed use of their lobbies for the signature campaign. In Washington, during the particular week in February designated as Brotherhood Week, the Interracial Workshop handed out leaflets in front of Loew's Palace headed "Brotherhood 'Weak' At Loew's" (referring to the theater's policy of discrimination).

But perhaps the most dramatic story of this first Brotherhood Month is that of Mabel Downs of Portland, Oregon. In accordance with the pledge, she wrote the board of deacons of the First Baptist Church that she could not continue to attend services during the month because of the board's refusal in the past to admit Negroes. Rev. Ralph Walker then asked her to come to church, stating that he would surprise her. At services he read from the by-laws of the church which provides for taking in "any person upon profession of faith."

"Those who agree with these by-laws which have been in effect in this church since 1860 will please stand," said Rev. Walker. Almost the entire congregation rose.

PICKET SEARS ROEBUCK

BERKELEY, Calif.—Picketing of Sears Roebuck & Co.'s downtown Oakland store has been started by Berkeley CORE, following the collapse of negotiations with management. In its 20 years in Oakland, the store has never hired a Negro or Oriental as a sales clerk or office worker, despite repeated protests from groups such as the Council for Civic Unity.

Management's attitude was demonstrated during negotiations between Manuel Talley of CORE and General Manager Ridener. Throughout the interview, Ridener addressed Talley as "boy." Remarking that "Liza, the cleaning woman, cooks wonderful chicken," he expressed the viewpoint that certain groups go into certain occupations.

He argued that there are no Jewish farmers since they all go into business and banking, concluding: "So, Negroes just don't become sales clerks or office workers." Ridener closed the discussion by declaring that he would hire whom he pleased and that he did not care to discuss the matter further.

INTERRACIAL GROUP BOUNCED AT TRIANON BALLROOM

CHICAGO—On two occasions bouncers at the Trianon Ballroom threw out members of an interracial group, some 15 men and women who sought admittance. This large ballroom is located on the eastern edge of Chicago's "black belt."

"The first time we were allowed to buy tickets but were refused admittance," writes Jack Fooden, chairman of University of Chicago CORE. "When we refused to leave, bouncers threw out the men. Using a tactic of non-violent non-cooperation the men sat down, so the bouncers had to drag them out. The women were allowed to remain in the lobby where they tried repeatedly to get past the ticket taker. The men continued their attempt to get inside. This lasted two hours.

"On the second occasion, bouncers stopped us at the outside doors and threw us out as soon as we advanced. This time the women were thrown out as well as the men. Again we stayed two hours. Reporters and photographers from all city newspapers were there, but the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations suppresses all the publicity of this kind that it can. Police were also out in force, but no arrests were made."

Following these two incidents the management asked CORE if it would be willing to resume negotiations. CORE answered in the affirmative, but received no further word from management. Hence the direct action campaign will continue.

THEATER, RESTAURANT SITUATION IMPROVED

LAWRENCE, Kansas—The jimcrow policy in theaters and restaurants here is gradually breaking down, reports Elmer Rusco of Lawrence CORE.

Recalling how a sitdown two years ago won for the first time an interracial section in one of the theaters, Rusco says: "No further agreements have been reached officially, but apparently the theaters have stopped enforcing segregation." He adds, however, that most people still sit in the segregated areas.

Individual Negroes have been served occasionally in one of the cafes near the Kansas university campus during the past year, although their official policy has not changed, Rusco says.

SAFEWAY POLICY CHANGED

By Delores Day

WICHITA, Kans.—Wichita CORE is very pleased to relate to the COREIator, the successful conclusion to the recent Safeway Campaign. As a result of our picketing and direct action techniques, Safeway Corporation in Wichita has revised its hiring policy.

One Negro is now working in one of the stores, and the personnel office has advised several later applicants, that Safeway will be hiring more. If this is carried out it will indicate a complete change of policy, which we firmly believe would not have materialized except for our efforts.

When we first approached Mr. Geddes, head of the stores in this district, he said that no discrimination existed, but refused to allow us to go through their warehouses and offices. By various methods such as, asking for fictitious people in the stores and stating their race we had proof that discrimination did exist locally.

When we asked for negotiations, we were put off, so we decided to picket one store. Safeway officials charged that we had "jumped the gun" and that they would not be "forced into anything."

Each week a letter was sent to Mr. Geddes asking for a negotiations date. Each time we received a letter back saying that they would not be forced to do anything and furthermore, would not negotiate until our pickets were removed.

Our pickets succeeded in keeping out all Negroes and a great number of whites. We found many people who were sympathetic to our cause, and co-operated in our boycott. The personnel of the store took it all as a joke for the first week and resorted to heckling. In the second week, we extended our picket lines to another Safeway store.

Although we had gained many moral sympathizers through the campaign, we are still a small group, and it is doubtful that we could have carried on the direct action of picketing longer than a month. However we began sending out open letters to the community, and to Mr. Geddes.

Finally we decided to see if management would really negotiate if the picketing halted. Safeway agreed, but stipulated that only one CORE representative, Vashti Crutcher be present together with "four leading citizens of the Negro community." While CORE objected to the company's attempt to thus make it a "Negro problem" it was agreed to go ahead with the negotiations.

The four Negroes who went along with Miss Crutcher, although not connected with CORE expressed the CORE point of view most ably. Management stated that some Negroes would definitely be hired, but at the same time urged CORE to stop sending out open letters on the subject. That we refused to do. But since that time we have not called for a boycott. We have merely stated the facts and let the readers judge for themselves.

Mr. Geddes has since refused to correspond with CORE, dealing entirely with Rev. Hayes, one of the four Negroes who had been in the negotiations. Nevertheless, one Negro is now employed by Safeway with a promise of more to be hired soon. We hope that this is a complete change of policy and that we will be able to fully publicize the facts.

GROUP SEEKS SERVICE IN SOUTHERN TOWN

BARTLESVILLE, Okla.—The interracial trio which has broken the jimcrow pattern in churchgoing here, undertook what is a daring experiment for this south midwestern town. They sought service in the largest local drug store which serves food.

They knew they were being stared at, but having been together so much, they were perfectly nonchalant. It seemed for about ten minutes that they would be ignored. The cashier was telephoning frantically. Then the headwaiter came over and said: "Sorry, but we have called the owner and he says we cannot serve you."

"Why?" asked one of the whites in the group. Becoming slightly belligerent, the headwaiter answered: "I didn't ask why because he owns the store."

The group then left, but they haven't given up: they plan to visit other eating places.

ALL-DAY PICKET LINE AT BARBERSHOP

CHICAGO—All-day Saturday picket lines have been initiated last month in front of Al's Barbershop, the establishment picked by Chicago CORE as a starting point for ending jimcrow barbering in the borderline area where it is located (64th St. near Cottage Grove Ave.).

The picketing started when, after several tests and discussions with Al, CORE decided that the issue could not be settled by negotiation.

LAUNCH DRIVE AGAINST JIMCROW HOTELS

BOSTON—An official of a Boston hotel, speaking on the phone to a CORE spokesman delivered a lecture on the New England tradition against discrimination and recalled that there is a state law against it. Yet, on three occasions since then, CORE test groups found jimcrow to prevail there. This illustrates a policy which Boston CORE found to be typical in the hotels of New England's metropolis.

Following a year of testing, in which Negroes and whites visited over thirty of the major hotels in Boston and Cambridge, local CORE has launched a large scale campaign against the widespread discriminatory policy found to prevail.

While in the majority of the hotels, Negroes were refused a room while whites following them were admitted, Boston CORE decided to concentrate on four hotels where discrimination was found to be most flagrant. These are the Bradford, Braemore, Ritz-Carlton and Continental.

So Boston CORE has sent out 2,000 appeal letters "to write and urge your friends, your church, and members of organizations to which you belong to write letters or to call the managers of the four hotels registering their sentiments in this matter."

While the tests showed jimcrow to prevail, many of the larger hotels have received Negroes on occasion, mainly when reservations had been made by phone or letter, Boston CORE states. Also some conventions have been able to secure adequate housing for Negro guests. For a hotel to state explicitly that it will not admit Negroes would subject it to possible prosecution under the state law.

Washington and St. Louis—the capital of our nation and one of our biggest industrial centers, both at the gateway to southern jimcrow country. What more strategic localities could be chosen for an interracial nonviolent action program of combating discrimination? Such a program is precisely what is planned for the interracial action and training projects to be sponsored jointly by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality in both cities in July, 1950.

Full details can be found in the folder announcement about the Workshop. Let us know of any others interested in participating in this unusual project.

LITERATURE

Civil Rights in the United States in 1949 A 72-page pamphlet giving a balance sheet of group relations, covering every area from mob violence and athletics to housing and education.	.25
CORE: A Brief History	.10
The CORE Way Helen Buckler	.05
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CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Race and Religion in Selective Admission
Racism Stirs in the Pews
The Socio-Drama
What Is CORE?

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I enclose $______ for literature (specify which)

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Name ________________________

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GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

July 1950

WOOLWORTH'S HOLDS OUT

by IRVIN DAGEN

ST. LOUIS—For eight months St. Louis CORE has been attempting to get the F. W. Woolworth Co. to come to meetings with the other dime store and downtown restaurant officials aimed at ending jimcrow eating facilities. All the dime stores have cooperated except Woolworth, whose managers have been almost unanimously unfriendly.

We had some sit-ins, but discontinued them when one of the managers promised to attend a meeting with representatives of the other stores. He never showed up. We concluded that the only effective method would be picketing and boycott.

So we set up picket lines which proved extremely effective in the Negro sections and partially so in the white areas. At the same time we continued to try to get the company to negotiate, but without success.

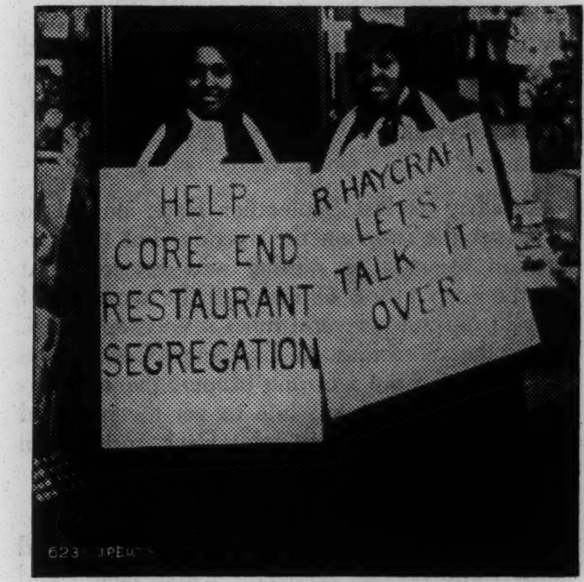
When I was in New York, I decided to get in contact with Woolworth's national headquarters. I talked with C. L. Cook, whose attitude was in contrast to Woolworth officials in St. Louis.

Following my return, Mr. Dieckmuller, the St. Louis district manager, called me and said he had heard from Mr. Cook in New York. It immediately became clear, however, that the company's attitude, locally, was still the same. He said he would not even consider negotiating until the pickets were called off. I asked him if, in such an event, he really would agree to negotiate. He wouldn't agree. He then referred me to a Mr. Breland, district public relations chief, who was out of town.

Upon his return, Mr. Breland met with me. He indicated that several people in the St. Louis office were behind the times, not only on how to deal with racial problems, but on how to deal with labor problems, etc. He said that if we could get the majority of downtown stores to accept a non-discriminatory restaurant policy, he would favor Woolworth's doing likewise.

So St. Louis CORE will attempt to bring this about, since we believe the city is ready to accept non-segregation at all eating places in the downtown and midtown area. Already a number of lunch counters have changed their policies as a result of our campaign.

PICKETING WOOLWORTH'S



AT THE SOUND OF THE GONG, THE TIME WILL BE —

During sit-ins at a St. Louis dime store lunch counter, one CORE member would wear a large sign on her back saying: "We have been waiting for service — hours and — minutes." Another member changed the time on the sign as each quarter hour passed.

In the adjoining seat was another CORE member with a little box of leaflets on her back inscribed with the words: "Take one." This was found to be an excellent means for distributing leaflets inside the store.

PICKET STOCKHOLDERS MEETING

WILMINGTON, Del.—Unable to put on the agenda the question of ending the segregated seating system on southern buses, Jim Peck and Bayard Rustin picketed the annual stockholders meeting of the Greyhound Corp. on May 16. Each of them had bought a share of stock on the eve of the 1947 interracial bus trip through the south sponsored by CORE and the FOR.

When they first raised the issue at the 1948 stockholders meeting, Merrill Buffington, secretary of the corporation, told them they should have gone through the procedures outlined by the Securities & Exchange Act. So they did, but to no avail.

As early as last September Peck started to try to get the issue on the agenda, but the corporation resorted to stalling and evasion. At first the corporation objected to the wording of Peck's proposal. Several times it was rephrased. When the Securities & Exchange Commission finally deemed the wording proper, the corporation claimed it was too late to get the proposal on the agenda. At that point Peck and Rustin decided on the picketing.

They carried signs saying: "Greyhound Corp. Follows The Dixiecrat Party Line" and "Greyhound Corp. Unfair to Negroes." During the picketing Peck went inside the building and distributed explanatory leaflets to everybody attending the stockholders meeting. It was subsequently reported in the press that the corporation counsel then spoke on the subject in an apologetic manner, blaming the continuance of jimcrow on southern state laws. The pickets' leaflet pointed out that the corporation is violating the 1946 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in interstate travel.

Rustin, a year ago, served 30 days on a North Carolina road gang for defying the segregated bus seating regulations at Chapel Hill. He, along with Igal Roodenko, Joe Felmet and Andy Johnson, lost their legal appeal because of complicating technicalities. Peck and Dennis Banks got similar sentences at Asheville, North Carolina, but there being no complicating technicalities, the cases were dismissed by the state when the two announced they would appeal.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS MEAN TO CORE

Before adjourning, the U. S. Supreme Court issued three important decisions which, while they failed to break the 54-year-old precedent of "separate but equal", are a step forward. One of these rulings outlawed segregation in interstate travel: the other two called for admission of Negroes to white universities in cases where the facilities at Negro universities are inferior.

The decision on interstate travel is even stronger than that in the Irene Morgan case of 1946, according to Martin A. Martin, Richmond, Va., attorney, who handled that case as well as the cases of those arrested in Virginia during CORE's 1947 interracial bus trip through the upper south.

But these Supreme Court decisions are meaningless unless they are put into effect. The way to put them into effect is through CORE's technique of non-violent direct action.

The decision outlawing segregation in dining cars will be ineffective unless Negro and interracial groups enforce it by actually sitting in the white sections of dining cars. The rulings on the universities will be ineffective unless Negroes apply for admission to white universities in states where the Negro universities are inferior.

CARNATION MILK BOYCOTT SUCCESSFUL

The Carnation Milk Co. has abandoned its lily-white employment policy in California as a result of a boycott by merchants in the Negro sections of Los Angeles and the San Francisco bay area.

This was reported by Manuel Talley during his recent trip east. The boycott had been organized by Talley as a project of CORE in California.

SEEK TO PUT NEW POLICY INTO PRACTICE

MINNEAPOLIS—In an attempt to put into practice the announced non-segregation policy of the Salvation Army's Evangeline Home, Minneapolis CORE is trying to get the YWCA to refer girls there.

The board of the Evangeline Home has announced in a local paper that the establishment will hereafter admit Negroes.

WHY DOES BEDFORD "Y" BAR NEGROES

That is the question asked by these pickets—members of New York CORE and Brooklyn College CORE. Although this YMCA is located in Brooklyn's Negro section, it has refused to grant membership to Negroes.

HOUSTON GETS SPINGARN MEDAL

BOSTON—Charles H. Houston, Washington attorney and member of CORE's national advisory committee, who died recently, has been presented posthumously with the Spingarn Medal, awarded annually by the NAACP to a Negro for outstanding achievement.

In making the presentation, Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard Law School commented: "It is doubtful that there has been a single important case involving civil rights during the past fifteen years in which Charles Houston has not participated directly or by consultation and advice."

ABC ACCEPTS DEMOCRACY

Faced with increased protests and court actions in four states, the American Bowling Congress finally capitulated to democracy and voted at its recent convention to abandon its lily-white policy.

Minneapolis CORE had been particularly active on this front and national CORE was among the organizations pressing for a policy change. Now CORE must see to it that the new policy is put into effect.

LAUNCH ACTION PROJECTS

MINNEAPOLIS—Among the action plans adopted by the CORE Convention are:

1. A follow-up on the Henderson decision of the Supreme Court. A group from St. Louis CORE will take the initiative in testing policies on railroad dining cars now that segregation is outlawed. On a small scale this project will be patterned after the 1947 interracial bus trip.

2. Initiating of three workshops during the summer of 1951—in Washington, D. C., St. Louis, and California.

3. Sponsorship of a campaign for noncooperation with jimcrowism during Brotherhood Month (February 1951). This will be patterned after the Brotherhood Pledge Campaign of February, 1950, but will be promoted on a much larger scale.

4. Investigation by the national office of the possibility of a coordinated campaign on a national scale against one or two business firms with a discriminatory employment policy. Any such campaign could succeed, it was recognized, only if much of such company's trade came from minorities and only if CORE could get enough support from various parts of the country.

Copies of the Convention proceedings will be sent to officers of the affiliated CORE groups. Any other persons desiring a copy can obtain one from the national CORE office.

PICKETING, SIT-INS AT BARBERSHOP

CHICAGO, Ill.—Picketing and sit-ins have marked Chicago CORE's campaign at Al's Barbershop, the establishment picked as a starting point for ending jimcrow in the borderline area where the shop is located.

Some negotiations have taken place, but Al refuses to change his policy. One suggestion made by CORE was that Al take on a Negro barber who would teach him how to cut Negroes' hair. This was to counter the stereotype argument raised by barbershop managements.

CORE has also conducted one sit-in at Elliott's Restaurant, where the waitresses were hostile and where a Negro cannot get served unless he is insistent.

SEVENTEEN D. C. RESTAURANTS OPEN TO ALL

WASHINGTON—The nation's capital which a few years ago had no more than four restaurants open to all, now has 17. This was determined by the Interracial Workshop through a long series of tests. Lists of the non-discriminatory restaurants and their addresses are available free of charge (write Interracial Workshop, 1734 F St. NW).

Among those which have changed their policy is the YMCA Coffee Shop, which was the scene of a campaign three years ago conducted by the first summer Workshop held by CORE in Washington; the Methodist Building Cafeteria and the National Zoo Cafeteria, whose policies were changed by the 1948 Workshop and the Greyhound Terminal Restaurant, whose policy was changed as a result of action by last year's Workshop.

One factor behind the recent change in policy of some of the others has been the prosecution of Thompson's Restaurant under an old anti-discrimination law passed in 1872.

"By all means, please make every effort to patronize those places that are open to all, regardless of your ancestry," stated an appeal issued by the Workshop in releasing the list. "It is important that their policies of no discrimination become well established and that they do not lose business because of it."

Compiling of the list was the result of innumerable tests. The first test was usually with an interracial group. If they were served without incident, the next was usually with an all Negro group. Four or five further tests were then made at each establishment to make sure.

In establishments found to discriminate, Workshop representatives attempted to negotiate a change of policy with those in charge.

From time to time as the number of non-discriminatory restaurants increases, the Workshop will print new lists for distribution.

TEST RESTAURANTS

EVANSTON, Ill.—A series of tests to determine the extent of discrimination by local restaurants, is two thirds completed, Evanston CORE reports.

The group plans to print and circulate the final result of the survey.

LITERATURE

Project Brotherhood (Story of 1949 Washington Workshop)	.05
Ten Good Reasons (for Cracking the Quota System in American Education)	.10
Civil Rights in the United States in 1949 **A 72-page pamphlet giving a balance sheet of group relations, covering every area from mob violence and athletics to housing and education.**	**.25**
CORE: A Brief History	.10
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Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough (Interracial action in the south)	.40
Erasing the Color Line George Houser (23 stories of nonviolent action)	.40
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What Is CORE?

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Name ______________________________

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CORE-LATOR

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A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

October 1950

CASUALTY OF THE HYSTERIA

BARTLESVILLE, Okla.—Ruth Brown, organizer of a CORE group in this borderline town of 19,000 became a casualty of today's hysteria when she was removed from the city librarian's job which she had held for 35 years.

The tragic story is one which unfortunately is being duplicated from coast to coast. Responsibility lies with groups which are most rabidly anti-Russian but which in accordance with Russia's undemocratic procedures try to silence persons with opposing viewpoints—particularly those who take the principles of democracy seriously.

Citizens' Committee on Rampage

It started in Bartlesville about six months ago with a so-called Citizens' Committee composed of a small segment of the local American Legion chapter, members of Pro-America—a Republican women's club—and members of local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

First target of the Citizens' Committee was the local YWCA, which had put into effect a limited interracial program. The Committee demanded discontinuance of the program and the discharge of the head of the administrative staff. The YWCA board referred the matter to the membership which voted approval of the established program by a large majority. The Committee then proceeded to exert pressure through the Community Chest, through which the YWCA funds are received.

Ruth Brown was the next target. The Citizens' Committee appeared at a meeting of the City Commissioners to complain about her CORE activities and about "subversive" literature in the library—the Nation, New Republic and Soviet Russia Today. As a result, the City Commissioners, purportedly under the city's home rule charter, enacted an ordinance placing administration of the library under their control (it was previously under control of a Library Board) and proceeded to fire Miss Brown.

RUTH BROWN

Quiz Ruth Brown on CORE Activities

On July 25, Miss Brown was called by the Mayor to a closed conference of the City Commissioners. The first question put to her was: "Did you take two young colored women with you to a drugstore where they weren't supposed to be?"

Readers of the *CORE-lator* will recall this incident and the refusal of the manager to serve the group. They will also recall how Miss Brown, with some Negro friends, broke down the color line in local churches.

When asked whether she had signed a Loyalty Oath, she said she had never seen one but

(*Continued on page four*)

D. C. CAFE CASE BEING APPEALED

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Aided by The Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of D. C. Anti-Discrimination Laws, The Interracial Workshop is now appealing to the higher courts the conviction of a group of 15 whites and Negroes who were refused service on July 17 at Sholl's Cafe.

Charged with "disorderly conduct," the 15 were arrested and sentenced by Judge Thomas Quinn to $25 fines or 10-day jail terms. The case was assigned to Judge Quinn in U. S. District Court after Judge Armond W. Scott disqualified himself, asserting: "As a citizen, I believe any law that discriminates against any citizen is unconstitutional."

After considerable preliminary testing and negotiating at several downtown restaurants and lunchcounters, the group had decided to go to Sholl's on July 17 and wait for service from about 11:20 to 2:30.

First Two in Line Arrested

Barbara Henderson, who headed the line, reached the steamtable before she was told she would not be served. The owner promptly went out and brought back a traffic cop. He then removed the trays from Miss Henderson, George Houser, who was next in line and from several of the others. After a brief discussion with Houser and Miss Henderson, the cop arrested them. After being booked, however, they were promptly released at the order of the D. C. corporation counsel, and then rearrested.

Thirteen of the group continued to wait for service as the management routed a second line around them. McGarraghy apologized to customers, referring to the group as "Communists" and advising to "shove them aside" if they got in the way.

Meanwhile, he had called for more police. Soon 15 cops arrived. Then, Judge James A. Cobb, formerly of municipal court, conferred with the owner and police and then approached Clayton Flowers, the group's spokesman. He told Flowers that the group's action might jeopardize the appeal of a recent unfavorable decision concerning a civil rights statute of 1872. After a discussion with the judge, Flowers calmly, but firmly, told him that the group would wait for service.

Thirteen Others Arrested

Soon thereafter, upon orders from the owner, all members of the group were arrested, one by one, herded into two patrol wagons and jailed overnight. They were released the following day upon putting up $5 bail.

Public reaction to the incident was mixed. Most of the customers, seeing Negroes in the group, seemed to realize what was happening. Twelve customers left when they learned that Negroes were being refused service. Barbara Parsons heard one man say: "If this group isn't going to get served, I won't eat here." Two men came in and Ruth Sorenson heard one of them say: "Oh, they don't serve colored here: let's leave!" A few customers took the owner's side remarking: "A bunch of Communists!" But the reaction of most of the customers was either curiosity or indifference.

Legal defense was placed in the hands of the local NAACP legal defense committee and its chairman Frank Reeves. At the trial defense counsel contended that members of the group had a legal right to wait for service and that a conviction would mean that the government, in the form of police power, could enforce a discriminatory policy at any restaurant. However, Judge Quinn handed down a conviction, asserting that "Lawlessness under our system of government cannot be tolerated."

The Coordinating Committee which is helping the appeal includes Rev. Smallwood Williams, chairman; Lynn Kirk, secretary-treasurer; Charles C. Beckett, local executive secretary of the Urban League; Mrs. Alice Hunter, secretary of the D. C. Recreation Board; Dr. John J. O'Connor of the Catholic Interracial Council and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, first Negro to gain admittance to the American Association of University Women. Many persons all over the country have contributed money for the appeal.

— 0 —

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Barbee Durham and Mrs. M. E. Becker have organized a Columbus Committee on the Sholl's Case, which is raising funds to appeal the conviction of the 15 in Washington.

CINCINNATI, O.—Twelve hundred persons attended a concert to protest the discriminatory admittance policies of Cincinnati's two music schools. Promoting the concert was the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations.

SIX MORE ARRESTS AT BALLROOM

CHICAGO—A waiting line action at the Trianon Ballroom here on July 15 wound up with the arrest of six Negroes and whites on disorderly conduct charges.

Judge Morrissy offered to dismiss the cases if the group would agree not to repeat "the same pattern of behavior." Four agreed, but Jack Fooden and Dick Schwartz rejected the judge's proposal. They were tried, convicted and fined $200 and costs. But the judge, immediately after passing sentence, decided to "vacate the fines" temporarily—that is until December 14.

This was in line with the policy the courts have followed regarding the Trianon—a policy of threatening without actually cracking down. The case of seven persons arrested on March 11 under similar circumstances never has come to trial. Maynard Wishner, of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, who has been in close contact with police, prosecutors and judges, told members of the group that the reason for continuing the March case indefinitely was to keep them from returning to the ballroom.

Cops Waiting

When the group arrived at the ballroom on July 15, Lieutenant William Hennessey was waiting for them. He approached saying: "Go home, beat it, or I'll have to arrest you." Asked what the charges would be, he stated: "disorderly conduct and I'm giving you five minutes to disperse." The group remained at the entrance to the ballroom and in less than five minutes the six were under arrest and on their way to the wagon. Anticipating violence, Zenophon Abraham and Elizabeth Fooden climbed aboard. But Dick and Sue Schwartz, Jack Fooden and Kay Meyers decided to noncooperate completely with the arrest. After slumping to the ground, they were dragged and pushed into the wagon, and driven to the Woodlawn police station.

Rough Handling

"While I stood in the police station, I witnessed for the first time the type of police action the public seldom sees," Abraham states. "I saw four so-called lawmen drag Dick and Jack into the station, lift them a few feet above the floor, and slam them down, handcuffed."

Describing the ride from women's court to the county jail, Sue Schwartz, who was pregnant, said: "We drove there by way of 300 North over the worst roads in the city. On at least eight occasions I was bounced some 18 inches into the air. I tried to assume a position that would protect the baby from the jarring, but I fainted several times from the pain of this."

WAITING LINE AT BALLROOM

(Note the arm of an attendant inside, holding the door shut)

Upon arrival at the county jail the four noncooperators refused to eat. Jack Fooden and Dick Schwartz remained on hunger strike for four days, until they were removed to the prison hospital. On the fifth day, they were bailed out by friends. The other four had been bailed out previously.

George Leighton of the NAACP handled their case in court. The campaign to end jimcrow at the Trianon Ballroom is being conducted by University of Chicago CORE.

TO FIGHT YMCA JIMCROW

TOLEDO, O.—Refused a room at the Central YMCA and sent to the Negro branch, Jim Clark, CORE field representative, pledged to press a campaign against the prevailing policy.

After Clark's failure to get a room, Harold Anderson, president of the local YMCA's board of directors, was visited by an interracial delegation including representatives of the NAACP.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Continuing its drive to end jimcrow at the Bedford YMCA, New York CORE held two more picket demonstrations there recently. Although the Bedford YMCA is located in the Negro section, it refuses to open its swimming pool and gymnasium facilities to Negroes.

(RUTH BROWN—continued from page one)

would sign one if it were presented to her. None could be found in the City Manager's files.

Imply She Is a Red

One Commissioner asked: "Miss Brown, I understand you to say that you are not a Communist?" Miss Brown replied: "I certainly am not."

Further questions pertained to Miss Brown's agreement with the former Library Board on the "subversive" publications, a writer with whom Miss Brown had discussed the library situation and the views of Paul Robeson, whose picture a Commissioner understood had once hung in the library.

Told She Is Fired

No notes or minutes on the questioning were taken. An hour after it ended, the city manager telephoned Miss Brown at her home and read to her the Council's statement of the termination of her employment "forthwith." To date she has received no written confirmation of her dismissal.

Two weeks later the mayor, asked during a Commissioners' meeting whether the race issue or Communism were responsible for Miss Brown's dismissal, stated twice that it was neither. Rather, it was "insubordination." Pressed for specific instances of insubordination, the mayor could not recall one. Neither could any other official present at the hour and a half questioning on July 25.

Case to be Fought

Miss Brown's case has been publicized considerably by the American Library Association's Committee on Intellectual Freedom. Following the dismissal, she sought a lawyer to fight the case but could find none willing to represent her. News has just reached us that she has finally managed to secure one. *For further information write to Friends of Miss Brown, 514 Johnstone, Bartlesville, Okla.*

EVANSTON, Ill.—Based on its survey, Evanston CORE has recently issued an attractive leaflet listing 43 local restaurants which do not discriminate. "We ask your patronage of these restaurants as a sign of registered approval," the leaflet says.

CHICAGO—CORE was among the many organizations whose protests caused Mayor Martin Kennelly to bring about rescinding of the police ban on the film, "No Way Out" in Chicago.

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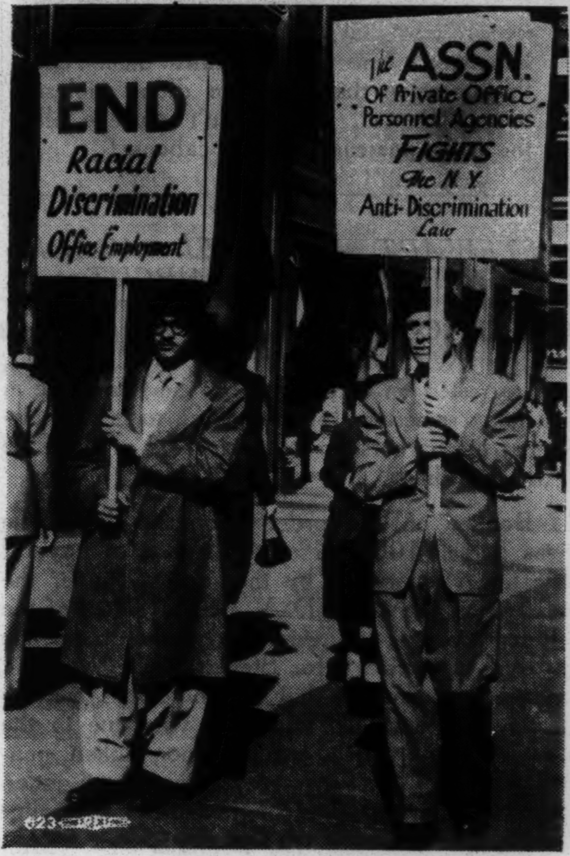
PICKETING AGAINST JOB BIAS



NEW YORK CITY—The issue of discrimination in office employment was brought to public attention by New York CORE with picketing and leaflet distribution at the office of the Association of Private Office Personnel Agencies. The Assn., representing 72 of New York's white collar employment agencies, has started a law suit aimed at weakening the State Anti-Discrimination Law.

The suit seeks to outlaw four important regulations of the Commission which enforces the law. Purpose of the legal action is to enable employment agencies and employers to discriminate freely, without having to resort to subterfuge.

One regulation which the suit seeks to outlaw prohibits pre-employment inquiries as to an applicant's complexion or asking for his photograph. The Association's argument as quoted in the *New York Times* is: "Distant employers have no way of judging the appearance of a prospective employe without a photograph." CORE's leaflet points out that this regulation is necessary because "Many employers want to bar Negroes—without stating that color is the reason."

(*Continued on page two*)

A CALL FOR ACTION DURING BROTHERHOOD MONTH

The following is part of an appeal urging your participation in the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign during this coming Brotherhood Month (February). The program calls for boycotting places of business, recreation or worship which practice racial discrimination. Signers of the appeal include: John Dewey, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, E. Stanley Jones, Dorothy Maynor, A. Philip Randolph, Ira DeA. Reid, Arnold Rose and Lillian Smith.

"Last year, the idea was publicized and circulated on a small scale. It met with an enthusiastic response and a number of significant events took place around it.

"In a city in Oregon a devoted white woman decided that she could not observe the Pledge and still attend her segregated church. She informed her pastor of her decision. This incident led the pastor to make a declaration of principles from the pulpit, calling the congregation to join him in committing themselves to the interracial idea. When he called for those who accepted the challenge to stand with him as a sign of their conviction, in a dramatically tense moment nearly the entire congregation arose.

"We think this year this plan can have a stimulating effect in calling people to practice what they preach. We hope you will join us in endorsing this unique plan for this year and that we may hear from you soon. (CORE, 513 West 166 St., New York 32, N. Y.)"

JOB BIAS—(continued from page one)

Another regulation which the suit seeks to outlaw prohibits employers and employment agencies from asking the original name of a job applicant who has changed his name. The Association's argument as quoted in the *New York Times* is: "Many Communists have changed their names and an employer should have the right to inquire into this." CORE's leaflet points out that this regulation is necessary because "Many employers want to bar persons of foreign or Jewish origin—even when they have changed their names to avert discrimination."

The other two provisions which the Association wants voided are of a somewhat similar nature.

CORE HEADS SUCCESSFUL FIGHT AGAINST CITY CHARTER

ST. LOUIS—St. Louis CORE was the first local group to oppose a proposed city charter, which had absolutely no civil rights provisions and which would have been effective for many years without change. Until CORE took its stand, local support of the charter was unanimous. Business, labor, the press, religious and educational leaders—everybody backed it.

But once CORE took its stand, opposition snowballed. The Negro weeklies, the NAACP, a couple of local unions joined the fight against it. CORE members made speeches, canvassed neighborhoods, passed out literature, worked at the polls. Marvin Rich, of the CORE group, headed the campaign. Joe and Billie Ames, CORE leaders, spoke at two meetings in one night. This was typical of the intensive work that went into the campaign. On election eve, CORE was on two radio stations simultaneously. Outcome: the city charter was defeated by 52,000 votes.

GET HOTEL TO SERVE NEGROES

EVANSTON, Ill.—It took three test cases by Evanston CORE to get the Orrington Hotel to serve Negroes. In the first case a Negro couple went in first and was refused service. A white couple who followed refused to be served as long as the Negro couple were unserved. Both couples left without service.

The second test was by an interracial group, who were served reluctantly. On the third test, service was satisfactory.

ANTI-JIMCROW SQUEEZE PLAY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—This is a story of a squeeze play by which one lone CORE member beat jimcrow on a train here in the deep south. Her name is Mervene Ross of St. Louis CORE.

First she sat in one coach reserved for whites. The conductor told her to move to the jimcrow coach. She refused. So the conductor had all the passengers move to the next coach back. Then Miss Ross moved into that coach. The same thing happened. She did it a third time. On this occasion the conductor didn't molest her. After all, he couldn't squeeze all the white passengers in the caboose!

STEWART ARRESTED AGAIN FOR SEEKING HAIRCUT

CHICAGO—Joffre Stewart, Negro student at Roosevelt College and a CORE member, was arrested on October 3 for the third time in as many semesters for attempting to get a haircut at the barbershop in Room 503 of the Fine Arts Building.

Booked on a disorderly conduct charge, he was fined $100 and costs. Funds to pay off the fine were raised by the students under the leadership of Robert D. Waltz, president of the student council. However, payment of the fine proved unnecessary for Stewart was granted a mayor's pardon so that he could be sent for psychiatric examination. This was due to the fact that he practiced complete non-violent, non-cooperation during the arrest, a course of action which is beyond the comprehension of police mentality. He was subsequently paroled.

The *Roosevelt Torch*, student publication of Roosevelt College, commented editorially: "We do not agree with all of Stewart's methods, but we admire his philosophy, his fortitude and his integrity."

CHICAGO—CORE members and other opponents of jimcrow who have in the past declined to give blood to the American Red Cross because of its unscientific policy of segregating the plasma according to race, will be pleased to know that the organization's national board of governors on Nov. 19 voted to cease requiring a notation of the donor's race on his medical history card.

CORE AWARD TO "NO WAY OUT"

Professor John Dewey (center), member of CORE's National Advisory Committee, presents award to Albert Lichtman, vice-president of Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. (left) for the film "No Way Out," describing it as "an outstanding motion picture which points out that not violence, but better understanding is the key to improved race relations." To the right of Professor Dewey is Catharine Raymond, CORE's treasurer. Mr. Lichtman accepted the award on behalf of Darryl F. Zanuck, vice-president in charge of production, who subsequently wrote Professor Dewey expressing thanks "for the honor paid me by your organization."

HOW TO DEFEAT ILLEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF JIMCROW ON DINERS

Although the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered the nation's railroads to cease segregation on their diners as of Dec. 15, some railroads are attempting to evade compliance. This was revealed by Belford Lawson, the attorney who handled the successful appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court of Elmer W. Henderson, which prompted the ICC to act.

Lawson obtained a copy of an order to conductors and dining car stewards, issued by the Southern Railway, which claimed to have abandoned segregation in July. The order states that "white passengers should be seated from the buffet or kitchen end of the dining car and Negroes from the opposite end."

CORE points out that such a program can easily be defeated by refusing to cooperate with dining car stewards who try to enforce it. Passengers can sit wherever they like in any dining car. Stewards no longer have any legal authority to make them do otherwise.

NEW APPEAL IN D. C. CAFE CASE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Municipal Court of Appeals has turned down an appeal in the case of 15 members of the Summer Interracial Workshop arrested last July when they attempted to get served at Sholl's Cafe. Charged with "disorderly conduct" they were sentenced to $25 fines or 10-day jail terms.

Following the decision, Frank Reeves, the group's attorney, filed a motion for reconsideration, but that too was rejected. The Committee for the Appeal of the Sholl's Case met and decided to appeal to the higher courts. Cost of the appeal to the U. S. District Court will be approximately $500.

Commenting on the Municipal Court of Appeals decision, Reeves said: "I can suggest no reason for the court's action, particularly in light of the fact that the court only a few days previously had denied a defense motion to dismiss the Thompson's Restaurant case, thereby clearly indicating its intention to consider the validity of the 1872 and 1873 (D. C. civil rights) statutes. And in the event it holds these statutes valid and effective, our contention that charges against members of the group resulted from the cafe owner's violaation of the law, will be clearly sustained."

END DISCRIMINATION AT TWO BOWLING ALLEYS

PASADENA, Calif.—Through tests followed by negotiations with management, Pasadena CORE has ended jimcrow at two of the town's bowling alleys.

Both alleys had previously refused to admit Negroes either to bowl or to attend bowling classes.

ATTENTION CORE GROUPS

The Committee on Employment, appointed at the Convention, has recommended that CORE investigate the possibility of a coordinated anti-job discrimination campaign, directed against a particular national corporation or product (*i.e.*, such as A & P, Sears Roebuck, Pillsbury, Woolworth's, Coca-Cola, Colgate's, etc.). Questionnaires on this issue have been sent out to all CORE groups. IF YOUR GROUP HAS NOT YET FILLED OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND RETURNED IT TO THE NATIONAL CORE OFFICE, PLEASE DO SO PROMPTLY.

BREAK JIMCROW PATTERN IN GRADE SCHOOLS

WILMINGTON, O.—A 16-year-old policy of jimcrow in the grade schools of this southern Ohio town was broken in September when 21 Negro pupils of the 5th and 6th grades were assigned to three schools which had previously been lily-white.

The change resulted from a vigorous campaign by Workers Against Discrimination, a local interracial group. However, Negro pupils in the first four grades are still being jimcrowed in an old school building dating back to the last century.

"Whereas Workers Against Discrimination welcomes the progress toward an integrated school system, it is not blinded to the serious situation regarding segregation which still exists," explains Rev. Ernest Bromley, spokesman for the group. "Nor does it intend, in the face of a little gain, to relax its efforts, because the goal toward which it has been striving is yet to be achieved."

TO HELP ABOLISH THE REMAINING JIMCROW NEGRO GRADE SCHOOL (MIDLAND SCHOOL), BROMLEY CALLS UPON CORELATOR READERS TO WRITE PROTEST LETTERS AT ONCE TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, WILMINGTON, O., AND TO GOVERNOR FRANK LAUSCHE, STATE CAPITOL, COLUMBUS, O.

Midland School, the one remaining jimcrow grade school, with two teachers, is being kept in operation even though there are less than 30 pupils attending. Although segregation in the grade schools was initiated in 1934, the high school has always been interracial. The town has a population of 8,300—300 of whom are Negroes.

The campaign to mobilize local opinion against jimcrow in the grade schools met considerable opposition from the board of education, and from other sources. Students at Wilmington College who were active in the drive, were threatened with expulsion. As a result of Bromley's activity, he, his wife and son were evicted from their home. Helpful to the campaign was the direct action taken by Charles Graham, who refused to send his son to a segregated school.

CINCINNATI, O.—The Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations is continuing its campaign to get the Conservatory of Music and College of Music to admit Negro students.

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GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* January 1951 JIM PECK, *editor*

Call For Action In Brotherhood Month

Encouraged by the enthusiastic response to the Pledge Brotherhood action campaign during the first two years of its existence, the Congress of Racial Equality and Fellowship of Reconciliation have decided to expand the program this year. The February campaign involves refraining from patronizing places of business, recreation or worship which practice racial discrimination.

Listing types of action which can be taken, this year's appeal says: "The least defensible place for jimcrow to exist is in church. An effective plan may be to bring a friend of another racial group to worship with you, or accompany him to his church.

"Find out whether local theaters, restaurants and other public places discriminate in seating racial minorities. If they do, visit the manager and urge him to change his policy. Find out the employment situation for minority groups in such fields as department stores, public transportation, etc. A talk with the manager may be the beginning of a campaign that will ultimately change policy."

Sponsors of the campaign include Roger Baldwin, Frank R. Crosswaith, William J. Faulkner, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Willard S. Townsend, Mordecai W. Johnson and Lillian Smith.

For further information on the campaign and for plans for group action during Pledge Brotherhood month as well as individual action, write the CORE office, 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, New York.

CHICAGO—Tests are being conducted by Chicago CORE at Loop restaurants and on the southwest side.

Hand Out Leaflets

Members of St. Louis CORE are handing out leaflets in front of Kresge's urging racial equality at the store's eating facilities. Members of the Citizens Protective Association, an offshoot of Gerald L. K. Smith's Nationalist Party have on occasion distributed white supremacy leaflets at the same time in an attempt to defeat CORE's campaign.

Dime Stores Cooperate With CORE Experiment

ST. LOUIS—All four downtown dimestores—Woolworth's, McCrory's, Kresge's and Neisner's—are now cooperating with St. Louis CORE by allowing experiments aimed at paving the way for a complete breakdown in discrimination at their eating facilities. These experiments consist in sending small CORE groups to eat at these places at regular intervals—in some instances once a day,

(Continued on page three)

Anti-CORE Police, Prosecutor Linked to The Crime World

HACKENSACK, N.J.–Like a lurid whodunnit, the story is unfolding about tie-ups between the gambling operations of some of the nation's biggest gangsters and two police chiefs and a prosecutor who brazenly cracked down on New York CORE's 1947-48 campaign to end discrimination at Palisades Pool.

Most recent development was the Bergen County gambling grand jury's indictment of Walter Winne on 19 counts alleging misconduct in office. At the time of the CORE campaign, Winne was county prosecutor. Had CORE sought an investigation of the brutality on the part of the Park guards and police, the investigator would have been Winne. But, at the same time Winne's law firm were attorneys for the Park. So Winne, the prosecutor, would have been investigating one of his own clients. When CORE CORE brought a federal civil rights suit on behalf of 10 of the group who were refused admission to the pool, who should appear at the preliminary hearing for the Park but Winne's nephew George, who was also a member of the Winne law firm.

A macabre development occurred on September 7 when Police Chief Fred Stengel of Fort Lee committed suicide, four days after he had been indicted by the grand jury for laxity in investigating a local gambling establishment operated by Joe Adonis. Three days previous Willie Moretti, bigtime gambler who also figured in the grand jury investigation, was shot to death in a cafe just opposite from the Park gate where CORE used to picket during the hot summer weekends.

Police Chief Stengel apparently could not take it, but he could certainly give it–that is to CORE members. It was he who supervised the brutal dragging away of CORE members from the pool entrance and out of the Park, who winked at the beatings by Park guards, who repeatedly arrested members of the group seeking admission to the pool. On one occasion he pushed around the CORE people so roughly that even the Park owner, who was on the scene, complained. "I'm handling this," Stengel told him.

The other police chief involved, Frank Borrell of Cliffside Park(Palisades Park lies in both Fort Lee and Cliffside Park), who arrested over 40 pickets during the CORE campaign, testified last winter that he had made no gambling arrests in 25 years. It was subsequently revealed that a house owned by a cousin of his was the location of Frank Erickson 's local gambling establishment. One explanation of his zeal against the pickets lies in his testimony before the Kefauver Committee that part of his $25,000 annual income comes from amusement concessions which he operates in Palisades Park.

Union to Promote School Integration

ST. LOUIS, Mo.–The Human Rights Committee of Local 688 of the AFL Teamsters Union is going to take over promotion of St. Louis CORE's "A Plan for the Preparation in the St. Louis Schools for the End of Racial Segregation."

An agreement reached between CORE and Harold Gibbons, secretary-treasurer of the local and a member of CORE's advisory committee, provides that the union committee will arrange for financing the plan, for having it printed, for distributing it and for getting organizational indorsements. CORE will be given credit for compiling the information.

Second Ohio Music School Admits Negro

CINCINNATI, Ohio–A second victory in the campaign of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations to end discrimination at local music schools occurred on October 16 when the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music announced enrollment of its first Negro, Henry Garcia.

The change of policy on the part of both music schools followed a 2-year campaign by the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, marked by picket demonstrations, benefit concerts and finally a public hearing.

(DIME STORES—Continued from page one)

in others once every week or two.

During the past two months, CORE has arranged for at least one Negro to eat at the cafeteria in Woolworth's downtown store. Since CORE people still can't get service at the steam counter or coffee section, the plan is for Negroes to go along the line picking up already-prepared foods such as sandwiches, desserts, salads and milk and then sitting at a table of their own choice.

Management reports no bad customer reaction from this experiment. Waitresses have been either friendly or indifferent.

The greatest value of the Woolworth experiment, according to St. Louis CORE, is in pointing it out to other dime store managers as an example of a place which permits Negroes to use its eating facilities. In the case of Neisner's, CORE was able to show its manager a Negro eating at Woolworth's. The upshot was that he agreed to let CORE conduct similar experiments at Neisner's, at first limited to once every two weeks. In getting him to agree to this, CORE spokesmen had to stiffly oppose his proposal for putting in a jimcrow counter for Negroes such as exists at Kresge's.

When negotiating with the manager of Kresge's, the Woolworth situation was also a strong talking point. This manager finally agreed to let CORE conduct similar experiments at Kresge's, at first limited to once a week.

At McCrory's downtown store, the manager has been aware for some months that CORE is sending testing pairs. He says he does not object to Negroes being served at the counter and that waitresses may serve Negroes if they so desire. Except for two occasions in October, the CORE groups have always been served.

Jimcrow High School Bowling Club Ended

EVANSTON, Illinois—The high school's bowling club is now open to all students regardless of race. Following three meetings between spokesmen for Evanston CORE and the principal, an agreement was reached that the club would end its jimcrow policy by hereafter patronizing a non-discriminating alley.

New Field Worker

In accordance with the decision of the November CORE Council meeting, Wally Nelson has started his job as full time field worker.

As a result of a couple of meetings arranged by Betty Beaver and addressed by Wally in Pittsburgh it looks as though a CORE group may soon get started there. Other places for new groups suggested by the CORE Council include Jefferson City and Kansas City, Mo.; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Va.; Baltimore, Md.; Indianapolis and Elkhart, Ind.; Philadelphia; Omaha and Lincoln, Nebr.; Cleveland College, Baldwin-Wallace College and Ohio Wesleyan University in Ohio.

Wally's duties, as outlined by the CORE Council, will include recruiting for the Workshops on college campuses, contacting church and labor groups, organizing weekend workshops, doing intensive leg-work on local problems, working on special projects such as the Cicero situation, organizing new groups, and stimulating existing groups.

Wally has been active in CORE for some years. In 1947 he took part in the interracial bus trip through the upper south. Since then, he has been working in southern Ohio with the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, which recently ended discrimination at the two Cincinnati music schools, and with Operation Brotherhood, an anti-jimcrow project in the area.

Capital Playground Becomes Interracial

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A campaign, begun by the summer Workshop and continued by the permanent Workshop, to make the Hoover playground interracial, is rapidly approaching a successful conclusion.

"After about six weeks of official silence while the playground was used almost exclusively by Negro children, the Recreation Department returned to the Playground the same directors who were there previously," reports Al Mindlin of the Interracial Workshop. "But now these directors are issuing equipment to all children and are carrying on an integrated program.

"Even though the playground is still officially 'white', the Recreation Board has announced a formal hearing at which the playground undoubtedly will be officially declared unsegregated."

The playground is located in a 75% Negro area. Although it is capable of handling 250 children daily, it handled only 25 under the former lily-white policy. The summer Workshop first organized community support and then conducted a pilgrimage in which parents accompanied an interracial group of children to the playground. A second pilgrimage was planned but was found unnecessary because the playground was already becoming integrated. Until recently Recreation Department officials were completely uncooperative.

New CORE Planned

MINNEAPOLIS—Following a meeting held in St. Paul and addressed by Wally Nelson, CORE's new field worker, Minneapolis CORE plans to organize a separate group here. This would mean that each of the twin cities would have a CORE unit.

Wally also spoke at a meeting in Minneapolis. Action plans of the Minneapolis CORE include re-testing of the Prom Ballroom and tests at some restaurants in the Midway district—the area between the twin cities. The group is continuing its tests and re-tests of bowling alleys and roller skating rinks.

LITERATURE

	.10
Civil Rights in the United States in 1950 (Amer. Jewish Cong. & NAACP)	.25
CORE: A Brief History	.05
CORE Techniques and Restaurant Discrimination	.05
The CORE Way Helen Buckler	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough (Interracial action in the south)	.15
Erasing the Color Line (New Edition) George M. Houser	.40
The Negro in Postwar America Arnold M. Rose (member of CORE Advisory Committee) Freedom Pamphlets	.25
We Challenged Jimcrow (Interracial Southern Bus Trip)	.15
Prejudice Won't Hide! (Calif. Federation of Civic Unity)	.10
Religion & Race: Barriers to College? A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross	.20
South Africa Today (a new Public Affairs Pamphlet) by Alan Paton......	.25

Free Material

(For quantity orders there is a small fee)

Action Against the Quota System
CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Project Brotherhood (Story of 1949 Washington Workshop)
Race and Religion in Selective Admission
Racism Sits in the Pews
The Proof of the Pudding (How CORE Ended Jimcrow at Pools) Jim Peck
What Is CORE?

- -

I enclose $_____ for literature (specify which)

I enclose $_____ for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

____

CORE-LATOR

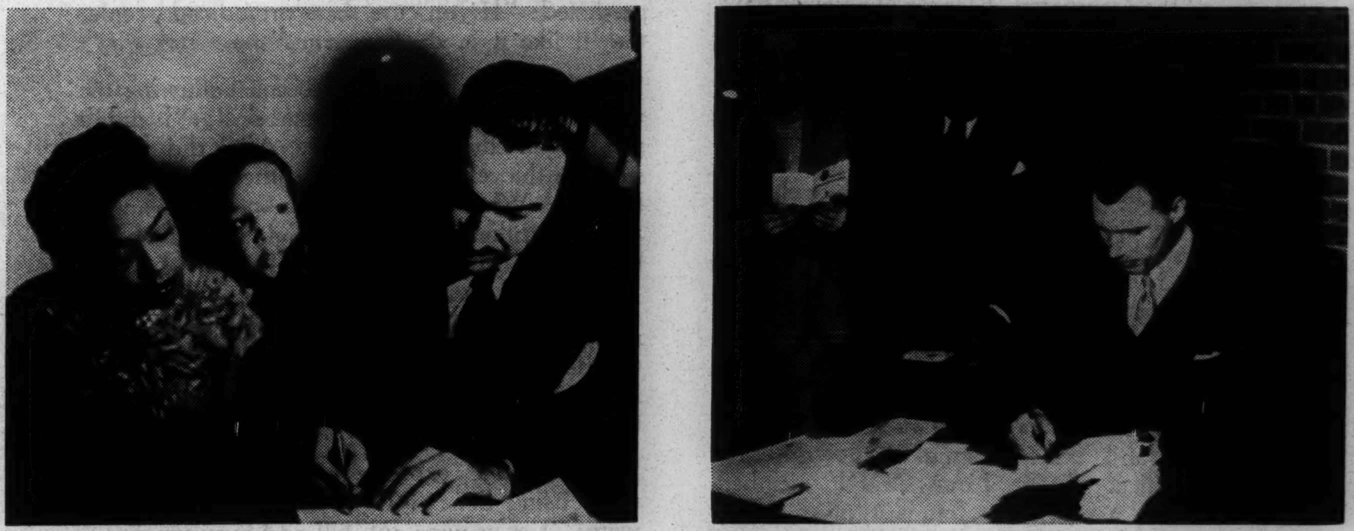
Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32, N. Y.
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

March 1951

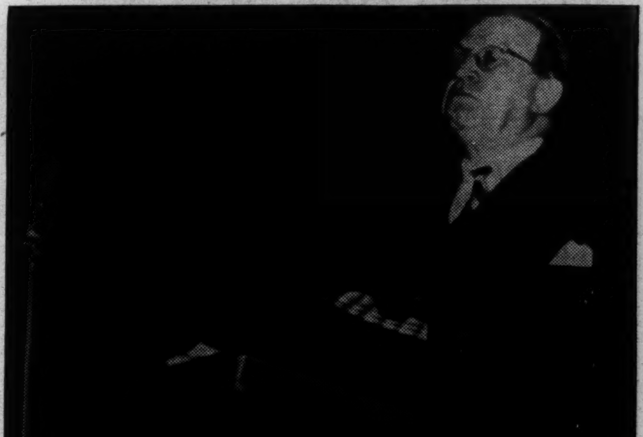
BROTHERHOOD MONTH 1951

NEGRO AND WHITE MINISTERS PLEDGE TO BOYCOTT JIMCROW



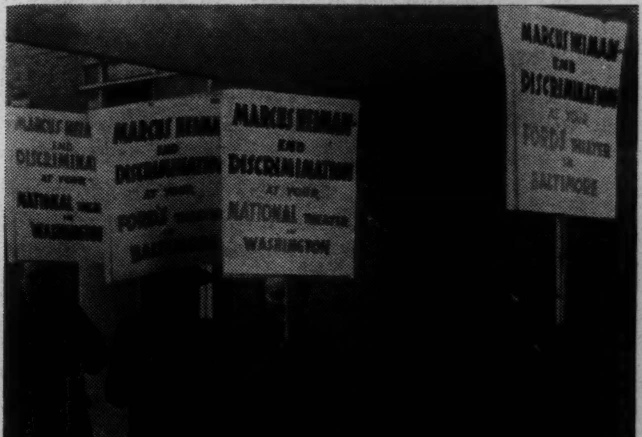
Rev. Adam Clayton Powell (left), Negro, of Abyssinian Baptist Church located in Harlem and Rev. Donald Harrington (right), white, of Community Church located in New York's midtown, lead their respective congregations February 11 in signing pledges of the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign calling for a boycott of jimcrow places of business, recreation and worship throughout February (Brotherhood Month).

JUDGE WARING CONVICTS JIMCROW



At a Brotherhood Month meeting sponsored by *CORE* and *FOR* and attended by over 400 persons, U. S. Judge J. Waties Waring of the Eastern District of South Carolina speaks on "Jimcrow Convicted."

PICKET THEATER OWNER'S HOME


MARCUS HEIMAN AND DISCRIMINATION AT YOUR NATIONAL THEATER IN WASHINGTON
MARCUS HEIMAN AND DISCRIMINATION AT YOUR FORD'S THEATER IN BALTIMORE

One of New York *CORE's* Brotherhood Month activities was to picket the home of Marcus Heiman protesting the jimcrow policy at his Ford's Theater in Baltimore and his National Theater in Washington.

35,000 *PLEDGES DISTRIBUTED DURING BROTHERHOOD MONTH*

More than 35,000 pledges calling on people to boycott jimcrow places of business, recreation and worship during Brotherhood Month (February) have been distributed to all parts of the country in the second annual Pledge Brotherhood Campaign.

Initiated for the first time in February 1950 the Campaign aims at making Brotherhood Month more than an occasion for pious words. Again this year a number of prominent persons indorsed the Campaign. Eleanor Roosevelt gave it a good sendoff in her January 31 "My Day" column.

CORE groups were active in circulating the pledges. Evanston CORE made them available to 10 churches. At least one white church, the First Congregational, passed them out with its church bulletin. New York CORE distributed 2,000 pledges at Brooklyn churches, together with leaflets explaining CORE's current drive to end jimcrow at the Bedford Y.M. C.A. The Interracial Workshop in Washington got batches of 100 pledges to such groups as the Better Relations Committee of the Elks and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. In St. Louis CORE members spoke on the campaign at four institutes held by the Metropolitan Federation of Churches and then distributed the pledges. Robert W. Lawson, minister of the Unitarian Church in Dayton, Ohio, sent out pledges to 100 of the most prominent persons in the community including the mayor and city manager. In Buffalo, N. Y., Mrs. Mary Joslyn distributed pledges at the Y.W.C.A. Board of Management meeting, the Evangelical United Brethren missionary organization meeting and to other groups.

From Callahan, Florida, Mark Johnson describes "one Brotherhood project that's really history-making" for a community that far south. One Sunday, four Negro girls from Boylan-Haven School joined in youth fellowship hour and in evening services at the white Methodist Church.

Some ministers, like Donald Harrington and Adam Clayton Powell (see pictures on page 1) prefaced distribution of the pledges with sermons indorsing the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign.

JUDGE WARING CONVICTS JIMCROW

NEW YORK CITY—A sweeping condemnation of jimcrow in all phases of our society including the courts and the church, was made by U. S. Judge J. Waties Waring, of the Eastern District of South Carolina, at a Brotherhood Month meeting February 23 (see picture on page 1).

"I don't want to see jimcrow eliminated 500 years from now: I want to see it eliminated when I can see it," Judge Waring said. Describing racial prejudice as a "vile cancer," he predicted: "If you cure these prejudiced people, they'll like it in the long run."

Referring to his 1947 decision outlawing the white primary, Judge Waring said: "I didn't give anyone the right to vote. All I did was to stop the thieves from depriving them of the right to vote. Why is it that some people want to allocate to themselves alone, rights which should belong to all of us?"

In an allusion to the complete ostracism and persecution he and his wife have faced in Charleston since his 1947 decision, Judge Waring said: "I haven't got any white friends there, but I've got some pretty good friends."

The Judge expressed enthusiasm over the work being done by CORE. His final words were: "Let us wipe out, kill and bury jimcrow."

Other speakers at the meeting were Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Y. Trigg, minister of the Salem Methodist Church where the meeting was held, Judge Hubert T. Delany of Domestic Relations Court and George Houser, executive director of CORE. More than 400 persons attended.

COOPERATE WITH CORE'S HOUSING SURVEY!

In accordance with a decision of the last CORE convention a questionnaire has been sent to all CORE groups asking information on local housing conditions. Do not be discouraged by the number of questions. Get as complete answers as possible and send them to St. Louis CORE, 3403 Rex, St. Louis 14, Mo. The material will be used in a CORE pamphlet on housing.

POLICE CHIEF TOUGH ON CORE PICKETS BUT EASY ON GAMBLERS

HACKENSACK, N. J.—Police Chief Frank Borelli of Cliffside Park, who arrested over 40 New York CORE pickets at Palisades Park during the summers of 1947 and 1948, testified recently that he had made no gambling arrests in 25 years.

He added that he has "not been aware of any gambling going on in my town." It was subsequently revealed that a house owned by a cousin of his was the location of the gambling establishment operated in Cliffside Park by Frank Erickson, bigtime bookie.

Throughout CORE's campaign to end jimcrow at the Park's swimming pool, Borelli did all in his power to break up the picket line at the Cliffside Park entrance. That the repeated arrests were illegal was made plain by the New Jersey Supreme Court which reversed the conviction in one of the cases which was agreed upon by both sides as a test case. Yet, even after the Supreme Court had handed down its decision, Borelli pursued his policy of arresting CORE pickets, although he never brought them to trial.

One explanation of his zeal against the pickets lies in his recent testimony before the Senate Crime Investigating Committee that part of his $25,000 annual income comes from amusement concessions which he operates in the Park.

Another instance of what CORE faced during the Palisades campaign was recalled when Carl Holderman, President of the New Jersey CIO, charged recently that Prosecutor Walter Winne of Bergen County is one of seven county prosecutors who are simultaneously on payrolls of corporations involved in labor disputes. At the start of CORE's Palisades campaign the group found that, had it sought an investigation of the brutality on the part of Park guards and police, the investigator would have turned out to be none other than Walter Winne whose law firm were attorneys for the Park. In other words, Winne, the prosecutor, would have been investigating one of his own clients. When CORE brought a federal civil rights suit on behalf of 10 of the group who were refused admission to the pool, who should appear at the preliminary hearing for the Park but Winne's nephew George, who was also a member of the Winne law firm.

CORE OFFERS PLAN TO END RESTAURANT JIMCROW

ST. LOUIS—A plan initiated by St. Louis CORE which would pave the way for ending restaurant jimcrow is now being presented to the managers of a number of downtown cafeterias.

The plan, which has been in operation for several months at McCrory's and the Neisner Dime Stores, calls for a restaurant to serve one interracial group a week. In this way managers, waitresses and customers are educated gradually to a non-disciminatory setup.

The plan was presented at a meeting of managers held by CORE on February 8. Mr. Bahora of the Thompson Chain offered to try out the plan if four other downtown establishments would do so.

The previously hostile attitude of the Thompson Restaurants has changed. CORE conducted several stand-in demonstrations in which members of the group used a just-short-of-arrest technique. They would stay until the police arrived and threatened arrest. Then they would leave, only to come back again and hold another stand-in.

Arrangements were made for CORE groups in other cities to hold sympathetic picket demonstrations at Thompson Restaurants. But before the date scheduled for these demonstrations, members of Evanston and Chicago CORE and later, Sallie Heller of St. Louis CORE, conferred with the chain's general manager in Chicago.

The conferences were evidently effective, because Mr. Bahora in St. Louis subsequently became cooperative. He tried to arrange for a CORE representative to speak before the Restaurant Assn., of which he was then president. At a meeting of the Association's directors, this was agreed to, but the plan was blocked by the executive secretary. Mr. Bahora subsequently agreed to hold the February 8 managers meeting called by CORE, at one of the downtown Thompson restaurants.

Several managers have said that what St. Louis needs is a law barring restaurant discrimination. In response CORE pointed out that the last time such legislation was presented to the Board of Aldermen, the Association publicly opposed it. These managers retorted that they now would favor such a bill. But such a bill is in Aldermanic committee now and the Association has already asked to testify in opposition.

D. C. POLLS SHOW 84% OPPOSED TO SEGREGATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In 9 polls of patrons held over a 1-month period at the Playhouse Theater, the Interracial Workshop found that 84.2% of the 1162 persons answering favor establishment of a non-discriminatory seating policy. Only 183 persons, or 15.8% felt that the theater should be discriminatory.

A Workshop report on the polls (with breakdown charts) sent to Victor Orsinger, local representative of management, concludes: "These data certainly confirm the already-known experience of the Dupont, Little (both under the same management as The Playhouse, but unsegregated) and Plaza Theaters, and the Gayety and Arena stage houses, that non-discrimination does not adversely affect patronage."

All nine polls were taken in an objective manner. The patron was handed a pencil and a slip of paper bearing the quesion and "yes" and "no" check boxes. The pollster then stepped back and directed his attention elsewhere. No conversation passed between patron and pollster, nor did the pollster see the patron's answer. The question was whether the patron believed members of all races should be admitted to the theater.

SEEK JOBS FOR NEGROES

EVANSTON, Ill.—A campaign to get nonmenial employment for Negroes is being started by Evanston CORE. Ted Coleman, city editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, has agreed to run an ad suggesting that Negro applicants for such jobs get in touch with CORE, which will then try to place them.

Another activity will be to test bars and restaurants on the Chicago side of Howard Street, the dividing line between Chicago and Evanston. There are a large number of bars on the Chicago side, because Evanston is dry. So it will mean a lot of testing. CORE has found no restaurant in Evanston which discriminates.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS

Two Interracial Workshops will be held this July—one in Washington, D. C., and the other in St. Louis, Mo. Persons interested in participating should get in touch as soon as possible with the national office of CORE, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

LITERATURE

Project Brotherhood (Story of 1949 Washington Workshop)	.05
Ten Good Reasons (for Cracking the Quota System in American Education)	.10
CORE: A Brief History	.10
The CORE Way Helen Buckler	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough (Interracial action in the south)	.40
Erasing the Color Line George M. Houser *NEW EDITION*, outlining additional cases of how CORE defeated jimcrow	.40
The Negro in Postwar America Arnold M. Rose (member of CORE Advisory Committee) Freedom Pamphlets	.25
We Challenged Jimcrow (Interracial Southern Bus Trip)	.15
The Proof of the Pudding (How CORE Ended Jimcrow at Pools) Jim Peck	.05
Religion & Race: Barriers to College? A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross	.20

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(For quantity orders there is a small fee)

Action Against the Quota System
CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Race and Religion in Selective Admission
Racism Sits in the Pews
What Is CORE?

I enclose $______ for literature (specify which)

I enclose $______ for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

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CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32, N. Y.
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* 307 JIM PECK, *editor*

May 1951

VICTORY AT CURTAIN TIME

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Interracial Workshop's 8-month campaign against discrimination at the Playhouse, Washington's leading art theater, came to a successful conclusion on April 18 in a striking movie-climax manner.

The occasion was the grand opening of Tales of Hoffman, produced by Lopert Films, which also operates the Playhouse. It was a benefit performance for the National Symphony Association, with seats at $10.

"We decided to give them plenty of advance warning that we would be out in force that opening night," writes Albert Mindlin of the Interracial Workshop. "On April 3, we had a small poster walk. On April 9, Victor Orsinger (Washington representative of Lopert Films) asked for a conference.

"So much happened in the next nine days that I was left exhausted. I won't try to describe all of the frantic conferences, phone calls and planning. Suffice it to say that we had two long conferences, one long phone call with Orsinger, a still longer call lasting an hour and a half with Jerry Wagner, the theater manager, and another poster walk on April 14.

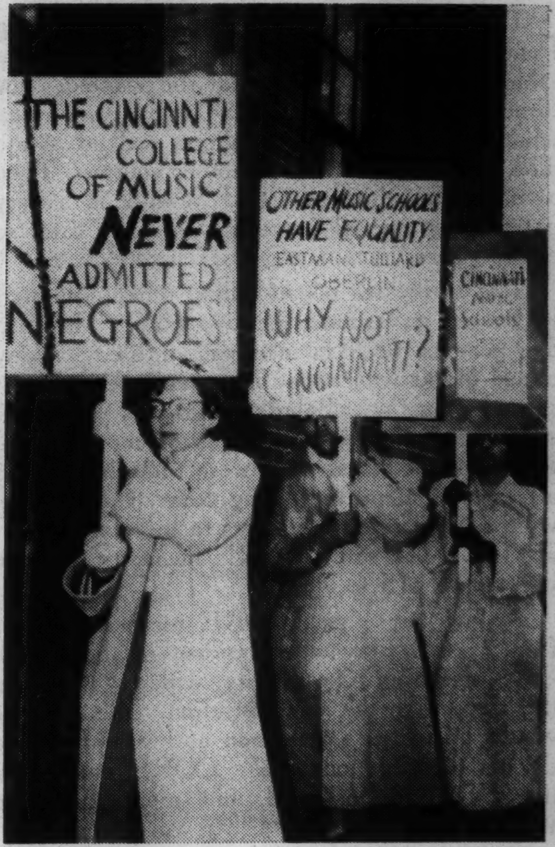
"We sent letters to every city editor and drama critic in town explaining our position and the history of the negotiations. Naturally this immediately reached Orsinger who thereupon recontacted us.

"The climax came at 7:45 p.m. A brass band was on hand. Klieg lights flooded the street. A crowd of spectators gathered. Police were on hand in large numbers. About 25 of us were assembled ready to start the poster walk. Suddenly Orsinger appeared, appealed to us to call off the poster walk, and made a very strong moral commitment, which he subsequently kept. The poster walk was called off. The Playhouse is now open to all, regardless of color."

The Dupont and Little Theaters, both under

(*Continued on page two*)

PICKET MUSIC SCHOOLS


THE CINCINNTI COLLEGE OF MUSIC NEVER ADMITTED NEGROES
OTHER MUSIC SCHOOLS HAVE EQUALITY EASTMAN JUILLIARD OBERLIN WHY NOT CINCINNATI?
CINCINNATI

CINCINNATI—Twenty-five persons participated in a series of Easter picket demonstrations conducted by the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations in protest over the discriminatory admissions policies of the Cincinnati College of Music and the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.

First of the demonstrations was held at the Conservatory on the afternoon of Good Friday. Among the pickets was Rev. Maurice McCrackin, CCHR member and pastor of Cincinnati's only interracial church. Well-represented were Hebrew Union College and the

(*Continued on page two*)

CURTAIN TIME—(continued from page one)

the same management as the Playhouse, had been operating right along on a non-discriminatory basis. Members of the Workshop expressed high esteem for Orsinger's sincerity and for his efforts throughout the campaign to convey their viewpoint to other company officials.

STAND-INS AT CAFETERIA

ST. LOUIS—A series of stand-ins are being conducted by St. Louis CORE at the Forum, one of the biggest downtown cafeterias.

The first occurred on March 24. Wanda Penny and Billie Ames got as far as the steam-table. Billie was asked what she wanted. She turned to Wanda who is a Negro and asked what she wanted. The waitress walked away. The same happened with another waitress. Then a man in a white coat told Wanda in a very patronizing tone of voice: "We don't cater to colored here."

The waitresses began telling other customers in line to go around the two girls. The next five persons, CORE members, refused. Many others didn't want to be inconvenienced. Trays started piling up. Salads got mixed. One was spilled into the beef stew. Customers could not see what hot dishes they were ordering. In an attempt to stem the rising tide of confusion, waitresses directed customers to the second serving line. The seven CORE members stood in line from 6:15 to 7:15.

A few days later, CORE received a letter from C. M. Hayman, president of the Forum Cafeterias from Kansas City, which was written the day after the demonstration. He said he would be in St. Louis soon and would like to discuss the situation with a CORE representative. CORE answered, but more than two weeks elapsed without further word from Hayman.

On April 16 CORE members attempted to get service on both serving lines. Marion O'Fallon and Jackie Johnson headed a group of 10 on one line; Bertha Powers headed a similar group on the other. Both lines were slowed so much that a line of customers extended for half a block outside. A large group gathered across the street. "This is better than television," one of them remarked. Police arrived. One of them who knows Joe Ames, who was among the demonstrators, asked if he was having any trouble. Joe said no, and the police disappeared in back of the cafeteria. The demonstration lasted from 6 to 7.

A week later a similar stand-in was conducted by 25 CORE members. To make sure that everybody was aware of the purpose of the demonstration, CORE handed out brief leaflets of explanation outside the cafeteria. Written in very large type and prefaced with a drawing of a turtle, the leaflet said: "If service is slow, blame jimcrow! The people at the head of this line are waiting for service. Because some of them are Negroes, Forum management won't let them eat here. They are waiting patiently, hoping the manager will change his mind."

MUSIC SCHOOLS—(continued from page one)

University of Cincinnati. The following Saturday there was picketing at the College of Music. Another demonstration was held at the College on Easter Sunday—timed for the concert crowd going into the adjoining music hall.

Before the demonstration several CCHR members had talked with a police official who had ordered the number of demonstrators curtailed. The order was ignored and on Friday police tried to make an issue of it. Publicity on the demonstrations was not as great as had been expected, though there was a small front page story on both Friday and Saturday in one of the daily papers. Radio publicity was better, with the news being mentioned on broadcasts all during Friday and Saturday.

Barbara Fink, who notified the papers and radio stations of the picketing, received $2 from station WCKY for phoning in the best news tip of the day and of the week.

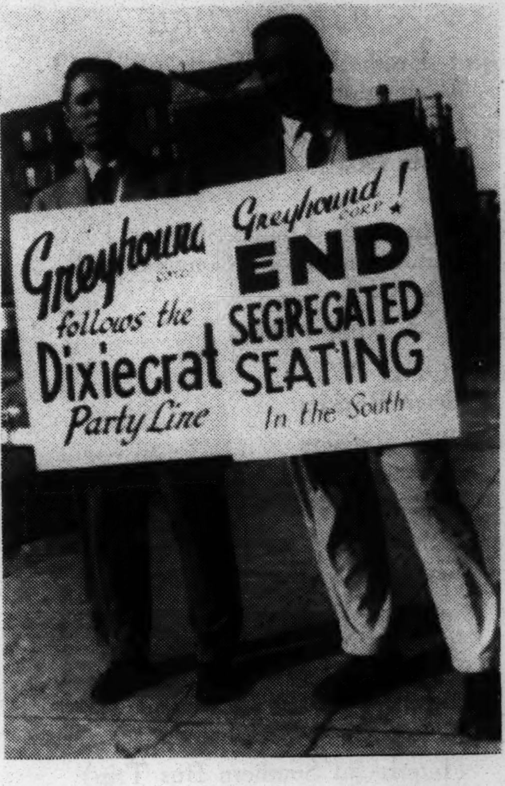
Perhaps the most satisfying result of the demonstrations was the reaction from teachers and students. A number of them stopped to take leaflets and to talk, all saying that they agreed.

There has been one other demonstration since Easter, timed for the April 2 evening recital at the conservatory. Fluorescent paint was used on the signs, so that they could be seen in the dark.

This was the first of another series of demonstrations planned to coincide with the symphony concerts and with a composers' symposium at the College April 11 and 12.

The Committee invites all CORE groups and individuals to participate in the campaign by writing and getting their friends to write to the directors of both schools: Dr. Luther A. Richman of the Conservatory, Highland and Oak, Cincinnati 19, Ohio; and Mr. Fred Smith, Director of the Cincinnati College of Music, 1228 Central Parkway, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MINORITY STOCKHOLDERS PICKET


Greyhound Corp. follows the Dixiecrat Party Line
Greyhound Corp! END SEGREGATED SEATING In the South

Last year Jim Peck (left) and Bayard Rustin (right), picketed the stockholders meeting of the Greyhound Corp. in Wilmington, Delaware. (They each got a share in 1947 at the time of CORE's bus trip through the upper south.) The Securities & Exchange Commission had approved as a proper subject for action by the stockholders the proposal: "A Recommendation That Management Consider the Advisability of Abolishing the Segregated Seating System in the South." Greyhound claimed it was too late to get the proposal on the agenda.

This year it was revealed that Greyhound had no intention of putting it on the agenda. Eight months previous to this year's meeting, Peck notified the corporation pointing out that it was particularly urgent in view of the Supreme Court's Henderson decision which strengthened the 1946 Irene Morgan decision in outlawing segregation in interstate travel. The corporation waited five months only to notify the SEC that the proposal would not be put on the agenda, since Greyhound did not consider it a proper subject for action. Thereupon, the SEC, under corporation pressure, reversed itself and ruled out the proposal.

Nathan Kogan, attorney specializing in matters concerning stockholders meetings, condemned the SEC's reversal and declared the proposal a proper one. So Conrad Lynn, Peck's attorney, filed suit in U. S. district court in New York seeking an injunction which would restrain the corporation from holding its stockholders meeting this year unless Peck's proposal were included.

When the case was argued, Judge Sylvester Ryan said: "I don't dispute that segregation on buses is wrong, and I am strongly opposed to it." However, he dismissed the case on procedural grounds, holding that Peck should have obtained a formal opinion from the SEC before coming into court. It was too late to try out such a procedure this year, but Lynn intends to do so in an attempt to get the proposal on the agenda for next year's meeting. Because of this continuing legal case, it was decided to forego protest action at this year's stockholders meeting.

As a result of the publicity given the case, Adam Clayton Powell's People's Committee and the American Jewish Congress, among others, expressed interest and offered to help the campaign. Most encouraging was a card sent to Peck by a Mr. Lewis Dexter of Washington, D. C., who said he has 100 shares and offered to join the campaign. At Peck's suggestion, he started by writing the corporation his viewpoint on the subject.

If any CORE members would like to join Peck, Rustin and now Dexter in this campaign, they should get in touch with the CORE office or contact Catharine Raymond at the convention. Purchase of one share costing about $11 is the only prerequisite.

BUY AN ANTI-JIMCROW NECKTIE - - -

and help CORE at the same time

The surplus of Jim Peck's "Jimcrow Must Go" neckties are being sold with 50 per cent of the proceeds going to CORE. In other words 50 cents of the dollar you pay for the tie is CORE's. These ties (in blue or brown) can be obtained from the CORE office. Catharine Raymond will have some on hand for sale at the convention.

MINNEAPOLIS—As a result of Minneapolis CORE'S campaign to end discrimination at ballrooms, the Prom Ballroom has abandoned its lily-white policy.

PHILIPPINE DIALECT HANDY IN TEST CASES

PASADENA, Calif. — Lenore Hartigan's knowledge of Philippine dialect, which she learned during her childhood in the Philippines, came in handy in Pasadena CORE'S campaign to end discrimination at Helen Foster's Restaurant & Coffee Shop.

It happens that service in the front of the restaurant is provided by Philippine waiters. By speaking in their language, Lenore Hartigan was able to give them a blow-by-blow description of the test cases being conducted in the rear of the restaurant, without management's knowing what was being said. The waiters naturally sympathized with CORE'S action, but were not involved because in the rear section where the tests were made, white waitresses are employed.

Results of the campaign are still inconclusive. On some occasions Negroes have been served courteously, while on others they have been refused service.

However, policy has been changed at a number of other local restaurants. By means of a panel at the leading AME Church CORE has tried to get representative Negro families to patronize these restaurants. Similar panels explaining CORE's direct action projects were held at two other big churches whose congregations are mainly white.

DON'T FORGET—

Annual CORE Conference and Convention June 13-17 at Camp Joy near Cincinnati. Further details will be sent to CORE groups.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE TO PARTICIPATE - - -

in CORE's Interracial Workshop to be held in Washington, D. C., July 1-31 under the leadership of Wally Nelson.

Persons interested should get in touch with the CORE office as soon as possible. Those who know friends who might be interested should send in their names and addresses.

One of the projects planned this year is a drive to end the lily-white employment policy of stores in Washington's Negro section. Other projects aim at ending jimcrow in restaurants and theaters.

LITERATURE

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I enclose $_____ for literature (specify which)

I enclose $_____ for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

____

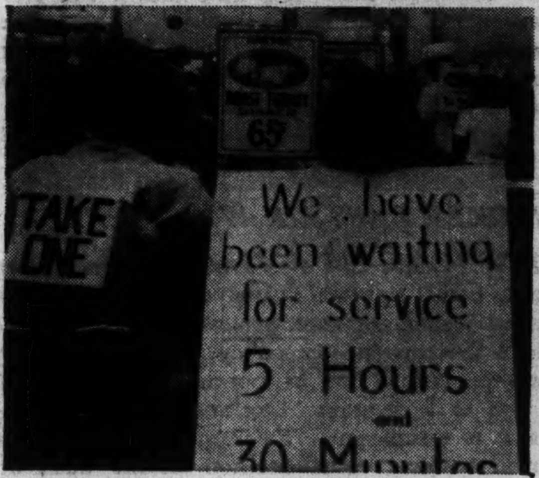
CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32, N. Y.
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* JIM PECK, *editor*

October 1951

At the Sound of the Gong, the time will be—



During this St. Louis CORE sit-in at a Kresge lunch counter, Willie Mae Humphrey is wearing a sign on her back saying how long she has been waiting for service. (Someone in the group changed the time on the sign as each quarter hour passed.) In the adjoining seat is Billie Ames with a little box of leaflets on her back inscribed with the words: "Take one." Customers took eight hundred of them.

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISTS ASSAULT CORE MEMBERS

ST. LOUIS—Violent opposition by members of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party has been resisted non-violently by St. Louis CORE in its campaign to end discrimination at the Forum, one of the biggest downtown cafeterias.

CORE wrote C. M. Hayman, president of the Forum chain in Kansas City telling him the full story, and expressing CORE's desire to avert violence.

On June 2, three CORE members were kicked and hit with rolled up magazines by a gang of fifteen Christian Nationalists in front of the Forum. On July 2, a woman who was

(Continued on page two)

FIRST NEGRO IN MUSIC SCHOOL

CINCINNATI—Following a 2-year direct-action campaign by The Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, the College of Music of Cincinnati has accepted the first Negro student in its 76-year-old history. The student, Herman Griffith, was enrolled in the radio-television department of the College and started class work on September 17.

Griffith first attempted to register for the College's summer session last June, but was told that the policy remained one of non-acceptance of Negro students. He again applied on September 12, for the fall session. At that time he was told Fred Smith, executive director of the College, that the Board of Trustees was meeting the next night, and that Griffith would be told its decision the following day. The decision was favorable.

Wally Nelson and Sarah Edgeman, co-chairmen of the Committee, commended the College for its action and at the same time announced that the Committee will continue its campaign to end the lily-white policy of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, whose Board of Trustees is scheduled to meet in October.

The College's change in policy came only a week after the Committee's public hearing at which a resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon both the College and the Conservatory to "adopt immediately a policy of considering applicants for admittance without regard to their race or color." Witnesses at the hearing included Josephine Johnson Cannon, Pulitzer prize novelist; Walter F. Anderson, chairman of Antioch College's music department; Donald Jones, NAACP regional secretary; Jerome Goldman, member of the board of the City Charter Committee; a former student at the College and a student who was refused admission.

In connection with the hearing the Committee wrote to a number of music schools, and received responses from the directors at Oberlin

(Continued on page two)

(*NATIONALISTS—Continued from page one*)

recognized as a member of the Christian Nationalist Party attempted to incite a group of teen-age bystanders to attack a CORE member who was passing out leaflets outside the cafeteria.

On July 7, a rough-looking man hit four girls participating in a CORE demonstration at the Forum. On July 9, three Christian Nationalist members caused a commotion during a CORE demonstration. One assaulted a CORE member while two others dashed into the cafeteria, broke through the line and vaulted over the railing in search of the manager. Joe Ames of CORE and a Mr. Clark of the Christian Nationalists were arrested. Ames was acquitted but Clark was found guilty and fined $10.

During a picket and sit-in August 11 at Kresge's (see picture on page 1) three men, one of whom was recognized as one of the Christian Nationalists who had appeared at the Forum, distributed leaflets inside the store in opposition to CORE. The leaflets urged people to join the Citizens Protective Association and help maintain racial purity.

At one point the assistant manager came outside and told Marvin Rich of CORE to stop blocking the doorway. Rich asked him about the men distributing the racist literature, who were blocking the doorway on the inside in such a way that customers had to enter one at a time. The assistant manager denied knowing that leaflets were being handed out inside. Later CORE got a snapshot of him engaging in a friendly conversation with one of the racist literature distributors.

St. Louis CORE is hopeful that the campaigns against the Forum and Kresge's will end with a change of policy such as the group has brought about in a number of the downtown eating places.

Caroline Urie of South Euclid, Ohio; Eula Morrow of Cleveland, Ohio and Anne Ames of Springfield, Missouri have responded to an appeal in the last COREIator to buy a share of Greyhound for the purpose of campaigning as stockholders to change the company's policy of segregated seating in the South. Others interested should get in touch with the CORE office. Incidentally, the U. S. Supreme Court in June issued its third decision against segregation in interstate travel when it refused to review a decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia upholding William Chance in his case against the Atlantic Coast Line.

(*FIRST NEGRO—Continued from page one*)

Conservatory, Cleveland Institute of Music, Baldwin-Wallace Conservatory and Eastman School of Music to the effect that there were no color bars at these schools. These letters were read at the hearing, along with a telegram from Muriel Rahn.

After the hearing the Committee received a letter from Virgil Thomson, music critic for the New York Herald-Tribune and composer, which said, "I am shocked to learn that both Cincinnati's chief institutions of musical learning draw the color line. If I had known this two years ago, I should have refused to speak at the one which I visited. Please use this letter for whatever benefit it may do your campaign to correct this disgraceful situation."

PICKET CAPTAIN WINS APPEAL

NEW YORK CITY—The conviction of Jim Peck, picket captain during a 1950 Lincoln's Birthday demonstration protesting Marcus Heiman's jimcrow theater policy, was reversed by the Appellate Term of Special Sessions Court in a 2 to 1 decision. Declaring that "the evidence is insufficient," the majority opinion reversed a lower court decision on the basis of "errors of law and fact."

Bernard Ulano, volunteered his services as attorney. Nine others arrested along with Peck had been acquitted in magistrates' court. Peck was convicted, however, and sentenced to 10 days in jail because as picket captain, he had told the group that a police order limiting the number of pickets to 10 was unconstitutional.

The demonstration, conducted by New York CORE, took place in front of Heiman's main office. Despite nationwide protests, Heiman has maintained a discriminatory policy at his National Theater in Washington and at his Ford's Theater in Baltimore.

Sale of Confederate flags by a National Capital Parks concession in Washington was halted after CORE brought the matter to the attention of the Department of Interior.

This month, in accordance with a convention decision, a money-raising campaign is getting under way with the aim of hiring Wally Nelson as CORE field representative.

Make Playground Interracial

FIGHT PALISADES BACKSLIDING

NEW YORK CITY—Every summer since 1949 when New York CORE won its bitterly-opposed 2-year drive against jimcrow at Palisades Pool, a series of test cases have been made to make sure that management is admitting everybody regardless of color.

This summer's tests revealed that management has been backsliding. With one exception, the prevailing policy was to admit only Negroes who were recognized as CORE members and who would obviously insist on their rights. Negro CORE members, who had not been seen at the pool previously were refused admission, and were told they would have to join the "club."

The one exception, that of Ulysses Smith, is interesting because it illustrates how pro-jimcrow forces throughout the country use an incident like the Cicero riots as a weapon of intimidation. When Smith arrived at the pool, he was asked whether he wanted to create an incident such as had occurred in Cicero. Smith assured them that he did not, but insisted upon his right to get in. He was finally admitted and joined the rest of the CORE group inside. No racist incident of any kind occurred. However, in the majority of cases the "Cicero" threat would accomplish management's objective of keeping Negroes out.

It seemed that CORE might have to resume its direct action campaign. First, however, the group decided to seek the aid of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, which had co-operated with CORE in bringing about the policy change. A conference was held between spokesmen of CORE and of the Division. But by that time the pool was about to close for the season.

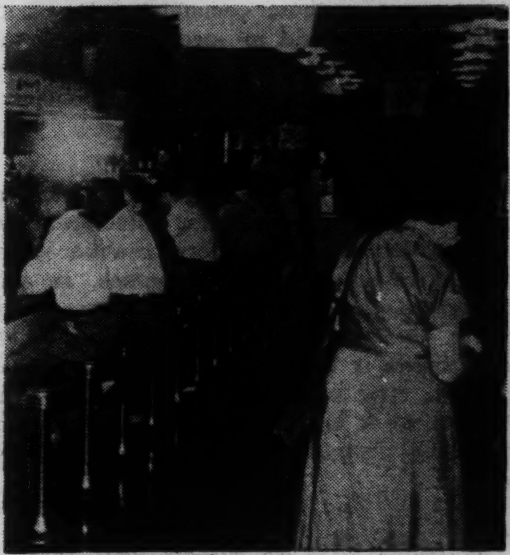
In view of this summer's experience, Hiram Elfenbein, the attorney who volunteered his services throughout the 1947-1949 campaign, recommended that we press the civil rights suits instituted in 1947 and still pending in the courts. The right to sue in these cases has been upheld by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The cases, adjourned a number of times, are scheduled to come up soon.

WORKSHOP HIGHLIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Highlights of this summer's Interracial Workship, according to Wally Nelson who directed it, were the Hoover Playground Project (see picture at left) in which parents accompanied by an interracial group of children made a pilgrimage to a segregated playground; the Whelan Drugstore sit-ins in which Workshoppers succeeded in winning over heckling kids to their point of view (see lower picture—Wally Nelson is second from the left), the Chickland Club project in which Workshoppers demonstrated the effectiveness of non-violence against rabble-rousers opposing the club's interracial policy and the Gem Theater project, in which the Workshop combatted segregation of whites in a movie house in a predominantly Negro section.

COREIator readers are already familiar with the details of these projects through the bulletins sent out during the Workshop. Additional copies can be obtained from the CORE office.

Sit-in at Drug Counter



CORE WORKING ON CICERO SITUATION

CHICAGO—Immediately following the riots over Harvey Clark's attempt to move into his apartment in lily-white Cicero, George Houser and Bayard Rustin came to Chicago to work on the situation. Local CORE people and others interested were gotten together. Community leaders not only in Çicero but throughout the Chicago area were contacted.

The upshot was a 10-page report by Houser and Rustin giving a detailed "action program designed to activate existing and proposed agencies." Drawn up specifically for the Cicero Committee of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, the report is being widely circulated.

The report cites as its aims: "to create in greater Chicago an awareness of the factors that underlie racial housing tension, and to present concrete plans for the prevention of future discord and violence; to formulate an educative-action program in the Cicero-Berwyn area directed to prepare those communities to accept integrated housing and to specify detailed and alternative plans for the integration of the first Negro family or families in the Cicero-Berwyn area."

Specific action proposals include: "An unpublicized series of conciliation meetings under the auspices of some such organization as the American Friends Service Committee, an anti-rumor campaign (rumors are running rife in Cicero), using national figures in Cicero (as Frank Sinatra in the Gary school strike against Negroes), establishment of good offices committees to work in the situation and formation of a Citizen Committee for Fair Play in Cicero-Berwyn."

The report gives six specific approaches in relation to the problem of integrating a Negro family. Copies of the report may be obtained from the CORE office.

Anyone living in or near Chicago interested in participating in acting or writing of dramatic material dealing with a non-violent solution to the problems of our society, please write Harold J. McWhinnie, 7554 St. Lawrence Ave., Chicago 19, Ill.

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GEORGE HOUSER, *executive director* October, 1952 JIM PECK, *editor*

END BIAS AT POOL

By Betty Beaver

PITTSBURGH—For some 30 years any Negroes who attempted to use Highland Park Pool were run out, beaten up or intimidated. Several actual riots had occurred, a number of persons had served prison terms as a result and on occasion the pool had been closed as a result of injunctions obtained by the NAACP.

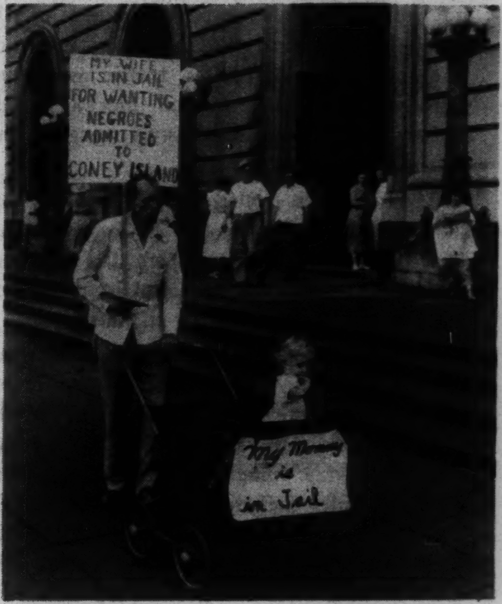
During the past winter several groups got together and planned to go to the pool on successive days during the first month it was opened. At a meeting with civic leaders, Wally Nelson suggested that Pittsburgh CORE lead off on opening day. A number of threats had been made against us—that we would be followed home and our homes bombed, that our leader would be hung on the telephone pole nearest the pool, that a group of determined men would be hidden in strategic spots around the pool with rifles to pick us off, etc.

So we thanked Wally for his brilliant suggestion and started out with considerable fear. Our efforts to secure an interracial staff of lifeguards had failed. On opening day the police detail on hand was also all white, although this policy changed several days later.

We arrived, went swimming and went home. Except for a few nasty looks and words, nothing happened. Other groups scheduled to go there on subsequent days got scared, so CORE took their place whenever possible.

Nothing happened. Large numbers of Negroes went swimming there throughout the summer. Nothing happened. When, later in the summer, we ran into trouble at another pool, one of the remarks yelled at us was: "Why don't you go to Highland Pool where you belong?"

MORE "FIREWORKS" AT CONEY ISLAND


MY WIFE IS IN JAIL FOR WANTING NEGROES ADMITTED TO CONEY ISLAND
My Mommy is in Jail

CINCINNATI—The last COREIator told how on the opening day of Coney Island Amusement Park, city, county and private police were mobilized to prevent members of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations from gaining admittance.

That set the pattern of intimidation for the season. On the opening day, Marion Bromley and Wally Nelson were arrested and then released, following their attempt to get in by car.

A week later, two autos driven by Marion Spencer and Lois Wright were stopped 45 minutes by private cops. Other members of the group who arrived on foot were halted by city police.

On the third trip to the Park, Wally Nelson was arrested for "illegal parking" and "resisting an officer." He was convicted and a fine of $15 was suspended. Costs of $5 were paid by the NAACP.

Continued on page 2

[illegible] June 22, 12 members of the group arrived and found the Park guards unprepared. Marion Bromley was able to drive up to the auto ticket window and was offering the fares when Park officials suddenly noticed that there were Negroes in the car. Traffic was immediately routed to the emergency entrance. Maurice McCracken was one of the first to drive up to the second gate. As soon as he arrived a Negro member of the group joined him, and the car was stopped. Meanwhile, other members of the group had gone to the pedestrian entrance. For some time thereafter traffic was completely tied up for several blocks on the highway and about 25 persons were waiting at the pedestrian gate.

After Marion rolled up her window and threw the keys into the back seat, Park guards pushed her car from the entrance. McCrackin was drugged out and his car was driven to the side by a guard.

Thereupon Wally and Juanita Nelson and Marion Bromley were arrested by county police on charges of "resisting an officer" and were brutally shoved into police cars. After a 9-day hunger strike during which Ernie Bromley picketed the jail (see picture), the three were released without bail and their cases bound over to the grand jury. Two months later the grand jury decided to ignore the charges.

On June 29 five carloads of adults and kids waited 15 minutes at the gate for admission and were finally forced to leave because of the excessive heat. A couple of weeks later the NAACP planned a test case with a view toward filing suit under the Ohio civil rights law.

As a result of protests the City Council passed a resolution calling for an investigation of the amusement park's admission policy by a 3-man committee. The committee is expected to submit its report shortly.

Throughout the summer, the CCHR continued its campaign of non-violent direct action at the Park's gates. As the summer went on, it became more and more difficult for the group's members to reach the gates. Police and guards would see them coming and would stop them. The group also picketed the Park as well as its downtown office. CCHR plans to resume its campaign next season.

JIMC[illegible]W RINK TRIPS NEGROS

CLEVELAND—When Negroes try to go roller skating at Skateland they get tripped up and otherwise annoyed at the instigation of the management. This was discovered by Cleveland CORE through a series of tests this summer.

First test occurred on May 24 when Eroseanna Robinson went there with a group of kids including two Negroes. As soon as they got on the rink, some boys came out and started tripping them; falling on front of them and annoying them in other ways. On the second visit, July 13, the manager, warned the group there would be trouble. Several men came out and attempted 20 times to trip Eroseanna Robinson and Michael Coffey. During the third test, August 3, Eroseanna Robinson was tripped four times and finally had her wrist fractured.

A meeting was held with Charles Horvath, the pool's owner who maintained that for "business reasons," he could not allow Negroes to skate there. A few years ago his jimcrow policy at Pla-mor, resulting in a boycott campaign by the NAACP, made business so bad that he had to sell the rink. Apparently he still hasn't learned what's good business—and much less what's the meaning of democracy.

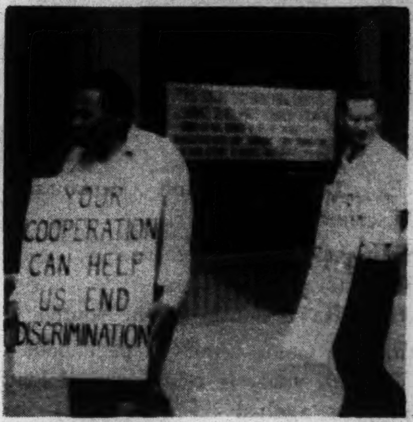
TESTS SHOW MOST RESTAURANTS SERVE NEGROES

COLUMBIA, Mo.—Many local restaurants, although they had never served Negroes before, raised no objections when Columbia CORE conducted tests recently. The group is at present negotiating with three establishments which were found to discriminate.

In order to accumulate evidence which would assist negotiations, CORE took a poll of summer school students on registration day and found that 88% had no objection to eating in a cafe which serves both Negroes and whites.

CHICAGO—Chicago CORE is printing a list of Loop restaurants which do not discriminate. This will be circulated among civic organizations. The groups also plans to continue its campaign to get Marshall Field's department store to hire Negroes.

CORE GETS ICE CREAM STORE TO EMPLOY NEGRO



ST. LOUIS—The above picture shows St. Louis CORE pickets at Reed Ice Cream's Page Avenue store. In the window is a big sign saying: "This Store Extends Equal Courtesies & Serivec To Its White & Colored Customers. However We Refuse To Be Intimidated By, Or Associated With Any Communist Front Organization In Their Attempt To Arouse Race Hatred—The Management."

Since the picture was taken, J. R. Katz, the owner, has hired a Negro girl and has admitted that St. Louis CORE is not the Communist group he had thought it to be. The group had attempted to negotiate with him since the fall of 1951. This July CORE conducted two picket demonstrations which were most successful in keeping the customers out, despite the fact that on the second occasion Katz tried to ridicule the pickets by hiring two men with ice cream signs to walk in their midst. Negotiations which led to the settlement started following the second demonstration.

MILBURN, N. J.—Elaine Baker, New York CORE member and another Negro playing in summer theater at the Papermill Playhouse succeeded in ending discrimination at Mario Brothers restaurant. Following several attempts to get served and the intervention of the state's Division Against Discrimination, the two girls ate there without any trouble. And following her return to New York, Elaine Baker received an apology letter from the management asserting that the restaurant's policy had changed.

CORE TESTS BRING STATE ACTION

NEW YORK CITY—Four cases of discrimination established through New York CORE tests of Palisades Pool this summer are the basis for action taken against the management by the New Jersey Department of Education's Division Against Discrimination.

The Division submitted the matter to the state attorney general after the pool's owner declined to voluntarily sign a cease-discrimination agreement. Next step is a public hearing with a view toward a cease-and-desist order.

At the start of the 1949 season, following New York CORE's turbulant 2-year campaign, the management entered into a verbal agreement with Division officials to stop discriminating. However, since 1951 it was violated frequently, CORE tests have shown.

WANTED—A BARBER

DELAWARE, O.—Following the pattern set by a CORE group in State College, Pa., three years ago, the Committee on Community Racial Problems is seeking to break down jimcrow barbering by setting up an interracial shop. Already almost $1,000 has been raised through the sale of haircut tickets usable when the shop opens.

"Any barbers that you can refer to us or any guidance that your organization can offer us in this regard will be much appreciated," Kim Jefferson, the group's chairman wrote national CORE. "Contact can be made with our group through me at 81 Park Avenue, Delaware, Ohio." CORElator readers, please note—especially those who know any barbers.

PITTSBURGH—Pittsburgh CORE's efforts to help the Washington, D. C. Coordinating Committee in their negotiations with the Murphy dime stores were successful. It took three months to secure an appointment with the personnel chief, but following a threatened sit-in at the home office near here, the group was given a hearing. The personnel chief promised to go to Washington himself and within two weeks the Jimcrow policy at the company's Washington lunch counters ended.

T[illegible] CORE WAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

As this issue of the CORElator goes to press, more than 4,000 Negroes and Indians in South Africa have been arrested and are serving jail terms up to 2 months for using the CORE technique to combat segregation. The arrests, starting June 26, occurred as groups in various cities entered the white sections of railroad station waiting rooms, attempted to use the white sections of post offices, defied the requirements that Negroes carry passes and challenged the curfew.

First hand accounts of the non-violent civil disobedience campaign directly from South Africa are being sent out over here by Americans for South African Resistance. Persons wanting to receive them should contact the organization at 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, N. Y. At present Americans for South African Resistance is arranging a series of meetings in the U.S. for Z. K. Matthews, president of the Cape Province branch of the African National Congress.

OMAHA—The De Porres Club is continuing its drive to get the Omaha & Council Bluffs Street Railway to hire Negroes on its buses. The group is also working with the recently organized Council for Equal Job Opportunities which is trying to get a city FEPC ordinance passed.

DRIVE TO END JIMCROW AT PLAYGROUND

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Most CORElator readers received the summer Workshop bulletin telling how the group along with many others joined in a capaign to end segregation at Rosedale Playground. They read of how 10 of the Workshoppers were arrested, brutalized by police and finally acquitted.

Following the conclusion of the summer Workshop the campaign continued. During the week of August 11, there were two more pilgrimages to the playground. However, the directors blocked the gate and would not allow any Negro kids' to enter. On August 21, the Recreation Department building was picketed.

At present a city-wide letter writing campaign to Milo Christianson, superintendant of recreation, is under way. His address is 3149 16th Street N.W.

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CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 513 West 166th Street, N. Y. 32

A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

George Houser, *executive director* *JANUARY 1953* **Jim Peck**, *editor*

BROTHERHOOD MONTH ACTION CALL

This February again, as during the past 3 Februarys, CORE and FOR will conduct a campaign of refraining from patronizing places of business, recreation, etc. which practice racial discrimination.

Each year since the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign first started, the nationwide response has been increasingly enthusiastic. Last year the campaign was carried for the first time into the south when Wally Nelson, CORE field representative, launched a boycott of jimcrow theaters in Durham, North Carolina. More than 35,000 pledges calling on people to boycott jimcrow were distributed in all parts of the country.

Sponsors of the campaign include Roger Baldwin, Frank R. Crosswaith, William J. Faulkner, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Willard S. Townsend, Mordecai W. Johnson and Lillian Smith.

For further information on the campaign and for plans for group and individual action during the month, write the CORE office, 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, N. Y.

CORE KNOWN IN WEST AFRICA

Negro leaders in West Africa follow closely developments in race relations in the U.S. and know all about CORE, reports Bayard Rustin who recently returned from a trip there. They are particularly impressed by the Journey of Reconciliation, CORE's 1947 interracial bus trip challenging jimcrow in the upper south.

During the trip Rustin met two former CORE members: Eunice Johnson, now managing editor of five newspapers in Nigeria and George Belcher, now working at opening up business opportunities for Negroes in the Gold Coast.

THE WAITING LINE TECHNIQUE

END SEGREGATION AT ROSEDALE PLAYGROUND

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On October 16 the District of Columbia Recreation Board voted to integrate Rosedale Playground. So ended in victory a year-long campaign initiated by the Interracial Workshop.

The project started in September 1951 when Workshoppers made a door-to-door canvass for a mass meeting at which it was decided that the only way to change the prevailing lily-white policy was to actually bring interracial groups of children onto the playground. The technique of non-violent direct action was accepted by the neighborhood residents who proceeded to form the Citizens Committee to Integrate Rosedale Playground.

After receiving police assurance that entering the playground was not unlawful, the Committee and the Workshop in November held their first direct action interracial pilgrimages there.

The playground directors displayed immediate hostility. On the third pilgrimage they carried a woman off the grounds, while a man was beaten up outside the playground. Week after week small groups went to the playground with a few children, sometimes facing violence [illegible]

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times being ignored; sometimes getting in, sometimes not.

Meanwhile a mass of data about the playground and the area was assembled. A campaign for city-wide support was launched. On May 7 the Recreation Department held an open hearing. About a dozen organizations testified for integration, presenting well-documented facts and figures and also photographs. Only one local PTA testified for segregation. The Recreation Board voted to keep the playground segregated.

The pilgrimages continued.

On June 22 Kenneth Carroll, a Negro boy was drowned while swimming "illegally" in the Rosedale pool. The Rosedale neighborhood, figuratively, exploded. From then on Rosedale became a city-wide issue. Mass meetings were held. Picket lines formed at both the playground and the Recreation Department building. Into this dynamic situation came the Summer Workshop, with a dozen people working on Rosedale 24 hours a day. There were mass poster walks, waiting lines at the playground gates (see picture on page 1), mass meetings, conferences with Recreation Department officials, a march from the Recreation Department building to the District building. There were illegal arrests and police brutality.

During August a concerted letter-writing drive was conducted. Several city-wide groups contacted their entire mailing lists. The Rosedale area was canvassed. By this time the children came to the playground in large numbers. By the dozens they went over, under and through the fence. On September 16 someone informed the police department and a newspaper that a gang was coming over "to get the colored kids." The gang showed up with baseball bats. For the first and only time a serious incident of violence occurred. The playground was ordered closed.

A week later the Recreation Department recommended that the playground be integrated, with the pool remaining "under study." A second hearing was set for October 14. This time Rosedale was front page news. It had become a symbol of the struggle for integration in the District of Columbia. A small group of city-wide representatives worked full time to rally the liberal community. At the hearing nearly forty organizations—political, social, religious, labor, business civic and parent groups—testified for integration. About thirty groups—mainly PTA's and citizen associations—testified for segregation. Integration won.

POOL SIGNS ANTI-BIAS PACT

NEW YORK CITY—Faced with an impending public hearing on the cases of four New York CORE members who were victims of discrimination at Palisades Pool last summer, the management signed an anti-jimcrow agreement with the New Jersey Department of Education's Division Against Discrimination.

Specific in its terms, the agreement aims to end the evasion devices used by management since a verbal agreement made with the Division in 1949 following New York CORE's turbulent 2-year campaign.

At a meeting last summer between management and the four CORE members barred from the pool, the owner maintained that he knew nothing about any discrimination—that some subordinate employe must have been responsible. Hence the present pact states that "the management . . . assumes responsibility for any actions of employes in violation of this agreement."

Throughout New York CORE's campaign, Palisades has used its Sun & Surf Club as a device to keep Negroes out. While whites could buy tickets by simply paying admission, Negroes were told they had to join the club and if they applied, they were stalled until the season's end. Hence the present agreement's stipulation that the club "will not be used . . . to restrict enjoyment of the swimming pool facilities by reason of race, creed, color or national origin."

Next summer New York CORE plans to send over numerous test cases to insure that the agreement is effective. In the event of violations, the Division Against Discrimination will immediately hold a public hearing followed by further action if the pool is found guilty.

A CROSS BURNED ON OUR FRONT LAWN

by Billie Ames, Chairman of CORE

ST. LOUIS—On November 2 as I prepared to take the children to Sunday School, I was amazed to find on our front lawn the remains of what had obviously been a Ku Klux-Klan-type cross. I told Joe about it and he called the police. An officer came that evening and asked if we knew what could have caused this to happen. We told him that we could attribute it only to the fact that we occasionally have Negro guests. He asked us to cease this practice and tried to frighten us by saying that people have been seen in the neighborhood with KKK hoods. He asked if we had a gun and suggested that we get one—which we will not do.

I made a point of talking to several neighbors about the incident. They hesitated to discuss it. A neighbor across the street finally asserted that she had seen the cross burning at about 1:30 a.m. and that she had not slept the rest of the night. The neighbors were concerned for the welfare of our children and showed no antagonism to us. They are aware of my interest in race relations and have seen our Negro visitors.

Two weeks before the incident, a Rev. Hayne had a cross burned on his front lawn. He is a white minister who has a predominantly Negro congregation. Neither one of us had heard of each other, but when he heard the radio announcement about the cross-burning on our lawn, he telephoned us and suggested that we ought to start a club.

There was no warning in connection with either incident. Around the bottom of the cross were small stickers depicting a hooded man on a horse. Underneath, in very small print appeared the words: "A firey summons." In larger print around the picture were the slogans: "Truth, Justice, Liberty" and "Join the Klan."

I think there is no doubt that the perpetrators are the Christian Nationalists or an off-shoot group. Rev. Hayne has been receiving midnight telephone calls for over a year and so have we.

CORE PARTY

Bill Sutherland entertains at New York CORE party Dec. 6 to raise funds for national CORE. A similar fund-raising party was held Dec. 13 jointly by Evanston and Chicago CORE.

CAMPAIGN AT MARSHALL FIELD

CHICAGO — Chicago and Evanston CORE are both conducting a campaign against the discriminatory hiring policy of Marshall Field & Co., the city's biggest store.

"Marshall Field has never knowingly hired a Negro in any capacity," writes Fred Fields of Chicago CORE. "The store is now hiring from other minority groups, but clings to its traditional prejudice in regard to Negroes, despite protests from many organizations and although a number of other big retail stores in the State Street area have abolished their discriminatory hiring policies.

"CORE's first contact with management occurred when an interracial committee of five had an unofficial 2-hour interview with the personnel director. He maintained that only after a long process of education would the store hire any Negroes. At the close of the meeting, he promised to arrange an official conference with company representatives about January 15. If the company in this official conference indicates an adamant attitude, CORE will start making arrangements for direct action."

AMERICANS CONTRIBUTE TO SOUTH AFRICAN DRIVE

Americans have expressed their support of the anti-segregation campaign in South Africa to the tune of over $1,500 in recent months. This money has been forwarded by Americans for South African Resistance to the African National Congress.

As the campaign gains momentum — already more than 8,000 have been arrested for non-violent defiance of segregation laws — more funds are needed. Contributors should make out checks to George M. Houser and send them to Americans for South African Resistance, 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, N. Y. Also from this address can be obtained periodic bulletins giving first-hand information about the campaign unavailable elsewhere.

On Dec. 8 the campaign became interracial when Patrick D. Duncan, son of a former governor general of South Africa and five other whites together with 32 non-whites including Manilal Gandhi, entered the Negro location of Germiston without permits and were arrested. The following day four whites were arrested when they went into the Negro section of the general post office in Capetown and wrote a wire to Prime Minister Malan protesting his segregation laws.

"The struggle has so far gone on very smoothly," said a letter from Manilal Gandhi written a month before his arrest. "There is a tremendous amount of provocation on the part of the authorities. Instead of the police being pulled up for excesses, it is being given full encouragement to act ruthlessly and unscrupulously. You must have heard about the riots in Port Elizabeth. They are not in any way connected with the passive resistance movement but every effort has been made to link them with it."

For a complete story of the campaign, get George M. Houser's "Non-Violent Revolution in South Africa," a new 32-page pamphlet. Price—25 cents.

LITERATURE

CORE: A New Road to Racial Justice, an attractive new leaflet with photos of CORE in action	.05
Ten Good Reasons for Cracking the Quota System in American Education	.10
CORE: A Brief History	.05
CORE: Techniques and Restaurant Discrimination	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough (Interracial action in the south)	.10
Erasing the Color Line (64 page booklet with analysis of 23 non-violent projects against discrimination) George M. Houser	.40
The Negro in Postwar America Arnold M. Rose, Freedom Pamphlets	.25
Religion & Race: Barriers to College? A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross	.20
South Africa Today (a Public Affairs Pamphlet) by Alan Paton	.25

Free Material

(For quantity orders there is a small fee)

Non-Violent Group Defeats Bias (The Story of CORE in St. Louis reprinted from The Catholic Interracialist)

CORE Action Discipline

CORE Statement of Purpose

Project Brotherhood (Story of a Washington Workshop)

Race and Religion in Selective Admission

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George Houser, *executive director* Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 60 JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1953

An Editorial in the Pittsburgh Courier, November 7, 1953

THE GOOD WORK OF CORE

Not enough credit has been given to the Congress of Racial Equality and its affiliates for the good work done in various parts of the country to eradicate the pernicious practice of racial discrimination in public places and conveyances.

CORE, as it is called, does not send out press releases very often nor does it waste time name-calling or holding monster mass meetings — but it gets results, which are what count.

It depends upon non-violent, non-cooperation, in the Gandhian manner, carried on by a small group of determined and dedicated persons of various colors and backgrounds.

There was the case in Baltimore where Negroes were refused service at the lunch counter in a Kresge store near Morgan College, and where the store manager maintained that the color bar had to continue for "business reasons."

CORE members and Morgan students "tested" the store last spring and were refused service, whereupon the organization contacted company headquarters in Detroit, which brought results.

Today Negroes are not only being served in that store, but in the Kresge and Woolworth stores downtown, and their sitdown waits will soon get results in Grant's, what with from twelve to thirty demonstrators of both "races" entering, taking seats and demanding service.

The Chicago and Evanston, Ill., CORE were instrumental in causing Marshall Field's department store to abandon its discriminatory practice and begin hiring Negroes.

Cincinnati's Coney Island does not admit Negroes, so CORE got busy and distributed illustrated leaflets in fifty stores showing a prominent Negro minister being refused admittance; newspapers, radio and television stations were telephoned urging them to cease advertising the resort; an honor roll was initiated listing churches and organizations refusing to sponsor any outings at the park, and then the NAACP cooperated by initiating legal cases against the place.

This illustrates the CORE methods which in a surprising number of cases have been successful in the past.

Recently CORE initiated a successful campaign in Pittsburgh to open the Diamond Roller Rink to Negroes, and it is now driving against bias in the theatres of St. Louis.

This campaign has been going on for years and has got results in dozens of places throughout the country.

It takes courage for these people to go into places where they are not wanted and embarrass management until given consideration; and if there were more active CORE organizations, the results would be even greater than they have been.

We think such an organization deserves praise and cooperation.

THE CLARENCE WILSON STORY

AMITYVILLE, N. Y.—Clarence Wilson, owner of a barber shop supplies business in Brooklyn bought property on the Deauville Gardens project near here from a white man. A local contractor started working on plans, but quit, telling Wilson that there had been complaints from certain persons in the community.

Wilson thereupon got a contractor from another Long Island town and construction started on November 5. Nine days later at 1:00 in the morning a mysterious fire occurred which resulted in damages estimated at $700. Eight days thereafter, on a Sunday morning at 9:30 a second fire broke out resulting in damages estimated at $490. Early in December Wilson received a note mailed in New York and signed "Ku Klux Klan," threatening a third fire if he dares to move in. Two similar notes were received by Dr. Eugene Reed who heads the Amityville branch of the NAACP.

This is the story as told by Wilson, himself, to Jim Peck, CORElator editor and to Clayton Flowers of New York CORE, who conferred with him on what CORE can do in the situation. Wilson concluded by asserting that he is going to move in despite any intimidation.

However, one immediate obstacle faces him: his inability to get fire insurance. Even before Wilson sent in his claim after the second fire, the Westchester Fire Insurance Co. notified him that his policy had been canceled. Thus far, he has not been able to get another one. Unless he can get fire insurance elsewhere, the contractor may sell the property at auction, since no bank will accept a mortgage without such insurance.

Regarding this problem Peck and Flowers put Wilson in contact with Conrad Lynn, an attorney who has worked closely with CORE. They also sought the advice of Marion Bromley of the Cincinnati Committe on Human Relations who faced the same situation when her family and that of Wally Nelson, CORE field representative, moved into a house in Gano, just north of Cincinnati. Following cancellation of their fire insurance, they finally succeeded in getting a policy with another company, but that company does not operate in the state of New York.

In an attempt to improve community relations in the vicinity of Deauville Gardens, New York CORE plans to send a goodwill house-to-house delegation.

STEP UP SITDOWN CAMPAIGN AT GRANT'S

BALTIMORE — Recently Baltimore CORE has been conducting sitdowns every week at Grant's dimestore lunch counter in an attmept to get service for Negroes.

On each occasion some 20 people participated. On December 12, 38 people took part. When the white members of the group were served, they passed their food to Negro members. The employes thereupon roughly yanked plates, cups and silver off the counter and the group continued to sit there.

Meanwhile spokesmen for New York CORE conferred with Charles Rivoire, secretary of the company, at the main office, who took the position that it is a local matter and that he would not intervene. A second meeting with Rivoire is being sought.

Meanwhile, upon orders from its main office in New York, McCrory's joined two other Baltimore dime stores — Woolworth's and Kresge's — in changing policy. The local manager, with whom Baltimore CORE had been in contact, called the group to inform them of the change.

Thus the change at McCrory's in Baltimore was brought about in the same way as at McCrory's in St. Louis last spring. In both cases CORE groups involved were opposed by local managers, who were finally ordered to change policy by the main office after the matter had been referred there.

BOYCOTT ICE CREAM STANDS

OMAHA, Nebr.—A campaign to boycott Reed's ice cream stands until the company adopts a fair employment policy, is being conducted by the De Porres Club, local affiliate of CORE.

Starting last summer, the ice cream stands were picketed. On one occasion a Negro youth watching the picket line was arrested. On another, management created a situation of near-violence which brought patrol cars to the scene.

At present the De Porres Club is renewing its campaign for a city FEPC law.

COMPLETE WELLSTON CAMPAIGN

ST. LOUIS—All three dimestores in suburban Wellston now serve everyone at their lunch counters, St. Louis CORE reports.

The last store to change—Woolworth's—opened its facilities following a 2-week testing period during which Negro CORE members ate at the counter every other day with the manager's approval.

Discrimination at downtown dime store lunch counters was eliminated following a campaign by St. Louis CORE which was completed last spring and for which the group received the third annual CORE award.

From the Columbia (Mo.) Daily Tribune November 16

CORE GROUP OF 30 PROTESTS THEATER'S RACIAL SEGREGATION

Some 30 persons, mostly members of CORE, stood in protest for nearly an hour outside the Uptown theater last night when the party was refused admission to the show "Martin Luther" because of racial segregation practices of the theater.

Robert Spencer, manager for Commonwealth Theaters in Columbia, said that members were told the theater was full and that he closed down the box office at that time.

The protestors went to the theater at 9 o'clock after the Committee of Racial Equality dinner at Harris cafe at which it was decided to test whether the theater actually did reject Negro customers.

In addition to CORE members, Richard Sterling, YMCA secretary, took Wally Nelson, a national CORE official, as his guest to the show and said that he was refused admission. Sterling said that others in the line at the box office included students, colored business and professional persons, and university and college faculty members.

Representatives of the group were called into the theater to talk with the management and afterwards the group dispersed.

J. C. FINDS CAMPUS BARBER IS j-c

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—During the big game between the University of Illinois and the University of Michigan, a student group against barbershop discrimination distributed thousands of leaflets revealing that J. C. Caroline, the Illinois football star, cannot get his hair cut on campus.

"On the afternoon of October 30, J. C. Caroline, brilliant star halfback of the fighting Illini, whom you'll see in action today, ran into an obstacle greater than any Ohio or Purdue line could produce," the leaflets said. "The obstacle: a campus barber. J. C. was flatly and rudely refused service, due to the fact that he is a Negro! Yes, J. C. Caroline, potential All-American, cheered by thousands each Saturday cannot get a haircut on his own campus!"

Wally Nelson, WRL field representative was instrumental in organizing the student group which sponsored the leaflet distribution.

NEW CORE GROUP

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—A new CORE group has been set up here, reports Wally Nelson, CORE field representative. Nelson together with Walter Hayes, another CORE field representative, attended the meeting at which temporary officers were elected and plans were made to contact additional Lincoln University students and faculty members and people in the community.

Decatur Marshall and Augusta Bell—both formerly of St. Louis CORE—were elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively. Walter Lambert is recording secretary and Raymond Tishy and Roy Dillar are handling publicity. Among those active in the group is Mrs. Lucile Knox recently of Columbia CORE.

NEW YORK CITY—Tests by New York CORE have shown discrimination at the Hotel Dixie, where the Dixie bus terminal is located and at the barbershop in the 34th Street Greyhound terminal. The group is taking initial steps toward changing policy at both places.

BROTHERHOOD MONTH ACTION CALL

This February again, as during the past 4 Februarys, CORE and FOR will conduct a campaign of refraining from patronizing places of business, recreation, etc. which practice racial discrimination.

Each year since the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign first started, the nation-wide response has been increasingly enthusiastic.

Sponsors of the campaign include Roger Baldwin, Frank R. Crosswaith, William J. Faulkner, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Willard S. Townsend, Mordecai W. Johnson and Lillian Smith.

For further information on the campaign and for plans for group and individual action during the month, write the CORE office, 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, N.Y.

END JIMCROW AT D. C. MOVIES

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The pattern of segregation in Washington Movies was broken down when the three big F Street theaters — Warner Brothers, the Capitol and the Palace — announced through the newspapers that hereafter they will be open to all.

The Warner Brothers announcement came on the eve of its reopening, following a 1-month shutdown for installation of Cinerama. In negotiations preceding the shutdown, representatives of Washington Interracial Workshop had the suggested to Julian Brylawski, local Warner Brothers representative, that the temporary closing offered an ideal occasion for quietly changing policy. Several leaflet distributions and standing line demonstrations had been held by the Workshop in front of the theater.

"It is now believed that most movie theaters in Washington are now open to all," writes Betty Kent of the Interracial Workshop. It is difficult to speak for all the movies, since there are so many in Washington. The only way is to test them."

For several years the Interracial Workshop has been campaigning to end jimcrow at Washington movies and it succeeded in doing so at several of the smaller houses.

LITERATURE

GENERAL

CORE: A Brief History	.05
CORE: Techniques and Restaurant Discrimination	.05
Crumbling Barriers Constance Rumbough	.10
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AFRICA

Candid Thoughts on Non Violence by Arthur W. Blaxal	.10
Africa: Which Way Now? by Patrick O'Donovan (British)	.20
The Crisis in South Africa by Z. K. Matthews	.10
Non-Violent Revolution in South Africa by George M. Houser	.25
A Petition to Her Majesty (A plea against Central African Federation)	.15
South Africa: Fellowship or Fear? by Gladys M. Jeffery (British)	.15
South Africa Today by Alan Paton	.25
Why Mau Mau? by Fenner Brockway, M.P. (British)	.15

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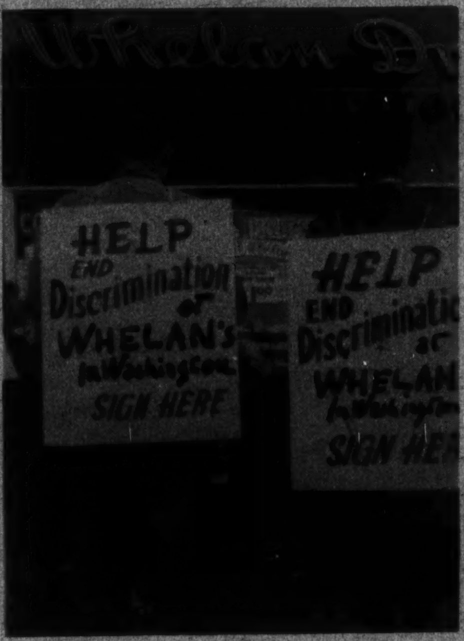
No. 57 MARCH - APRIL, 1953

Whelan Drive Hits New York



NEW YORK CITY—While the Washington Interracial Workshop continues its campaign of sitdowns to end discrimina- at Whelan's lunch counters in the nation's capital, New York CORE is conducting a series of leaflet distributions in front of Whelan stores to enlist the support of New Yorkers.

Headed: "New Yorkers—you can help end discrimination at Whelan's in Washington," the leaflets have at the bottom a blank to be torn off and sent in to the company.

The leaflet campaign was launched following a conference between a 4-man New York CORE committee and Samuel Roche, the official in charge at Whelan's main office. The conference was arranged by New York CORE at the request of the Interracial Workshop. Roche's attitude was that he agrees with all the arguments advanced by CORE, but that the company simply can't get around to making a change of policy. He indicated that public pressure would help.

In a letter to Roche the Interracial Workshop pointed out that about 90 eating places in Washington including several drug stores near the Whelan stores do not discriminate.

THE SUMMER WORKSHOP AND IKE

President Eisenhower has SAID he is against segregation in the nation's capital. The sixth summer CORE-FOR workshop will ACT against segregation in the nation's capital. It will start July 1 and last throughout the month. Applications should be sent as soon as possible to the CORE national office, since the Workshop will be open only to a limited group. If COREIator readers know of anybody in particular who might want to participate, please send in their names.

* * *

WIN 3-YEAR CAMPAIGN AT KATZ STORES

ST. LOUIS—Three years of letter-writing, demonstrations, negotiations and experimentation by St. Louis CORE have finally paid off at the two downtown Katz Drug Stores.

The first-floor eating facilities at 7th and Locust and all eating facilities in the 8th and Washington store are now open to everyone, regardless of color. The group is now seeking to end discrimination at the Katz store in Wellston.

* * *

New Group In Baltimore

BALTIMORE—A new group has been formed in Baltimore, a city which according to Field Representative Wally Nelson, "needs a CORE-type group badly."

First action is a campaign to end discrimination at lunch counters downtown and in the vicinity of Morgan State College. Already the group has succeeded in ending the lily-white policy at two downtown dime store lunch counters.

"Perhaps the most extreme racism in Baltimore is in eating facilities," commented Nelson who stopped there on a recent field trip. "Except for the restaurants at the railroad and bus stations (there is a question mark about the Central YMCA), A Negro cannot get service outside of the Negro neighborhoods. Dime stores serve Negroes only at stand-up counters."

Herb Kelman, formerly of New York CORE, who helped in the organizational work, says: "Getting the group organized was an accomplishment—especially the fact that we were able to attract a variety of people including college teachers and students, union girls and some veterans in the struggle for racial equality. Another accomplishment is the liaison we have established with faculty and students of Morgan State College. We are now engaged in a joint project and chances are that we will continue a cooperative relationship enabling us to draw more students into our group."

The general situation in Baltimore was described by Nelson as "the most unique I have seen. In one respect, Baltimore is far more advanced than many northern cities. More than 150 Negroes are employed as bus drivers and street car motormen and more are being trained. Negroes also drive taxi cabs.

"The other extreme is found in the law laying down a policy of jimcrow schools. It is also found in the treatment of Negroes by department stores. Negro women are prohibited to try on any garments or to return any purchases. Two of the stores refuse to sell to Negroes completely. Regarding hotel accommodations, there is total discrimination except for Negro conference groups meeting in dining rooms."

Hearing on Anti-Bias Ordinance

CINCINNATI—A public hearing was held February 21 by the city council's law committee on an ordinance introduced by Councilman Theodore Berry to outlaw discrimination at amusement parks.

Rev. Maurice McCracken spoke for the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, whose campaign to end discrimination at Coney Island Amusement Park prompted introduction of the ordinance. Wally Nelson and Ernie Bromley, who took a leading part in the campaign, also spoke as well as persons representing other organizations. Nobody rose to oppose the measure. About 100 persons attended the hearing.

Ed Schott, head of the amusement park, who has evaded representatives, was finally contacted by Nelson after addressing a PTA meeting. He refused to confer with the group but promised to make a statement soon on policy for the coming season.

"Can the methods of the current South African resistance movement be applied to erasing the discrimination in Cincinnati?" will be one of the main topics at a workshop to be held by CCHR April 24, 25. Main speaker will be Dr. Ernest Kalibala of Brooklyn.

* * *

Wally Nelson has made 2 field trips in the past few months. One covered Ohio and the other Baltimore, Philadelphia and other localities in that area

* * *

An award certificate "in recognition of the part played by the Washington Interracial Workshop in the successful campaign that opened Rosedale Playground to all children regardless of race" was presented to the Interracial Workshop March 21 by national CORE. The complete story of the Rosedale campaign appeared in the January issue of the CORElator.

* * *

The 11th CORE conference and convention will be held June 10-14 at Camp Tipi Wakan, near Minneapolis. Hold the dates open.

ANTI-CORE POLICE DEPARTMENT INDICTED

HACKENSACK, N. J.—Police Chief Frank Borrell, of Cliffside Park, who arrested 40 CORE pickets during the 1947-48 campaign to end jimcrow in Palisades Park's pool but who never made a gambling arrest in 30 years, has been indicted by a Bergen County grand jury for malfeasance in office and perjury. Indicted along with him are 2 Cliffside Park cops, who used to help arrest the CORE members and a cousin of Borrell.

The indictments are based on the protection given by the police department to the bigtime gambling operations of Frank Erickson. Borrell made the headlines in January when he was accused before the New York State Crime Commission of helping gangsters hide out in Cliffside Park. Previous to the indictment, Borrell testified before the grand jury along with Irving Rosenthal, owner of Palisades Park. Borrell admittedly has substantial interests in the Park's concessions, which explains why he didn't like CORE's picket lines.

* * *

COLUMBIA, Mo.—A series of sitdowns by women members of Columbia CORE has been conducted at the soda fountain of Newsberry's dime store, in an effort to get management to reopen negotiations.

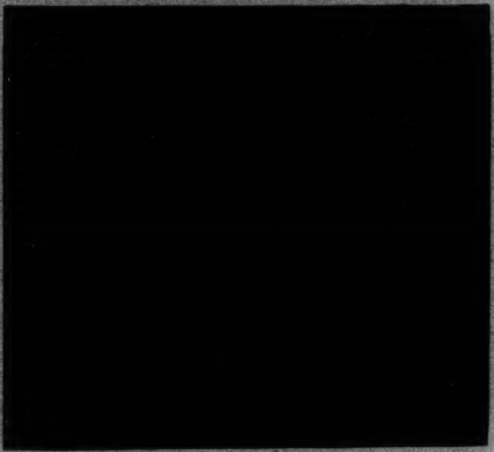
* * *

CHICAGO — Chicago and Evanston CORE are preparing for a direct action campaign to end the discriminatory employment policy at Marshall Field's department store. A second conference with management was less fruitful than the first, which was reported in the last issue and the company has refused any further negotiation.

* * *

PASADENA, Calif.—Pasadena CORE is working on a number of employment projects. On February 24 several of its members participated in a panel discussion on the radio sponsored by the Pasadena Council of Churches in which they told of CORE's accomplishments in the area.

CORE-TYPE ACTION IN S. AFRICA



These Indians are challenging South Africa's segregation laws by sitting in a "Europeans Only" waiting room at Berea Road station, Durban.

* * *

CORE MATCHES

CORE matchbooks are now available to local CORE groups at $17 a case (a case consists of 50 cartons each containing 50 matchbooks.) All that a local group has to do to get a case is to send $17 to the national CORE office. The matches bearing the name and address of the group, will arrive approximately three weeks thereafter.

New York CORE and the Omaha De Porres Branch of CORE are already ordered its first case (a few cartons were distributed at last summer's Workshop). The matches can either be sold (30c. a carton) or distributed free of charge at CORE parties or in connection with a particular CORE campaign. They are often found to be more effective than leaflets, since people do not throw them away.

* * *

ATTENTION — CORELATOR READERS

Although many of you have supported CORE generously, a number of you have not made any contribution recently. There is no subscription charge for the COREIator, but contributions to help cover CORE's operating expenses are always welcome.

APRIL 13-26 FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE

"The period from April 13 to the 26th will be set aside by many organizations and individuals as a time for giving special attention to and urging support for the movement in South Africa challenging unjust racial laws," says an appeal sent out by Americans for South African Resistance to groups throughout the country.

In New York on Wednesday, April 22, Z. K. Matthews, a leader of the non-violent movement against unjust laws who is teaching this year at Union Theological Seminary, will address an evening rally at St. James Presbyterian Church, 409 West 141 Street. Picketing of the South African consulate is being planned, but the date has not yet been set. It will coincide with the general strike planned by non-white groups in South Africa on the eve of elections.

Groups in other cities are urged to hold meetings on the South African situation between April 13 and 26 and to take up special collections to support the civil disobedience movement.

"Although the outcome of the elections will not radically alleviate the plight of the vast majority of people who live in South Africa (the non-whites), it will be an occasion when special attention should be paid to events in that remote country," the appeal says. "Already more than 8,000 people, most of them Africans, but with a sizable minority of Indians and a few white people, have been arrested because they have openly violated certain of the segregation laws."

Recently the Malan government has moved to suppress the civil disobedience campaign by passing a series of medieval-type laws including the "whipping post law" which provides for flogging in addition to heavy jail terms.

LITERATURE
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George Houser, *executive director* Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 58 JUNE-JULY, 1953

END BIAS AT D.C. CAFES

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Racial discrimination at restaurants in the nation's capital has been abandoned following the Supreme Court decision of June 2 in the Thompson Restaurant case.

This was demonstrated by the Interracial Workshop which sent small interracial groups to some 20 eating places in the center of the city. Negroes were served in all cases. Among the places tested were lunch counters of Whelan's where the Workshop has been conducting a prolonged campaign and of the Peoples, biggest drugstore chain in Washington. In addition Bob Kirk of the Workshop cited cases of Negroes not belonging to the Workshop who got served in previously lily-white restaurants on the very day the high court decision was handed down.

For some years the Workshop has been working on restaurants and had succeeded through non-violent direct action in changing the racial policies of a number of them.

Involved in the Thompson decision were anti-discrimination laws passed in 1872 and 1873 by a legislative assembly of the District of Columbia.

Justice William O. Douglas who wrote the opinion of the court in its 8-0 decision held: "The acts of 1872 and 1873 survived, we think, all subsequent changes in the government of the District of Columbia and remain today a part of the governing body of laws applicable to the District. The failure of the Executive Branch to enforce a law does not result in its modification or repeal. The repeal of laws is as much a legislative function as their enactment."

PICKET CONSULATE

On April 15, Election Day in South Africa, Americans for South African Resistance picketed the South African Consulate in New York. Leaflets pointed out that non-whites, representing almost 90% of South Africa's population, are barred from voting.

CONEY ISLAND DRIVE GOES ON

CINCINNATI—On the opening day of Coney Island Amusement Park, eight ministers including two Negroes and Rev. Maurice McCracken of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations arrived at the gate. The two Negro Ministers were refused admission, demonstrating that the policy this year is unchanged. But the incident received publicity.

On May 24 a Negro woman came to the Park where Richter Jewely Co. was sponsoring a square dance for the benefit of the American Cancer Society. As she got off the bus and walked toward the ticket window, one of the private police came up and asked whether she worked there. She replied negatively and stated she had a ticket for the benefit. The private cop thereupon began to push her with his hands while bumping her with his hips. The management's tactics this year apparently is to stop Negroes about 30 feet from the ticket window in order to avert a standing-line which would block the entrance.

A telephone and letter-writing campaign to stop companies from sponsoring outings at the Park is at present being conducted by CCHR in cooperation with the NAACP and other groups. These outings are a substantial source of revenue for the Park on weekdays. The groups recently succeeded in getting the Ohio Dept. of Conservation to cancel a wild life exhibit it had scheduled in the Park May 19-23. Also recently a judge withdrew as speaker at a sesqui-centennial celebration at Coney Island after he was informed of the Park's discriminatory policy.

PITTSBURGH — Negotiations for a change of policy at the Diamond Street skating rink have taken place between Pittsburgh CORE and Joe Kountz, the rink's manager. Kountz expressed willingness to try integration by opening one colored night to whites. Pittsburgh CORE will be one of the groups to go swimming this summer at the main pool in South Park.

INTEGRATION WORKS AT 2 DIME STORES

BALTIMORE—A policy of non-discrimination established a few months ago through the efforts of Baltimore CORE at Woolworth and Kresge downtown lunch counters is working smoothly.

"The change in policy was clearcut and after it came about, there was no backsliding," writes Thomas O'Leary of Baltimore CORE. "We are happy to see that these stores now maintain integrated lunch counters very successfully."

However, McCrory, Grant and Shulte-United—all on the same block — have thus far stuck to jimcrow. Twice a week CORE has been distributing leaflets on this block. Next step will be to seek a conference with the managers.

The group is also working on a Kresge store located in a residential shopping center near Morgan State College, a Negro institution.

POOL OBSERVING ANTI-BIAS PACT

NEW YORK CITY — Palisades Pool is living up to its agreement with the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, early tests by New York CORE have shown.

The contract, barring discrimination, was signed at the end of last summer following an informal hearing on the cases of four CORE members who had been refused admission. It is the first written contract to be signed by Palisades.

At the start of the 1949 season, following New York CORE's turbulent 2-year campaign, the management entered into a verbal agreement with Division officials but since 1951 it was frequently violated.

During the rest of the summer New York CORE will send interracial groups over in an attempt to get the pool integrated. One group which participated in the early tests is the Militants of the East Harlem Protestant Parish. An interracial youth group directed by Norman Eddy, they became interested in CORE-type action after a trip to Washington during which they faced restaurant discrimination.

JIMCROW ISSUE AT 2 STOCKHOLDERS MEETINGS

WILMINGTON, DEL.—The issue of racial discrimination was raised by minority stockholders at this year's annual meetings of the Greyhound Corp. and of the United Cigar-Whelan Stores Corp.

The Greyhound meeting May 19 was picketed by Jim Peck and Bayard Rustin, representing a group of 9 minority stockholders from four states. They distributed a statement signed by all 9 calling for abolition of the segregated seating system on southern buses.

"The new proxy rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission effective since December 11 permit corporations to bar from the agendas of stockholders meetings, economic, political, racial and social issues," the statement said. "Since our right of freedom of expression has thus been curtailed, we are expressing ourselves by means of a picket line."

The United Cigar-Whelan Stores meeting, which took place the following day in the same building, was attended by one minority stockholder, Clayton Flowers who raised the issue of ending discrimination at Whelan soda fountains in Washington, D. C.

Barred by the new SEC proxy rules from getting the issue on the formal agenda, he succeeded in bringing it up for discussion in the course of the meeting. He outlined the campaign being conducted by the Washington Interracial Workshop.

NON-SEGREGATED POLICY FILLS MOVIE

COLUMBIA, MO. — A non-segregated showing of "The Well" May 2 at the Tiger Theater brought in a big audience.

"A good feeling pervaded the theater: for once in Columbia one could attend a movie without guilt occasioned by the knowledge that all are not admitted," said Columbia CORE's newsletter. "Following this showing, our theater negotiators, Dr. Wendell and Dr. Zemmer, asked Mr. Knight for non-segregated showings every Saturday. He did not agree to the plan at this time, but is eager to continue non-segregated showings once a month."

Y OFFICIAL REFUSES TO MEET WITH COMMUNITY GROUP

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Dr. Eugene Field Scott, secretary of the Brooklyn-Queens YMCA has refused to meet with representatives of the Brooklyn Community Committee on YMCA Discrimination, a group organized largely through the efforts of New York CORE. He so stated to Rev. Milton A. Galamison, spokesman for the community group, who had requested such a meeting.

In December 1951 following a CORE picketing campaign, Dr. Scott announced that the Brooklyn branches of the YMCA do not discriminate and invited Negroes to apply. Yet since that time many Negro applicants have undergone discriminatory treatment. Some have been required to go through over-prolonged admission procedures. Some have become members eventually. Others have not. In contrast, white applicants have been accepted immediately.

Prior to December 1951 the Brooklyn branches refused to admit Negroes to full participating membership.

AMOS 'N' ANDY DROPPED FROM CBS-TV

NEW YORK CITY—The Amos 'n' Andy show, which had been playing on CBS-TV since June 1951, was dropped this March. Pointing out CORE's role in helping to bring this about, the Afro-American reported: "The show was threatened with a 3-city picket line protest in February of last year with CORE spearheading the campaign set for Chicago, New York and Washington.

"However, the plan fell through after CORE and CBS in New York held a conference (at which CBS Vice President Lawrence Lowman outlined the company's plans to combat discrimination in TV), after which the threat died down.

"CORE contended that the show depicted colored persons as ridiculous clowns and urged the industry to use colored stars in 'straight' roles rather than in specially written shows such as Amos 'n' Andy."

WIND UP CAMPAIGN AT DOWNTOWN DIME STORES

ST. LOUIS — A 3½-year campaign by St. Louis CORE to end discrimination at lunch counters of downtown dime stores was completed when McCrory's district manager ordered the local manager to serve Negroes.

The district manager's action followed an appeal by St. Louis CORE to M. O. Hill, head of the Store Management Division at McCrory's national office in New York.

Until then the local manager had told CORE representatives that he had no intention of changing the store's policy even though the other downtown dimestores had been serving Negroes for some time.

In appealing to McCrory's national office, Billie Ames reviewed CORE's campaign thus. "Three and a half years ago, CORE began talking with the managers of all four downtown dime stores. In some instances we felt our talks were unsuccessful and CORE resorted to peaceful direct action such as picket lines and sit-in demonstrations to bring the matter to the attention of the public. Shortly thereafter an agreement was made with Mr. Dwyer, who was then manager of the store, to allow one or two Negroes a week to be served at white counters to test customer reaction. Very soon the other dimestores in the downtown area started similar experiments. The experiments continued for many months and showed that most white people are completely indifferent as to whom is sitting at the counter.

"Since conducting the experiments three dime stores—Kresge's, Neisner's and Woolworth's—have changed their policies and are now serving everybody. Before Mr. Dwyer left the employ of McCrory's he stated several times that McCrory's would start serving colored people when the other dime stores did. We hoped this would be true even though your store now has a new manager, Mr. Brown."

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Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 60 JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 195~~3~~ 4

An Editorial in the Pittsburgh Courier, November 7, 1953

THE GOOD WORK OF CORE

Not enough credit has been given to the Congress of Racial Equality and its affiliates for the good work done in various parts of the country to eradicate the pernicious practice of racial discrimination in public places and conveyances.

CORE, as it is called, does not send out press releases very often nor does it waste time name-calling or holding monster mass meetings — but it gets results, which are what count.

It depends upon non-violent, non-cooperation, in the Gandhian manner, carried on by a small group of determined and dedicated persons of various colors and backgrounds.

There was the case in Baltimore where Negroes were refused service at the lunch counter in a Kresge store near Morgan College, and where the store manager maintained that the color bar had to continue for "business reasons."

CORE members and Morgan students "tested" the store last spring and were refused service, whereupon the organization contacted company headquarters in Detroit, which brought results.

Today Negroes are not only being served in that store, but in the Kresge and Woolworth stores downtown, and their sitdown waits will soon get results in Grant's, what with from twelve to thirty demonstrators of both "races" entering, taking seats and demanding service.

The Chicago and Evanston, Ill., CORE were instrumental in causing Marshall Field's department store to abandon its discriminatory practice and begin hiring Negroes.

Cincinnati's Coney Island does not admit Negroes, so CORE got busy and distributed illustrated leaflets in fifty stores showing a prominent Negro minister being refused admittance; newspapers, radio and television stations were telephoned urging them to cease advertising the resort; an honor roll was initiated listing churches and organizations refusing to sponsor any outings at the park, and then the NAACP cooperated by initiating legal cases against the place.

This illustrates the CORE methods which in a surprising number of cases have been successful in the past.

Recently CORE initiated a successful campaign in Pittsburgh to open the Diamond Roller Rink to Negroes, and it is now driving against bias in the theatres of St. Louis.

This campaign has been going on for years and has got results in dozens of places throughout the country.

It takes courage for these people to go into places where they are not wanted and embarrass management until given consideration; and if there were more active CORE organizations, the results would be even greater than they have been.

We think such an organization deserves praise and cooperation.

THE CLARENCE WILSON STORY

AMITYVILLE, N. Y.—Clarence Wilson, owner of a barber shop supplies business in Brooklyn bought property on the Deauville Gardens project near here from a white man. A local contractor started working on plans, but quit, telling Wilson that there had been complaints from certain persons in the community.

Wilson thereupon got a contractor from another Long Island town and construction started on November 5. Nine days later at 1:00 in the morning a mysterious fire occurred which resulted in damages estimated at $700. Eight days thereafter, on a Sunday morning at 9:30 a second fire broke out resulting in damages estimated at $490. Early in December Wilson received a note mailed in New York and signed "Ku Klux Klan," threatening a third fire if he dares to move in. Two similar notes were received by Dr. Eugene Reed who heads the Amityville branch of the NAACP.

This is the story as told by Wilson, himself, to Jim Peck, CORElator editor and to Clayton Flowers of New York CORE, who conferred with him on what CORE can do in the situation. Wilson concluded by asserting that he is going to move in despite any intimidation.

However, one immediate obstacle faces him: his inability to get fire insurance. Even before Wilson sent in his claim after the second fire, the Westchester Fire Insurance Co. notified him that his policy had been canceled. Thus far, he has not been able to get another one. Unless he can get fire insurance elsewhere, the contractor may sell the property at auction, since no bank will accept a mortgage without such insurance.

Regarding this problem Peck and Flowers put Wilson in contact with Conrad Lynn, an attorney who has worked closely with CORE. They also sought the advice of Marion Bromley of the Cincinnati Committe on Human Relations who faced the same situation when her family and that of Wally Nelson, CORE field representative, moved into a house in Gano, just north of Cincinnati. Following cancellation of their fire insurance, they finally succeeded in getting a policy with another company, but that company does not operate in the state of New York.

In an attempt to improve community relations in the vicinity of Deauville Gardens, New York CORE plans to send a goodwill house-to-house delegation.

STEP UP SITDOWN CAMPAIGN AT GRANT'S

BALTIMORE — Recently Baltimore CORE has been conducting sitdowns every week at Grant's dimestore lunch counter in an attmept to get service for Negroes.

On each occasion some 20 people participated. On December 12, 38 people took part. When the white members of the group were served, they passed their food to Negro members. The employes thereupon roughly yanked plates, cups and silver off the counter and the group continued to sit there.

Meanwhile spokesmen for New York CORE conferred with Charles Rivoire, secretary of the company, at the main office, who took the position that it is a local matter and that he would not intervene. A second meeting with Rivoire is being sought.

Meanwhile, upon orders from its main office in New York, McCrory's joined two other Baltimore dime stores — Woolworth's and Kresge's — in changing policy. The local manager, with whom Baltimore CORE had been in contact, called the group to inform them of the change.

Thus the change at McCrory's in Baltimore was brought about in the same way as at McCrory's in St. Louis last spring. In both cases CORE groups involved were opposed by local managers, who were finally ordered to change policy by the main office after the matter had been referred there.

BOYCOTT ICE CREAM STANDS

OMAHA, Nebr.—A campaign to boycott Reed's ice cream stands until the company adopts a fair employment policy, is being conducted by the De Porres Club, local affiliate of CORE.

Starting last summer, the ice cream stands were picketed. On one occasion a Negro youth watching the picket line was arrested. On another, management created a situation of near-violence which brought patrol cars to the scene.

At present the De Porres Club is renewing its campaign for a city FEPC law.

COMPLETE WELLSTON CAMPAIGN

ST. LOUIS—All three dimestores in suburban Wellston now serve everyone at their lunch counters, St. Louis CORE reports.

The last store to change—Woolworth's—opened its facilities following a 2-week testing period during which Negro CORE members ate at the counter every other day with the manager's approval.

Discrimination at downtown dime store lunch counters was eliminated following a campaign by St. Louis CORE which was completed last spring and for which the group received the third annual CORE award.

From the Columbia (Mo.) Daily Tribune November 16

CORE GROUP OF 30 PROTESTS THEATER'S RACIAL SEGREGATION

Some 30 persons, mostly members of CORE, stood in protest for nearly an hour outside the Uptown theater last night when the party was refused admission to the show "Martin Luther" because of racial segregation practices of the theater.

Robert Spencer, manager for Commonwealth Theaters in Columbia, said that members were told the theater was full and that he closed down the box office at that time.

The protestors went to the theater at 9 o'clock after the Committee of Racial Equality dinner at Harris cafe at which it was decided to test whether the theater actually did reject Negro customers.

In addition to CORE members, Richard Sterling, YMCA secretary, took Wally Nelson, a national CORE official, as his guest to the show and said that he was refused admission. Sterling said that others in the line at the box office included students, colored business and professional persons, and university and college faculty members.

Representatives of the group were called into the theater to talk with the management and afterwards the group dispersed.

J. C. FINDS CAMPUS BARBER IS j-c

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—During the big game between the University of Illinois and the University of Michigan, a student group against barbershop discrimination distributed thousands of leaflets revealing that J. C. Caroline, the Illinois football star, cannot get his hair cut on campus.

"On the afternoon of October 30, J. C. Caroline, brilliant star halfback of the fighting Illini, whom you'll see in action today, ran into an obstacle greater than any Ohio or Purdue line could produce," the leaflets said. "The obstacle: a campus barber. J. C. was flatly and rudely refused service, due to the fact that he is a Negro! Yes, J. C. Caroline, potential All-American, cheered by thousands each Saturday cannot get a haircut on his own campus!"

Wally Nelson, WRL field representative was instrumental in organizing the student group which sponsored the leaflet distribution.

NEW CORE GROUP

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—A new CORE group has been set up here, reports Wally Nelson, CORE field representative. Nelson together with Walter Hayes, another CORE field representative, attended the meeting at which temporary officers were elected and plans were made to contact additional Lincoln University students and faculty members and people in the community.

Decatur Marshall and Augusta Bell—both formerly of St. Louis CORE—were elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively. Walter Lambert is recording secretary and Raymond Tishy and Roy Dillar are handling publicity. Among those active in the group is Mrs. Lucile Knox recently of Columbia CORE.

NEW YORK CITY—Tests by New York CORE have shown discrimination at the Hotel Dixie, where the Dixie bus terminal is located and at the barbershop in the 34th Street Greyhound terminal. The group is taking initial steps toward changing policy at both places.

BROTHERHOOD MONTH ACTION CALL

This February again, as during the past 4 Februarys, CORE and FOR will conduct a campaign of refraining from patronizing places of business, recreation, etc. which practice racial discrimination.

Each year since the Pledge Brotherhood Campaign first started, the nation-wide response has been increasingly enthusiastic.

Sponsors of the campaign include Roger Baldwin, Frank R. Crosswaith, William J. Faulkner, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Willard S. Townsend, Mordecai W. Johnson and Lillian Smith.

For further information on the campaign and for plans for group and individual action during the month, write the CORE office, 513 West 166 Street, New York 32, N.Y.

END JIMCROW AT D. C. MOVIES

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The pattern of segregation in Washington Movies was broken down when the three big F Street theaters — Warner Brothers, the Capitol and the Palace — announced through the newspapers that hereafter they will be open to all.

The Warner Brothers announcement came on the eve of its reopening, following a 1-month shutdown for installation of Cinerama. In negotiations preceding the shutdown, representatives of Washington Interracial Workshop had the suggested to Julian Brylawski, local Warner Brothers representative, that the temporary closing offered an ideal occasion for quietly changing policy. Several leaflet distributions and standing line demonstrations had been held by the Workshop in front of the theater.

"It is now believed that most movie theaters in Washington are now open to all," writes Betty Kent of the Interracial Workshop. It is difficult to speak for all the movies, since there are so many in Washington. The only way is to test them."

For several years the Interracial Workshop has been campaigning to end jimcrow at Washington movies and it succeeded in doing so at several of the smaller houses.

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A Petition to Her Majesty (A plea against Central African Federation)	.15
South Africa: Fellowship or Fear? by Gladys M. Jeffery (British)	.15
South Africa Today by Alan Paton	.25
Why Mau Mau? by Fenner Brockway, M.P. (British)	.15

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George Houser, ***executive director*** **Jim Peck,** ***editor***
No. 61 MARCH-APRIL, 1954

NINE MONTHS PICKETING CHANGES EMPLOYMENT POLICY

OMAHA, Nebr. — Nine months of picketing by the De Porres Club, local CORE affiliate, ended when Reed's Ice Cream stores on January 24 for the first time hired a Negro saleslady. She is Mrs. Virginia Dixon and she works on the five to midnight shift at the company's main store.

In late January a year ago the De Porres Club opened its campaign to secure employment for Negroes at Reed's. Picketing started in April. A few weeks thereafter Reed's hired a Negro janitor. Since this did not constitute equality in employment opportunity, the De Porres Club continued its picketing until the hiring of Mrs. Dixon.

In a front page story in the Omaha Star, George Barton, who was in charge of the picketing, is quoted as saying: "We are happy that Reed's have corrected the situation. The De Porres Club extends its most sincere congratulations to the thousands of people, white and colored, who refused to let their money support racial discrimination."

SUMMER WORKSHOP

Segregation is on the downgrade in the nation's capital. Restaurants now serve everybody regardless of color. The jimcrow pattern in movies has been broken. The Summer Workshops have played a major role in these accomplishments. This Summer Workshop will concentrate on fields where segregation still exists, with the ultimate aim of eliminating discrimination in Washington completely. It will start July 1 and last throughout the month.

Applications should be sent as soon as possible to the CORE national office, since the Workshop will be open only to a limited group. If COREIator readers know of anybody in particular who might want to participate, please send in their names. For complete details about the Workshop, see the folder enclosed with this COREIator.

CORE WAITING-LINE AT UPTOWN THEATER

Martin
uther

BREAK JIMCROW THEATER PATTERN IN COLUMBIA

By Rabbi Morris Fishman

On January 25, for the first time, the Tiger Theater in Columbia, Missouri, opened its doors to everybody, regardless of color. The first test there occurred October 26. It is customary in Columbia that if the University of Missouri football team wins the homecoming game, all theaters admit the students free of charge the following Monday evening. CORE therefore planned to test the Tiger Theater by having a team of white and Negro students go there and show their university identification cards, the only requirement that night for admission.

Mr. Dudley, one of the co-owners of the theater, was standing at the door and refused to admit the group, claiming that it would hurt his business since the Tiger is located in the Negro section and all the undesirable elements would start coming

(Continued on Page 2)

THEATER PATTERN (Cont'd)

to the theater. His refusal to admit Negroes was made known to students on the campus of the University of Missouri and of Stephens College. Many letters of protest were sent to the operators of the theater.

One of the students of Stephens College went to see the owners to discuss their policy. But she came away with some vague promise that they may open the theater to Negroes sometime in April. Some members of CORE were of the opinion that we ought to wait before making further demonstrations and accept this report as a valid promise. Others felt that demonstrations should be planned in the near future.

On January 24 I attended the Tiger theater to see the film **Faithful City,** the first full-length movie to come from Israel. The theater was almost empty since this movie was not too well advertised and very few people had heard of it. It occurred to me that this was an excellent opportunity for further negotiations with the owners.

I made an appointment to see them the next morning and told how much I had enjoyed the film. I lamented the fact that so few people had come to see it. I pointed out to them that there was need for an art theater in Columbia since there are so many students and faculty people in the community, and that there were many students' organizations that would be happy to cooperate with the theater in advertising the films and also helping in their selection.

The owners were very appreciative of this suggestion and offered me some special admission passes to the theater to distribute among students so that they might be encouraged to come to see the movie **Faithful City.** I then said I had one reservation in regard to accepting this offer and that was their policy of refusing to admit Negroes. After lengthy discussion, they were convinced that perhaps their arguments were not too valid and stated that they were now ready to change.

I requested that the change be made immediately so that I could go ahead and distribute the special admission tickets and advertise the movie through our student council. We all stood up and shook hands. Since January 25, no untoward incident has been reported. Negroes are admitted and there has been no loss of business. Some observers are of the opinion that attendance has increased. However, the owners are much happier with the new arrangement, although they do not readily admit to the increase in business.

So far the Uptown and the Missouri theaters have refused to change policy, although demonstrations have been held at both places (See picture on page 1). It is hoped that as soon as the community becomes fully aware of the change in policy of the Tiger theater, it might strengthen the position of CORE regarding admission of Negroes to other downtown theaters.

DEPARTMENT STORE TRIES OUT POLICY CHANGE

ST. LOUIS — For some years St. Louis CORE has been conferring with officials of the Famous-Barr department store urging a policy change in their eating facilities. In the summer of 1952 CORE drafted a plan calling for experimental tests which was sent to all the department stores.

Famous-Barr was not impressed at the time. But recently management agreed to try out the plan, and asserted that if it proved successful, the restaurant would be open to everybody regardless of color within six months.

The first experimental test was made on February 15 when Frankie Freeman and Joyce Best (an interracial pair) ate in the department store's restaurant. The waitresses were courteous and no adverse reaction was noted on the part of other customers.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Interracial Workshop is attempting to get Negroes into the Public Recreation Training Department. The group is also making a study of the visual aid department of the Department of Education.

CINCINNATI — Through tests, the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations has established that the Southern Railway still enforces segregation here in violation of Supreme Court decisions. The group has protested to the railway's main office.

CHICAGO — A member of Chicago CORE and a friend — both girls — were assaulted while distributing Brotherhood Month leaflets in the vicinity of Trumbull Park Homes, a municipal housing project which was recently opened to Negroes.

THE CLARENCE WILSON STORY — UNHAPPY ENDING

The last COREIator told of assistance efforts by New York CORE and national CORE in the case of Clarence Wilson, Negro businessman who built a home here which was set afire twice, received anonymous threatening notes signed Ku Klux Klan, had his fire insurance policy canceled and was stymied in getting a new policy.

He had built the house so that his three children might get the benefit of country living. On Janaury 22 he sold it so that they would not become the targets of racial prejudice. Thus occured what Dr. Eugene Reed of the Amityville NAACP (with whom CORE worked closely) described as "a shameful victory for the forces of hate and bigotry."

The only encouraging part of the story is that as a result of the newspaper publicity, Wilson has received a number of offers of possible homes in other outlying communities. So possibly next summer he will secure a country home where his kids will not be the victims of intolerance.

CORE'S WILSON STORY MAKES NATION-WIDE RADIO HOOKUP

The name of CORE was heard from coast to coast on February 28 through a documentary program on the Negro in America produced by Fred Garrigus and Al Morgan and broadcast over stations of the Columbia Broadcastinng System.

The program consisted of tape recordings of various race relations situations taken on location throughout the country and of tape recordings of well-known persons on the subject of discrimination — both pro and con. The fields of education, housing and the present situation in the armed forces got particular attention.

Where CORE came in was on housing. Jim Peck COREIator editor, told the story of Clarence Wilson. He mentioned the two community opinion polls taken by CORE in the immediate vicinity of Wilson's house and gave direct quotes from some of the residents.

The total score on two community opinion polls taken by CORE in the imediate vicinity of Wilson's house was: 15 opposed to his moving in, 11 not opposed and 5 refusing to talk. Opinion varied considerably between the two extremes of the auxiliary policeman who said: "If the niggers move in, I'll move out," to the elderly German housewife who commented: "People are human: it don't matter what color they are." All but 4 of the 31 persons questioned strongly condemed the setting of the fires and stated that regardless of their opinions on Negroes, that was no way to settle the issue.

Two of those who did not assail the fire-setting suggested that the fires had been accidental. The other two suggested that Negroes had set the fires to gain publicity. Almost all of those questioned resented the publicity which resulted from the fires.

Most of those opposing Wilson's moving in cited, among other reasons, their fear of a decrease in property values. None mentioned interracial marriage, a question which Wilson said was raised at the meeting of the Deauville Gardens Civic Association which he attended. Mrs. Philip Hartman, wife of the head of the Civic Association expressed the opinion that community sentiment was not hostile to Wilson.

All but two of those questioned in the two polls answered questions camly, without exhibiting the hysterical hostility which marked the Cicero situation in 1951. There was no indication that members of the community would have instituted mob action against Wilson if he had moved in.

In the two polls all those who commented on Wilson personally — including the persons who were opposed to his moving in — did so favorably. Had Wilson occupied his house, he undoubtedly would have been accepted in the community within a matter of months—although the first few months would be disagreeable, particularly for the kids.

CORE SPOKESMEN IN TWO COMMUNITIES GET AWARDS

Billie Ames of St. Louis CORE and Virginia Nolan of Evanston CORE have each received an award recently for race relations activities in their respective communities.

Billie Ames received from the Mound City Press Club a plaque "for personal initiative and sacrifice in bettering human relations." Virginia Nolan received a citation from the North Shore Citizens Committee and the Evanston Interracial Council.

An editorial from the Afro-American, December 19, 1953

THE PROBLEM OF EATING

The problem of eating remains a major one as far as colored people are concerned in Baltimore.

Thus, it was gratifying to learn that through the efforts of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) four five and dime stores in the downtown area have opened their lunch counters to all customers.

CORE, an interracial organization, which works quietly and without fanfare, is now seeking to open the door at the W. T. Grant store on Lexington Street. So far their efforts over a period of six months, have fallen fruitless.

Twelve times the members of CORE have been rebuffed when they have entered the store and attempted to be served.

Some of the actions of the store management have even bordered on the comical side in their efforts to avoid serving the colored members of CORE.

The national office of the store has so far washed its hands of the matter after labeling it "a local matter."

The local management of the store has advised the CORE members that its policy will change "when the town changes."

So far the dispute has reached an impasse.

Sooner or later, however, we believe the management of the store will become aware of the tenor of the times. It will be then he will gracefully bow and open his lunch counter to all regardless of race.

The day this happens could well be in the near future. For day by day the anomaly of discrimination becomes more and more apparent to the majority of the people.

CORE groups in Evanston, Chicago and Brooklyn (the New York group) are campaigning to end discriminations at YMCAs. According to a survey by the Evanston Interracial Council, the Y is the only recreational organization in town which discriminates.

LITERATURE

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Religion & Race: Barriers to College? A. C. Ivy and Irwin Ross	.20

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(For quantity orders there is a small fee)

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CORE Action Discipline
CORE Statement of Purpose
Project Brotherhood (Story of a Washington Workshop)
Race and Religion in Selective Admission
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The Crisis in South Africa by Z. K. Matthews	.10
Non-Violent Revolution in South Africa by George M. Houser	.25
A Petition to Her Majesty (A plea against Central African Federation)	.15
South Africa: Fellowship or Fear? by Gladys M. Jeffery (British)	.15
South Africa Today by Alan Paton	.25

I enclose $.......... for literature (specify which)

I enclose $.......... for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ....

Address ....

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CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 513 West 166th St., N. Y. 32, N. Y.
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
George Houser, *executive director*
Jim Peck, *editor*
No. 62
MAY-JUNE, 1954

PERSUADE CITY TO HIRE ITS FIRST NEGRO

PASEDENA, CALIF.—As a result of negotiations between Pasadena CORE together with other groups and city officials, Pasadena has hired its first Negro—a clerk-typist.

An article about this will be published shortly, the group reports. This is in line with its policy of publicizing any progress made in the employment field in local newspapers and in church bulletins. Ministers in the Negro and interracial churches have cooperated effectively.

Another gain resulting from negotiations by CORE is the action of T. W. Mather's, a large department store, in promoting two Negro girls who were previously in menial jobs. Both are now doing secretarial work for the buyers and work in view of the customers. One of them is in a supervisory capacity with several caucasians working under her.

The group's main project at present is to get Negroes employed at two grocery stores: The Market Basket and Boarman's, both located in an interracial neighborhood. With the support of Negro ministers, CORE is planning a boycott campaign at The Market Basket, to start shortly.

CORE AND THE SCHOOLS

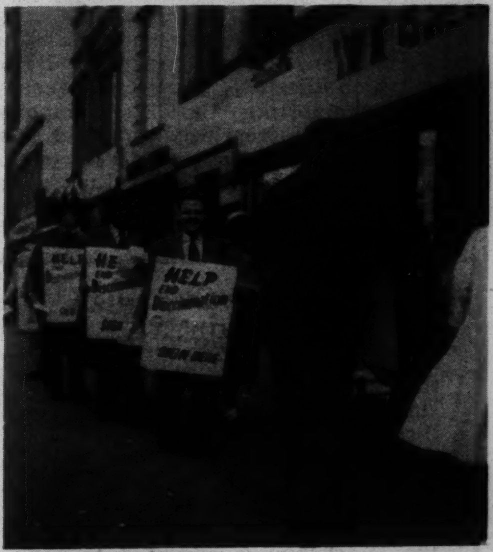
CORE is happy over the unanimous Supreme Court decision of May 17 holding that segregation in public schools is unconstitional.

Like in the case of the 1946 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in interstate travel, CORE's job is to help translate the schools decision into action.

Following the travel decision CORE organized the Journey of Reconciliation, an interracial bus trip through the upper south, whose aim was to encourage others to exercise their newly-acquired right.

In the schools case, CORE on the national level and CORE groups on the local level will do all in their power to see that school integration is put into practice and functions as smoothly as possible.

WIN CAMPAIGN AT GRANT'S



BALTIMORE—A year-long campaign by Baltimore CORE ended May 6 when the group received a letter from Lewis C. Lustenberger, first vice president of W. T. Grant Co., announcing that hereafter the eating facilities of the company's Baltimore store will be open to all, regardless of color.

The change of policy was confirmed by the store's assistant manager. Thereupon, an interracial group went to eat there and were served courteously. For the past year, such groups had invariably been refused service, whereupon they would remain seated throughout the meal period. These sit-in actions were an effective part of the group's campaign.

Grant's had been the last holdout in Baltimore, CORE having previously succeeded in changing policy at lunch counters of all other similar-type stores.

Starting April 3 New York CORE joined the Baltimore campaign by picketing Grant's Harlem store and distributing leaflets to enlist the support of New Yorkers. (See picture).

On April 27, the group picketed the annual stockholders meeting.

The issue of discrimination at the Balti-

(Continued on Page 2)

GRANT'S (Cont'd.)

more store was raised at the stockholders meeting by Jim Peck, CORElator editor, acting as spokesman for the War Resisters League, a minority stockholder. Lustenburger, who chaired the meeting, promised that the head office would investigate. Until then the head office had maintained a hands-off policy, contending that the issue could be settled only locally, in Baltimore.

A reporter and photographer from the Amsterdam News, New York Negro paper, covered the stockholders meeting and the story appeared on page one. The Afro-American, Negro paper in Baltimore which recently printed its second editorial supporting CORE's campaign (the first was reprinted in the last CORElator), also gave considerable space to the stockholders meeting. Lustenberger's announcement of the policy change came a week thereafter.

SUMMER WORKSHOP

There is still time to send in an application to the national office for the Summer Workshop which will start July 1 in Washington and run through the month.

Wally Nelson, who will again direct the Workshop, has found living quarters more economical than in previous years. This year the Workshop is expected to concentrate on employment.

HOTEL DIXIE ENDS DIXIECRAT PRACTICES

NEW YORK CITY—When New York CORE received reliable reports that the Hotel Dixie, in whose basement is a busy bus terminal, was refusing to rent rooms to Negroes, test cases were established.

A court case is pending as a result of one such test and word of this has gotten around the hotel. Most recent tests indicate that the hotel has now ceased to discriminate.

By repeated test cases, one of which was publicized in advance to the press and received good coverage in the Amsterdam News, CORE has ended discrimination at the barbershop of the 34th Street Greyhound bus terminal. Also by test cases, the group has changed the policy of the Tru-Feature barbershop in the downtown area. One of these tests resulted in the filing of a case with the State Commission Against Discrimination.

LAUNCH DIME STORE CAMPAIGN

COLUMBIA, Mo.—Columbia CORE, which over the past two years has changed the jimcrow eating pattern by opening four local restaurants to Negroes, has recently launched a campaign to change policy at the dime store lunch counters.

First Rabbi Morris Fishman of Columbia CORE consulted with Irvin Dagen of St. Louis CORE, who during that group's successful campaign at the dimestore lunch counters, had occasion to deal with Mr. Breland, head of the regional office of Woolworth's. Dagen thereupon called upon Breland who expressed the viewpoint that he does not see any necessity for a change for at least another year since the University has few Negro students and the local Negro population has not voiced any demands in this direction.

CORE then decided to contact as many civic and religious groups as possible and get them to express their viewpoints on the issue. Mr. Parker, local NAACP head, promised full cooperation and stated that his group would issue a statement of policy shortly. Such a statement is also being sought from the Ministerial Alliance

Rabbi Fishman and George Brooks visited Mr. Steinberg, president of the Retail Merchants Association and at his request sent the association a written statement of CORE's position. Then they visited Mr. Isely, executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. His attitude is favorable and he expressed concern over the conservative position of many Columbia businessmen on the race issue. At a recent meeting in the Chamber of Commerce offices of the managers of the two local hotels, the Daniel Boone and the Tiger, they agreed to accomodate Negroes in their bedrooms and dining rooms, provided they are delegates to a convention. Rabbi Fishman describes this as "a great step forward for Columbia hotels, and an indication of the effectiveness of CORE influence."

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—A new group which may become affiliated with CORE is conducting at Katz drugstores a series of tests which have revealed an overall policy of discrimination. One exception was a branch in Kansas City, Kansas, across the river, where an interracial couple were served. George Houser participated in the first test when he was here in March. Since then three more tests have been conducted.

CORE HONORS TRUMBULL PARK FAMILIES

CHICAGO, Ill.—The ten Negro families now living in Trumbull Park Homes project of the Chicago Housing Authority on the far South Side, were honored guests at the 12th Anniversary Dinner of Chicago CORE at Parkway Community House.

The families were honored for their courage as pioneers in the previously all white project and neighborhood. Since the Howard family first moved in last July the project has been the scene of stonings by anti-Negro mobs and hurling of foul epithets at the Negro families. For periods of time, "firebombs" and other objects were thrown repeatedly at the apartments of the Howards and others.

Shown seated around the table are members of the various families including Donald and Betty Howard, Eddie and Barbara Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Nelson, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, and the children of the families. In the background are standing left: Gerald D. Bullock, adviser to CORE and chairman of the Legislative Committee, Chicago NAACP; seated James Cassells, American Friends Service Committee; Mrs. Cora M. Patton, president Chicago Branch NAACP; Harvey Kearns, director Parkway Community House; Harold Matscheck, co-chairman CORE; standing Robert L. Birchman director Publicity Illinois Conference of NAACP.

Included in the picture are Jack and Betty Jallings and their children, one of the white families in the project who have been friendly to the Negroes and who are leaders in the Trumbull Park Homes Tenants Council.

CIRCULATE TRAINING PLAN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"An In-Service Training Institute in Inter-Cultural Relations," drawn up by the Interracial Workshop and other Washington community relations organizations, is now being circulated nationally.

This plan was drafted originally by the Interracial Workshop and other groups for use by the District of Columbia Department of Recreation in its in-service training program.

CORRECTION. A 1-paragraph item datelined Washington in the last issue of the CORElator opened with: "The Interracial Workshop is attempting to get Negroes into the Public Recreation Training Department." That was an incorrect version of the story above.

**THE CORE CONFERENCE
AND CONVENTION
WILL BE HELD JUNE 16-20 AT
CIRCLE PINES CAMP,
CLOVERDALE, MICHIGAN**

PUBLICIZE EQUALITY

EVANSTON, Ill.—Evanston CORE has been publicizing the idea of racial equality through circulation of various pieces of literature. Brotherhood pamphlets accompanied by letters have been sent to strategic business concerns.

"Human Relations in Evanston," a booklet issued by the Evanston Interracial Council, along with CORE literature has been mailed to all the alderman and to board members of the YMCA. A leaflet campaign publicizing the discriminatory membership policy of the local YMCA is being planned for the near future.

The group has just completed a new restaurant pamphlet to be distributed among non-white residents of Evanston urging them to use the non-discriminatory restaurants more frequently.

SECOND DEPARTMENT STORE CHANGES POLICY

ST.LOUIS—Stix Baer & Fuller, the department store which was the scene of St. Louis CORE's first campaign six years ago, has opened its first-floor lunch counter to Negroes.

Following 18 months of sit-ins and leaflet distributions in which as many as 57 persons took part, CORE wrote the company stating that the direct action would be discontinued to give the store a chance to quietly change policy. Date on the letter—December 22, 1949.

CORE then initiated its successful 3-year campaign to open up downtown dimestore lunch counters to Negroes, notifying Stix as each of the stores changed policy. Later the group succeeded in initiating a series of meetings of representatives of St. Louis's three department stores without any CORE representatives present.

Last October a Stix official told CORE that the whole situation had taken a "new twist," and said he would notify the group of any concrete development. In November CORE called him, but he had nothing new to report.

Early in March news of the policy change appeared in the East St. Louis Crusador. CORE learned that the editor while walking through the store, had been approached by a Negro employee and told that if he wanted to eat at the first-floor lunch counter, there would be no trouble. CORE immediately set up a test and found that the counter is open to Negroes.

A CORE spokesman then called the store to offer congratulations on the policy change. He was told that management didn't notify CORE in order to avoid publicity. The company representative added that this should not be construed as meaning that the store's attitude toward CORE is unfriendly. CORE then wrote the company president commending him but expressing hope that progress in human relations would not stop at the first-floor lunch counter. There are two other eating places in the store which are still closed to Negroes.

Last COREIator reported the first test made on February 15 at Famous-Barr, another department store with which the group had negotiated in the past. After this the manager agreed to two tests a week for two weeks and then three tests a week for two subsequent weeks. At the end of that period CORE met with the manager and he agreed to daily tests. LATE FLASH — AS OF MAY 17 THE EATING FACIITIES WERE OPENED TO ALL, REGARDLESS OF COLOR.

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(specify which)
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Address ....

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CORE-LATOR

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A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
George Houser, *chairman* Jim Peck, *editor*
No. 63 OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1954

CORE ACTIVE IN SCHOOL SITUATION

BALTIMORE — Baltimore CORE was one of the community groups combatting the pro-segregation outbreaks which occurred early in October after Byrant Bowles and his Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People forced reestablishment of segregation at the high school in Milford, Delaware.

"CORE observers were at the trouble spots each day trying to get at the root of the disturbances and assisting school personnel," writes Ben Everinghim of Baltimore CORE. "We had a representative at the emergency meeting between civic leaders and the school board and were instrumental in getting the firm police declaration which finally stopped the disorders."

"CORE was in it from the start at School 34 where there are Negroes only in kindergarten. McQuay Keah, our present chairman is a member of the City-Wide Coordinating Committee, which is doing follow-through work on the situation."

AWARD TO BALTIMORE CORE

Baltimore CORE has been selected for this year's Sidney Hollander Fund award in the field of race relations "for service rendered in helping to make the lunch counters in the five and dime stores in downtown Baltimore available for use by Negroes as well as whites."

Presentation of the award, which carries considerable prestige as well as $250, will take place on an auspicious occasion in the near-future.

Attention Customers of READ Drugstores in Baltimore—Baltimore CORE urges you to write the president of the Read Drug & Chemical Co. urging that Negroes be served at lunch counters of the company's two downtown stores. A campaign for a policy change at these two stores was launched recently by the group and one meeting with the company president has been held.

MADAME PANDIT . . .

. . . president of the eighth United Nations general assembly, addresses a capacity-filled meeting sponsored by the New York CORE just previous to her departure for London where she has been appointed Indian High Commissioner.

The occasion was the eighty-fifth anniversary of Gandhi's birth and the topic: "What Gandhi means to America." Over 700 persons attended—overflowing the meeting hall of Salem Methodist Church.

"The ideals of Gandhi are not new; they have been known in our country and yours, but they have been forgotten," Madame Pandit said. "India has achieved its goal, but unless we can recapture the courage and faith that Gandhi had, India

(Continued on Page 2)

MADAME PANDIT (Cont'd.)

will have betrayed Gandhi. While men still fight each other, while brother kills brother, we have not reached our highest goal."

Another speaker was Louis Fisher, biographer of Gandhi, who said: "The least of Gandhi's achievements was the liberation of India. He wanted much more—he wanted a free man in a free India . . . and this is what makes Gandhi relevant to the existing world." He pointed out that the loin cloth worn by Gandhi was "his way of identifying himself with three hundred million Indians who wore nothing else."

Roger Baldwin of the Intl. League for the Rights of Man pointed to the discrepancy between Gandhi's principles and U.S. foreign policy. "The spirit of negotiation with one's enemies, with trust and without rancor, is about as far removed from Gandhi's example as he personally is removed from Senator Knowland or Senator McCarthy," he said.

J. J. Singh of the India League said that Gandhi's method of non-violence might succeed in this country if people were to refuse to obey subpoenas by congressional investigating committees instead of testifying and standing on the Fifth Amendment.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell pointed out how CORE practices Gandhi's principles in the field of race relations in the U.S. and mentioned some of New York CORE'S campaigns. Rev. Charles Y. Trigg of Salem Methodist Church spoke on his personal attachment to India.

The meeting was punctuated with singing by Dorothy Overholt, a New York CORE member and by the church's choir. A scroll was presented by CORE to the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People for its work which led to the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

NEW ADVISORY MEMBER

Charles S. Zimmerman, Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, and Manager of ILGWU's Local 22, has recently been added to CORE's National Advisory Committee.

REST STOP INCIDENT

WINCHESTER, Va. — When Juanita Nelson, CORE Secretary, tried to get lunch at a Union News Co. counter here during a rest stop of her Cincinnati-to-Washington Greyhound bus July 31, she was refused service and manhandled by the manager.

After getting off the bus and going to the lunch counter with the other passengers, she was ordered by the manager to move to a jimcrow section. Juanita remained seated and finally helped herself to a wrapped-up sandwich from a covered container. After eating it, she went to pay check. The manager refused to accept payment and pushed Juanita away so roughly that she fell to the floor.

At this point a policeman, whom the manager had apparently summoned, arrived, helped Juanita to her feet, and warned the manager against pushing people around. He replied he had not meant to knock Juanita down, but that she was lucky that he hadn't killed her.

Juanita wrote protest letters to the Atlantic Greyhound Corp. and to the manager of the Winchester terminal. In reply she recently got an apologetic note from Greyhound disclaiming responsibility for the incident and stating that the lunch counter is operated by Union News Co.—which she did not know previously. So she will now take up the matter with Union News.

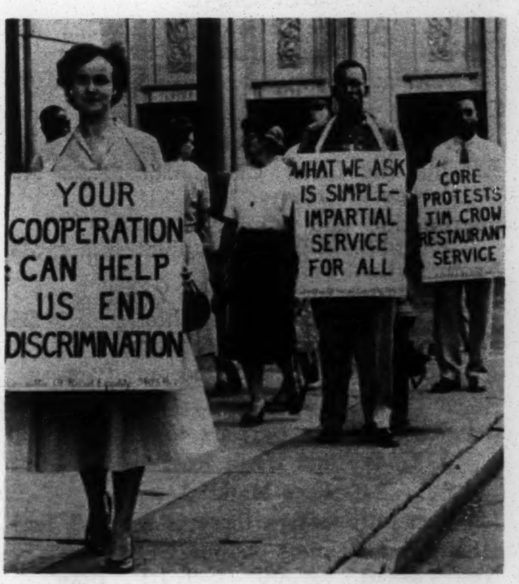
SEVENTY MINISTERS URGE PARK TO END BIAS

CINCINNATI—Seventy Cincinnati ministers have signed a joint statement calling upon Coney Island Amusement Park to end racial discrimination.

The statement was released to the press by Rev. Maurice McCracken of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, which has been conducting a campaign for the past two and a half years to change the Park's lily-white policy.

"It is our advice that it would greatly improve human relations if . . . the park were open to all on an equal basis," the statement says. Expressing gratification over a recent court decision granting an Avondale Negro woman the right to admission, the statement points out that continuous legal actions of this type could be averted by a change of policy on the part of management.

PICKET BAKERY


YOUR COOPERATION CAN HELP US END DISCRIMINATION
WHAT WE ASK IS SIMPLE— IMPARTIAL SERVICE FOR ALL
CORE PROTESTS JIM CROW RESTAURANT SERVICE

ST. LOUIS—The above picture shows Billie Ames, Robert Hopkins and Norman Seay of St. Louis CORE picketing the Grand Avenue Herz Bakery store on October 2. Behind Billie Ames, the picture shows the head of Theron Catlin, who is distributing leaflets.

The picket line attracted considerable attention and a number of customers—both white and Negro—refused to enter. Regarding Negroes, they can buy the store's baked goods to take out but they cannot eat at the store's lunch counter. Management claims there is insufficient room to serve Negroes. The same policy prevails at Herz's downtown store—a policy which St. Louis CORE has been trying to change since last June.

But Robert Murphy, the owner, remains adamant, and attempted negotiations have thus far proved futile. On September 13, a couple of weeks after a 2-hour sit-in by CORE members at the Grand Avenue store, a committee from the group tried to persuade him to permit some experimental tests such as CORE has conducted in other St. Louis eating places previous to winning complete integration. Asserting that there is no such thing as being "just a bit pregnant," Murphy insisted that if he changed policy, every seat in both stores would be occupied by Negroes.

Upon being notified of the proposed picketing October 2, Murphy requested a meeting with CORE representatives before that date. CORE agreed, but when the meeting occurred, Murphy denied having requested it and stated that he found such negotiations bothersome.

Further picketing of the Grand Avenue store and picketing of the downtown store is planned. As the September issue of Up to Date, St. Louis CORE's publication, expressed it: "Now that most businesses such as dimestores, drugstores and department stores which have items for sale to Negroes also serve everyone in their restaurants, there is no excuse for further delay at Herz."

INTEGRATION WORKS WELL AT THEATER

COLUMBIA, Mo. — Despite several changes in management, the Tiger Theater continues successfully its non-discriminatory admission policy established last January through the efforts of Columbia CORE.

At the start of the school year such excellent films as "Forbidden Games," "Little Fugitive" and "Odd Man Out" drew large numbers of students and faculty members. One hundred subscriptions for a series of this type of film have been sold.

At the suggestion of Columbia CORE, an advisory council has been formed to insure successful operation. Its purposes are to encourage patronage by University of Missouri and Stephens students and to aid in selecting film bookings.

"By operating successfully with a policy of non-discrimination, the Tiger Theater will influence other theaters in town to follow suit," Rabbi Morris Fishman of Columbia CORE points out.

SEEK INTEGRATION IN POLICE BOYS CLUB

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In view of the importance of integration in young people's groups, the Interracial Workshop is continuing its campaign against segregation in the Metropolitan Police Boys Club, despite an adverse vote by the board of directors.

Unfortunately, the board's vote came on the first day of the pro-segregation outbreaks in Washington schools.

"Undoubtedly the events of the day were thoroughly exploited by conservative members of the board," says Al Mindlin of the Workshop. "Also, the board constitutes a difficult opponent for us, since it includes many big businessmen and real estate owners who have always stood firm for segregation."

Previous to the vote, the Workshop had gotten sixteen city-wide organizations to write letters to the Club's committee of past presidents. Workshop members met with Leon Chatelain Jr., president of the club; Max Farrington, executive secretary; Ralph Pittman, chairman of the committee of past presidents and the police chief. Copies of "Intergroup Relations for Recreation Workers," which the Workshop and five other organizations prepared for the D.C. Recreation Department, were sent to all members of the Club's special committee which was to report to the board.

The Metropolitan Police Boys Club is one of the last quasi-public organizations in Washington which maintains segregation. It operates five white clubhouses and four Negro ones and has a membership of about 22,000 boys.

EVANSTON, Ill.—Evanston CORE has held two conferences with the new executive secretary of the YMCA, Douglas Monahan, in connection with its campaign to end discrimination at the Y. A thousand leaflets publicizing this campaign were mailed by the group during the summer. Evanston CORE also has been working closely with the Evanston Citizens Housing Council, which is combatting segregation in housing.

LITERATURE

GENERAL

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A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
George Houser, *chairman* Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 64 FEBRUARY (Brotherhood Month), 1955

OPEN . . .

37 BALTIMORE LUNCH COUNTERS TO ALL

BALTIMORE—An 8-month campaign by Baltimore CORE ended January 13 when Arthur Nattans Sr., president of the Read Drug & Chemical Co. announced that hereafter everybody would be served regardless of color at all 37 of the chain drugstore's lunch counters and soda fountains.

Nattans said that the new policy was

(Continued on page 2)

AWARD PRESENTATION

J. Arnett Frisby (right) of the Sidney Hollander Foundation Award jury, presents the 1953 citation to McQuay Kiah and Ben Everingham (left) of Baltimore CORE for the group's successful campaign which ended discrimination at downtown lunch counters. William Passano, also a jury member, looks on.

CLOSE . . .

LAST JIMCROW NEW YORK YMCA

NEW YORK CITY — The last jimcrow YMCA in the metropolitan New York area — the Carlton branch in Brooklyn — closes its doors on March 31. Announcement of this by Executive Secretary Eugene Field Scott of the Brooklyn-Queens YMCA, brings to a successful conclusion a campaign carried on by New York CORE for the past 7 years.

That the other Brooklyn branches are becoming integrated is indicated by a survey completed recently by the Brooklyn Community Committee on YMCA Discrimination, a community-wide group organized through the efforts of New York CORE.

A particular sore spot was the Bedford branch, which although located in a Negro residential section, previously refused to rent rooms to Negroes or to admit Negro adults to its gymnasium and swimming pool. For an entire year — from March 1950 to March 1951 — New York CORE conducted weekly picket demonstrations at the Bedford branch.

Thereafter, CORE tests indicated the start of a policy change, although Brooklyn-Queens YMCA officials persisted in refusing to negotiate.

Following announcement of the closing of the all-Negro Carlton branch, CORE wrote Scott: "This step ought to make the Y a more racially integrated organization throughout the borough, though we deeply regret the loss of a branch to the neighborhood."

* * * * *

EVANSTON, ILL.—The new executive director of the Evanston YMCA told a committee of Evanston CORE that he is planning a change in membership policy and disclosed several steps he has taken toward this end. The committee plans to confer with him again, periodically.

BALTIMORE (Cont'd.)

the result of company efforts to work out "an agreable solution" to the negotiations which it has been conducting with Baltimore CORE since last May.

Commenting on the company's action, Ben Everinghim of Baltimore CORE said: "This was a team effort of Baltimore CORE and many other community organizations, working closely for a period of six or seven months, with good will, persistence and controlled impatience. We feel that Read's management has been understanding and cooperative and we wish especially to compliment them and congratulate them at this time when they have been instrumental in the elimination of discrimination in such wide areas of the city."

Nattan's announcement came three days after an hour-and-a-half meeting between six members of Read's top management and Everingham, McQuay Kiah and Joan Wertheimer.

Management requested the meeting a few days after Baltimore CORE opened a weekly campaign of sit-ins with an action at the Howard & Lexington Street store in which 26 persons participated.

At the Northwood store located three blocks from the campus of Morgan State College, groups of 30 or more students had been conducting sit-ins. Finally, during the first week in January, they were served by the Negro waitresses there. The girls who served them were subsequently transferred to other stores, and replaced by employes who adhered to company policy. On the afternoon of the policy change — there had been another lunchtime sit-in that day — the company notified Morgan College officials and invited Negroes to patronize its lunch counters.

Editor's Note — We wish to thank CORElator readers who responded to last issue's appeal for participation in the letter-writing campaign on Read's drugstore's.

PARK ENJOINED FROM DISCRIMINATING

CINCINNATI—Coney Island Amusement Park has been permanently enjoined by a common pleas court from barring persons either because of their race or color or because of their membership in a particular organization.

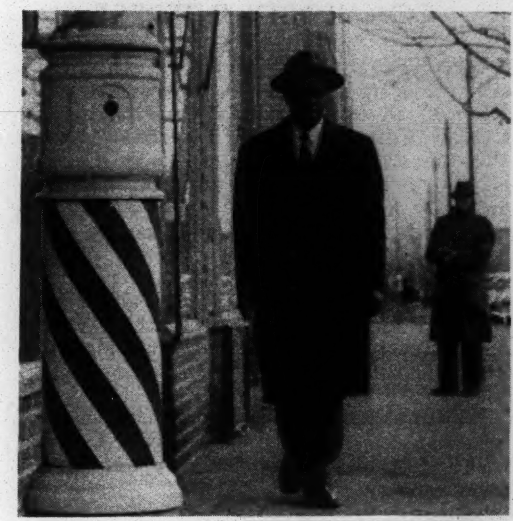
Management had claimed that Ethel Fletcher had been barred not because of her color but because she belongs to the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, which has been conducting a campaign at the Park and the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. The court ruled that exclusion of a particular group without regard to the character of individual members is not a "reason applicable alike to all citizens" and therefore invalid.

The court also overruled management's argument that Ethel Fletcher had been rightfully excluded because two private organizations had leased the Park on the days she sought admission. It held that despite these leases, the Park is a place of public accomodation which must at all times be open to the general public.

Safety Director Oris E. Hamilton has granted the Park an operating license for 1955 despite pleas from five Cincinnati organizations which held that the management violates the state's civil rights law by barring Negroes.

COLUMBIA,Mo.—Negotiations with the dime stores on a change of policy at their lunch counters, are still pending. Columbia CORE hopes to hear from the district managers in St. Louis in the near future.

TESTING BARBERSHOPS



Tom Carpenter (in foreground) is about to enter a barbershop. Nat Horwitz (in background) is looking at his watch to see that a full minute elapses before he follows Carpenter into the shop. These tests of barbershops in the Gunhill Road section of the Bronx, were made by New York CORE at the suggestion of Mrs. Benjamin F. McLaurin, wife of the field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. She told CORE that she had been unable to get her son's hair cut at two of the neighborhood barbershops.

The first series of tests on October 23 bore out Mrs. McLaurin's contention that some of the haircutting establishments in the area discriminate. In a second series of tests on December 11 all of the CORE testers were served and in only one instance were any remarks made after the Negro patron left the shop. CORE feels that a non-discriminatory policy will prevail if Negroes in the neighborhood patronize these shops. Mrs. McLaurin is taking action to attain this objective.

CAMPAIGN FOR CITY ANTI-BIAS LAW

ST. LOUIS—St. Louis CORE is concentrating its efforts toward passage of a city ordinance which would bar discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters and recreational facilities.

Early in November a group of aldermen surprised St. Louis by voting out-of-committee two civil rights bills which had been buried there for 6½ years—one dealing with theaters and the other with restaurants.

CORE immediately mobilized support, sending notices to 600 community people and contacting a number of sympathetic theater and restaurant managers. However, the vote on the bills took place only two weeks after they had been moved out of committee and on November 19 they were defeated 17-10.

Despite the bills' defeat, proponents felt encouraged, since this was the first time the aldermen's vote on such an issue was made public. Also, had it not been for the suspensions of aldermen from two wards with heavy Negro populations, the bills would have had two additional supporting votes.

So on Dec. 14 CORE arranged a small meeting of community people to discuss ways of working for passage of the bills next time they are presented — in April. The group agreed that the two bills should be combined into one to be sponsored by several aldermen with bi-partisan, bi-racial and bi-religious sponsorship. The group named CORE as the coordinating committee to work for its passage.

Upon learning that the St. Louis Council on Human Relations had appointed a committee to draft a new bill, five delegates from the Dec. 14 meeting including Billie Ames and Edgar Poindexter of CORE met with the committee. Everyone present felt that the new bill should include recreational facilities as well as restaurants, hotels and theaters.

To work most effectively toward passage of the bill, CORE plans to meet with aldermen who voted for the recent bills and get advice on how to approach other aldermen, to interview primary election candidates and circulate among friendly groups the names of candidates favoring the bill, to concentrate on five particular aldermen since only three additional votes are needed and to activate people in wards where aldermen voted against the two recent bills.

A NOVEL TWIST

ST. LOUIS—A new twist in action tactics was used recently by St. Louis CORE at the Herz Bakeries, where Negroes can buy baked goods to take out but are refused service at lunch counters.

Negro CORE members bought baked goods and then sat down at the lunch counter to eat. Upon being refused service, they returned the baked goods and got their money back.

A slightly different version of this tactic was used at the Empress Theater, where CORE bought 36 orchestra seats by mail and attempted to use the tickets by going in small interracial groups. The manager told the CORE people they could exchange their tickets for box seats but could not occupy the orchestra seats. So, the entire group got their money back — a total of more than $50.

COUNCIL MEETING SPURS COMMUNITY INTEREST

EVANSTON, Ill.—"Evanston CORE is still recalling the memorable weekend of Nov. 27-28 when it was host to the fall CORE Council meeting," writes Alethea Weathers. "The impact of that meeting is still being felt in Evanston and the publicity received has helped greatly to raise the prestige of CORE in the community.

"George Houser's talk on Africa was received enthusiastically, resulting in requests for him to speak from other groups in the Evanston area."

Editor's Note: Baltimore CORE will be host to the spring CORE Council meeting to be held in that city Feb. 26-27.

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No. 65 SPRING

JOINT ACTION BY COMMUNITY GROUPS

BALTIMORE—Baltimore CORE has initiated a program of joint action by community groups in combatting discrimination.

At a meeting attended by 11 such groups, a priority list of projects was drafted. These include individual schools, service men's facilities, white-tablecloth restaurants, tuberculosis hospitals, an amusement park, employment, etc.

Some of these projects will be undertaken by CORE. Some will be assigned to other groups. On projects where other organizations are already at work, CORE will cooperate.

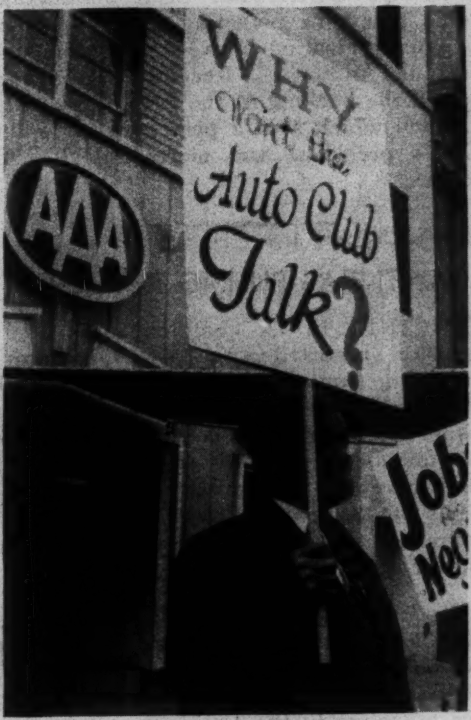
Top priority was given to an amusement park patronized largely by family groups. This was chosen because of the need of fraternization for the families of children who are getting together for the first time in the now-desegregated public schools. This amusement park is owned by the president of the city council, CORE discovered recently.

* * * *

EVANSTON, Ill.—In a joint campaign to eliminate housing discrimination, Evanston CORE is working closely with the Citizens Housing Committee, the North Shore Citizens Committee and the Evanston Interracial Council. The groups consider the timing of the campaign opportune in that new zoning laws may be in effect soon. An indication of this was the recent appointment by the city of an urban development director.

DON'T MISS THE CONFERENCE-CONVENTION NOTICE ON PAGE 4

TO PERSUADE THE AUTO CLUB TO NEGOTIATE . . .


AAA
WHY Won't the Auto Club Talk?
Job
Neg

. . . New York CORE members picket. The Club, New York Affiliate of the American Automobile Association, has spurned all efforts of the group for a conference regarding employment discrimination. At present Negroes are limited to menial jobs — with the sole exception

(Continued on page 2)

AUTO CLUB, (cont'd.)

the position of telephone clerk on the night shift.

The Club, as a non-profit organization, claimed exemption from the anti-discrimination law in a case initiated some time ago by The Urban League. This claim was overruled by the State Commission Against Discrimination, but the case was dismissed for lack of evidence. Two other cases are now pending.

The Urban League in New York has given CORE the go-ahead for the direct action campaign. In addition to sidewalk picketing, CORE has been conducting some telephone picketing, tying up lines of communication between the Club and stranded motorists. Recently CORE received the backing of the New York CIO Council which sent a protest wire to the Club's president and alerted all its affiliates.

ANTI-BIAS RULING REVERSED

CINCINNATI—A common pleas court decision (reported in the last CORElator) enjoining Coney Island Amusement Park from refusing to admit Ethel Fletcher either because of her color or because of her membership in two organizations, has been reversed by the circuit court of appeals on the grounds that the writ "constitutes a usurpation of the policy-making power of the legislature."

Both organizations — the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations and the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People — plan to continue working for a change in the Park's discriminatory admission policy. A public protest meeting to be held by CCHR June 6 will feature Carl Rowan, author of "South of Freedom."

CCHR has tested two restaurants recently. In one establishment the group was served after some delay. In the second — The Calico Cat — members of the group were sold ice cream and coffee to take out. Instead, they took the refreshments out of the bag and ate on the spot. The group reports that this type of restaurant discrimination is not uncommon in Cincinnati.

INTEGRATION GAINING IN MISSOURI TOWN

COLUMBIA, Mo.—Since the University of Missouri started admitting Negroes in accordance with last May's Supreme Court decision, integration is increasing all over this Missouri college town, reports Rabbi Morris Fishman of Columbia CORE.

This was determined through tests made by CORE groups in local restaurants and theaters. A number of restaurants which previously barred Negroes were found to have changed policy.

The Uptown Theater now admits Negroes. CORElator readers will recall that the spring issue just a year ago carried a picture of a waiting-line demonstration held by Columbia CORE at the Uptown Theatre, in protest over its then-prevailing jimcrow policy.

The Missouri Theater, although it still bars Negroes in the orchestra, now admits them to any seat in the balcony instead of confining then to the last rows, as previously.

The Tiger Theatre, a small house where CORE ended discrimination in January 1954, is still operating successfully with the aid of an advisory council appointed at the group's suggestion for encouraging student patronage and for aiding in the selection of film bookings.

Since admission of Negroes to the university, the membership of Columbia CORE has increased enabling the group to work more effectively.

TWO NEGROES ON Y BOARD

EVANSTON, Ill.—The recent election of two Negroes to the local YMCA executive board is interpreted by Evanston CORE as "highly significant that a change of policy is in the making."

Largely responsible, according to the group, is the new executive director, Douglas Monahan, who favors a non-discriminatory membership policy. A CORE committee is slated to meet with him soon on this question and to help in any way possible. The group has been campaigning for some time to end discrimination at the Y.

SUPPORT HILLSBORO SCHOOL CAMPAIGN

In Hillsboro, Ohio, Negro parents and their children are engaged in a non-violent direct action campaign to win the right granted them by the U.S. Supreme Court but denied them by the local school board — the right to attend an unsegregated school.

Since September 17, nineteen Negro families have kept their children out of elementary school rather than send them to the all-Negro Lincoln School. Many of the 33 Negro children are still reporting to one of the two white schools, only to be turned away. At least two of the children have not missed a day.

A petition for an injunction against enforcement of segregation was denied but the verdict is being appealed by NAACP. Segregation in the Hillsboro elementary schools (the high schools are unsegregated) was accomplished through a rezoning policy adopted by the school board after the start of the school year. From the first day of school until Wednesday of the second week, Negro children were enrolled in all the elementary schools. On that Wednesday they were sent home with a notice that since they live in a certain district, they should thereafter have to report to the all-Negro Lincoln School. This set off the campaign for integration.

The issue was brought to the attention of the spring CORE council meeting by Juanita Nelson, CORE secretary, who has been actively aiding the Hillsboro campaign. The CORE council voted to urge all CORE members and friends to **support the campaign by writing protest letters to Superintendent of Schools Paul Upp, Hillsboro, Ohio, and to Governor Frank Lausche, State Capitol, Columbus, Ohio.**

NEW YORK CITY—Aided by excellent color slides and tape recordings, George Houser, CORE chairman, spoke on Africa at a New York CORE public meeting at St. Phillip's Church.

PRESS DRIVE FOR ANTI-BIAS LAW

ST. LOUIS—As the date approaches for presentation of a new city anti-discrimination ordinance, St. Louis CORE is stepping up its campaign for enactment. A similar measure was defeated last fall by a narrow margin.

CORE has spent considerable effort alerting community groups to have their members contact the aldermen — particularly those aldermen who opposed last fall's bill but who are deemed likely to change.

CORE has also sent letters to all Negro voters in four wards with an increasing Negro population stressing the importance of contacting their aldermen.

NEW PROJECTS IN PASADENA

PASADENA, Calif.—Pasadena CORE, recently reactivated, is engaged in a number of new projects involving housing, employment, bowling alleys and restaurants.

To determine community opinion in a previously all-white neighborhood which is becoming integrated, Pop Hattersley, a resident who is a CORE member, called a meeting of neighbors. He found that the majority are not opposed to integration and that none are considering moving out in protest.

Regarding job discrimination at the local Sears store, where Negroes are limited to menial employment, June Bramlett of CORE together with a member of another interested group recently conferred with management.

At the Academy Bowling Alley, a test was made following reports that Negroes are invariably assigned to an end alley, which of course is a handicap to bowlers. In view of this, the Negro group specifically requested a center alley. They got one, but unlike the white group, they were sent upstairs where they bowled all alone for a half hour. Further tests are planned.

Reports of discrimination at Bennie's Club House, prompted a thorough CORE testing which proved that the reports were false and that the restaurant is open to all.

CONFERENCE-CONVENTION

The 1955 CORE Conference-Convention will be held June 15-19 at Circle Pines Center camp, Cloverdale, Michigan (26 miles from Kalamazoo).

It is important that every CORE group be represented. Friends of CORE who do not belong to a group are also welcome. The cost will be $15.65 plus a $2 registration fee for the full four days. Children under 8 are charged half rate.

SUMMER FIELD WORK

In an attempt to find means of adapting CORE'S non-violent techniques to southern situations, an interracial team consisting of Billie Ames and Marion Oldham plan to spend several weeks this summer working with individuals and community groups in Louisville, Kentucky.

Both team members have had many years of CORE experience with the St. Louis group. Billie Ames is at present vice-president of St. Louis CORE and group coordinator of national CORE.

In the past, several attempts to organize CORE groups in the south have been made but at present the furthest-south groups are St. Louis and Baltimore. In recent years CORE-type action has proved most effective in the borderline area between north and south.

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LATE FLASH TO THE CORE ATOR--WIN CONEY ISLAND CAMPAIGN

CINCINNATI- When Coney Island Amusement Park opened its 1955 season on April 30, Negroes were admitted for the first time. First Negroes to enter the Park gates were Mrs. Donald Spencer and her two sons. Eight more Negroes visited the Park that day and about the same number the day after. Ed Schott, the general manager, who had stood firm against admission of Negroes, expressed satisfaction at how smoothly the new policy worked. Management's decision on opening the swimming pool to Negroes will not be made until after Decoration Day.

The policy change climaxed a 3-year campaign by the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, a CORE affiliate. Considerable community support had been enlisted. This support was expressed during the winter in pleas that the Park be denied an operating license for 1955. The city did issue a license but with a stipulation that there be no discrimination.

File Copy

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Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 68 SPRING, 1956

LEADERS OF THE CORE-TYPE PROTEST IN MONTGOMERY

HOLT ST. BAPTIST CHURCH

CORE BACKS MONTGOMERY

The CORE technique of non-violence has been spotlighted to the entire world through the effective protest action which the Montgomery Improvement Association has been conducting since December 5. On that date over 42,000 Montgomery Negroes simply ceased riding the city's buses rather than be humiliated by a segregated seating system even more extreme than in other Alabama cities.

CORE's acclaim of the Montgomery action was expressed in a resolution adopted at its March national council

(Continued on page 2)

"LONG BEFORE MONTGOMERY

. . . joined the passive resistance movement . . . CORE has been effectively fighting bias here on the Gandhi nonviolence principle." So pointed out Ted Poston in his recent series of articles in the New York Post entitled "Prejudice and Progress in New York." Complete text of what Poston had to say about CORE follows:

"The Dixie Hotel at 230 W. 43d St. was not filled in December, 1954, when it denied a room to a Negro and told him we have no vacancies. The Negro turned away, but the clerk imme-

(Continued on page 2)

CORE BACKS M. (Cont'd)

meeting in St. Louis and forwarded to the Rev. Martin L. King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

The resolution said: "Whereas, the Negro citizens of Montgomery, Alabama have organized and successfully maintained for several months an effective campaign of non-cooperation with the segregated bus lines in protest over said segregation by their refusal to patronize these lines; whereas, in spite of intimidation and arrests, this protest is continuing and from all indications will be carried to a successful conclusion; whereas, this struggle is being carried out in the spirit of love, goodwill and non-violent resistance,

"Therefore be it firmly resolved that the national council of CORE strongly supports this effective protest and commends the leaders and other participants for their vision, courage and steadfastness of purpose in sustaining a significant struggle against a great evil, and at the same time pioneering in the mass use in this country of a technique and a spirit which holds unlimited promise for successful use elsewhere against oppression."

Rev. King replied: "Such communications from friends sympathetic with our momentous struggle for justice give us renewed vigor and courage to carry on."

Following adoption of the resolution the national council of CORE voted to send Field Representative Leroy Carter to Montgomery. Subsequently Carter spent several days there during which he met with Rev. King and with other leaders of the protest action.

EDITOR'S NOTE — As a service to its readers, the COREIator will send out within the next month a reprint of Rev. King's first article on Montgomery, entitled "Our Struggle." The article appeared in the April issue of "Liberation," a monthly magazine. Thereafter these reprints will be available along with other items on CORE's literature list.

"LONG BEFORE MONT. (Cont'd)

diately rented a room to the white man who had been standing directly behind him.

"The Dixie settled the court case which followed for $300.

"For the white man who got the room —and a signed receipt—was James Peck, director of the New York Committee of Racial Equality, a local interracial group which has been working to abolish racial discrimination here by direct, non-violent methods since 1941.

"As part of the national Congress of Racial Equality, the group has been effectively fighting bias here on the Gandhi non-violence principle, not only in hotels, but in swimming pools, barber shops, restaurants and other places of public accommodation long before Montgomery joined the passive resistance movement.

"But Peck and several members of this group themselves suffered violence and jail (Peck's jaw was broken) when guards for Palisades Amusement Park across the Hudson attacked them in 1947 when they insisted upon admission to the swimming pool there. The two-year fight was climaxed with victory under New Jersey's Freeman Anti-Bias Act, passed two years later, and New York Negroes as well as Jerseyites now use the park's full facilities freely.

"One of CORE's better known fights, however, involved a year's picketing of the Bedford Branch of the YMCA in Brooklyn, which had been referring all Negro applicants to the all-Negro Carlton branch. The Negro branch was closed down last year and Bedford now accepts all applicants.

"But although recreational facilities for Negroes here have been greatly improved by the activities of CORE and such similar groups as the Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan, the American Jewish Committee, the NAACP and others, the benefits have not always extended beyond the city's borders."

NEW HOWARD JOHNSON RESTAURANT BARS NEGROES

by Charles Oldham

ST. LOUIS—On April 1 a new Howard Johnson restaurant was opened at an intersection of two main thoroughfares in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

Since the five other Howard Johnson restaurants in the St. Louis area serve everyone, it was a great surprise to learn upon testing the establishment that Negroes were refused service.

Two days after the restaurant opened, a St. Louis CORE test group entered. Two white CORE members had arrived a few minutes earlier to act as observers. The manager, Donald Carpenter rushed to the door and announced that Negroes would not be served. He waved his arms in a state of excitement and talked in a loud voice.

The CORE members attempted to discuss with Carpenter, but he said he was too busy, and suggested that they call him at a later date. The following day, I phoned and Carpenter suggested that we wait another week, in view of the restaurant's recent opening. A week later, when I called again, Carpenter again said he was too busy and suggested I phone in a month or so.

At that point, St. Louis CORE started an investigation to determine how much control is exercised by the home office of Howard Johnson in Wollaston, Mass. We wrote to this office, and we are at present seeking the names of the principal stockholders and officers of the corporation. Further investigation revealed that the manager is the brother of City Comptroller Milton Carpenter.

IN MEMORIAM—Contributions for the work of CORE in memory of Mrs. Amalie L. Peterson, mother of Lula Farmer, CORE's group coordinator and treasurer, were received from the New York district of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employes, AFL-CIO, and from Mr. & Mrs. M. Digby Elkind of Brooklyn.

END STOCKHOLDERS' DRIVE

WILMINGTON, Del. — For the first time in nine years, the annual stockholders meeting of Greyhound Corp. was not marked by picketing or protests from the floor on behalf of a group of minority stockholders seeking to abolish segregated seating on southern Greyhound buses.

The group of stockholders, several of whom belong to CORE, decided to end their 9-year campaign following Greyhound's compliance with the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling abolishing segregation on interstate buses and in waiting rooms.

In a recent letter to the group, Merrill Buffington, secretary of the corporation said: "I wish to advise that the Greyhound Corp. has been and is making every effort to comply with the law in the matter of seating of interstate passengers of different races. This is in keeping with the principles laid down in a recent decision of the ICC which became effective January 10, 1956."

That Greyhound has complied is indicated by on-the-spot checkups made by members of the stockholders' group in two major southern bus depots. But, as a ticket agent stated at one of these depots, while Negro interstate passengers are now allowed to sit anywhere they please aboard the buses and to use main waiting rooms, they rarely do.

"What Greyhound should do in light of this situation," the stockholders' group wrote in a statement to this year's stockholders' meeting, "is to educate both its employes and its passengers as to the ICC ruling. This might be done through posting notices in waiting rooms and in employes' dressing rooms. Such notices would help to avert any misunderstandings in instances where Negroes stand up for their rights in this regard. We would also suggest employment of Negroes as drivers and in other nonmenial capacities."

The statement on the campaign's end was signed by Robert Auerbach, David Berkingoff, Mrs. Eula Morrow, Jim Peck, Bayard Rustin, Mary Winsor and Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Wolfson.

LATE FLASH

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Faced with the prospect of CORE action, Kansas City's movies and lunch counters of Kresge's and Grant's dimestores have been opened to everybody, regardless of color.

The lunch counters were opened on the eve of a sit-in campaign which the recently-organized Kansas City CORE group had planned. Announcement of the change effective May 3—was made to Leroy Carter, CORE field representative, by the secretary of the Mayor's Human Relations Committee, which has served as intermediary between CORE and the theater and dimestore managers.

Negotiations with Woolworth's will be held the latter part of May, Carter said.

TO NEGOTIATE DRIVE-INS

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — How a new CORE group here tested the drive-in movies and found them to discriminate, was told in the last CORElator.

The group has succeeded in persuading the managers to get together and negotiate. The first session was scheduled for April 26, but did not take place because of the unforeseen circumstances. It is now set for some time in May.

The group is also about to negotiate with one of the department stores on ending discrimination in rest rooms.

Five members of the group recently attended an integrated drive-in movie at Columbia, about 50 miles from Nashville, to observe conditions. Everything was found to be working smoothly, with Negroes and whites patronizing the snack bar. Only the rest room facilities are segregated.

CHICAGO—"Chicago CORE is in motion," writes Joffre Stewart. "We are again working on Jenny's restaurant, have had some tests and negotiations at the Piccadilly Hotel.

BALTIMORE — With periodic walk-ins and picketing, Baltimore CORE has been continuing its campaign to end discrimination at Wilson's, a white-table-cloth restaurant located in the Negro section.

BARBER SHOP ENDS BIAS

LOS ANGELES—When the Fred Harvey barber shop in Union Station recently reopened, following a shutdown of several weeks, its previous policy of discrimination no longer prevailed.

This was determined by interracial test groups from Los Angeles CORE who went there for haircuts, and were served without discrimination.

Tests conducted previous to the shutdown indicated refusal to cut Negroes' hair. Following two protest letters from Los Angeles CORE, which were not answered, the group sent another test team and found the shop closed. A talk with Negro personnel in a neighborhood shop revealed the rumor that the barber shop had been shut as a result of CORE's letters and would reopen in a few weeks with a fair hair-cutting policy.

In this instance, the rumor proved accurate. Had it not, Los Angeles CORE was prepared to renew the campaign and to extend it, with the aid of CORE groups, to Fred Harvey facilities in other cities, if necessary.

LITERATURE

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CORE-LATOR

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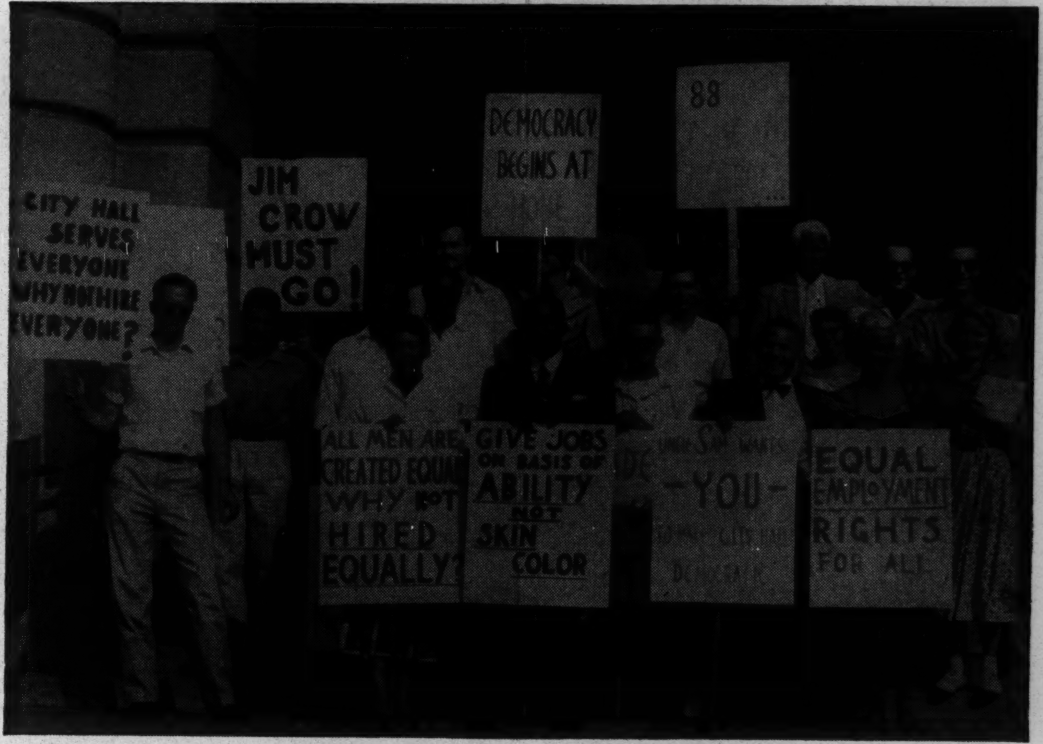
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

Jim Peck, *editor*

No. 68 FALL, 1956 No. 68

Pickets Protest Bias at City Hall


CITY HALL SERVES EVERYONE WHY NOT HIRE EVERYONE?
JIM CROW MUST GO!
DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT
88
ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUA WHY NOT HIRED EQUALLY?
GIVE JOBS ON BASIS OF ABILITY NOT SKIN COLOR
-YOU-
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS FOR ALL

PASADENA, Calif. — Pasadena's lily-white city hall was the objective of a picket demonstration climaxing a weekend workshop held September 29-30 by the Pasadena and Los Angeles CORE groups.

The more than 30 pickets in front of city hall attracted attention from many passersby including Saturday afternoon shoppers. More than 1,000 leaflets were distributed. The dem-

Continued on page 2

New Group Formed in Kansas, Others May Follow

HUTCHINSON, Kans. — The Hutchinson Council on Human Relations, a new CORE group has started operating here and, according to Field Organizer Leroy Carter, who has just returned from a statewide tour, groups may soon be organized in three other Kansas.

Continued on page 2:

New Group in Kansas (Con'd)

communities.

First action of the group here was to test local restaurants. Out of sixteen restaurants tested so far by small interracial parties, eight were found to discriminate. However, in none of the establisments did any customer get up to leave upon seeing the Negroes. At the conclusion of the survey, negotiations will be sought with those restaurants which refuse to serve Negroes.

A very complete and sympathetically written story on the new group was written by Bill Brown in the Hutchinson *News-Herald.* The paper also carried a column by John McCormally on Leroy Carter, telling about his work as CORE field organizer and explaining the nature of a race relations job.

Largely responsible for organization of the Hutchinson group is its chairman, Ralph Blackwood, an ardent advocate of Gandhian non-violent techniques who has recently returned from two years of teaching in India. Before going there, he had worked with the CORE group in Washington, D. C. Rev. H. Calvin McMillan of the Bethel AME Church is corresponding secretary of the group; Nancy Root, recording secretary and Gerald Woodson, treasurer.

Despite the fact that Kansas schools have integrated, segregation in public places is the rule throughout the state, with the exception of Kansas City, Carter reports. (Faced with the prospect of CORE action, Kansas City's movies and lunch counters ended segregation last spring.)

"In Lawrence, home of the University of Kansas, there are no restaurants at which Negroes may sit down and eat," says Carter. "After testing several restaurants along with Rev. V. R. Anderson, Negro minister, I conferred with one owner to get his views. He said: 'I have no personal feelings at all in the matter but would not change until other restaurants do.' I later learned that he formerly had used the fear-of-business-losses argument —until a white minister offered to reimburse him for any such losses which might occur in the event of integration.

"It should be noted that Lawrence has only 1,200 Negroes out of a total population of 40,000. Even less comprehensible are the situations in McPherson, Kansas, where Negroes number only 75 out of a total population of 14,000 and in Sterling, a college town where there are 40 Negroes out of a population of 6,000. In these two towns no restaurant, barbershop or hotel will accoomdate a Negro."

Pickets Protest Bias (Con'd)

onstration had considerable community support with both the local clergy and NAACP participating.

"After more than two years of negotiation by various community agencies, Pasadena does not have a single Negro working within city hall," Gordon Carey, chairman of Pasadena CORE pointed out. "Of the 88 Negro employes hired by the city government, 68 work in the garbage and refuse disposal department and 15 work as laborers and truck drivers. There is one Negro stenographer, one fireman and only three policemen out of a total force of 188. We view with great regret that a government institution solely supported by taxes should maintain such unfair hiring practices."

The Pasadena-Los Angeles CORE workshop, attended by fifty persons, included, in addition to this and other action projects, discussion groups and seminars on elimination of discrimination. The seminar on housing was led by Linn Hattersley; that on employment, by George Thomas. Hattersley and Thomas are executive directors of the Pasadena and los Angeles Conferences on Community Relations. Wilson Riles, regional FOR secretary, led a discussion on the philosophy and techniques of non-violence.

Appeal Case of Six Arrested in Cafe

CHICAGO—The case of six Negro and white members of Chicago CORE arrested May 11 when they sought service at Jennie's Cafe, is being appealed to the Appellate Court of Illinois.

The six were fined $100 each by Judge Alexander Napoli who ruled that they should have limited themselves to legal procedures rather than take direct action.

Howard Savage, NAACP attorney handling the case, termed Judge Napoli's decision "dangerous to all persons or groups of persons who find it necessary in their daily lives to insist upon their right to be treated impartially and fairly as all other Americans."

The six involved are Fred and Kathryn Fields, John Corney, Jeanne Wesson, Dale Drews and John Forbes. The case against a seventh, Joffre Stuart, was dropped.

Relating what happened, a member of the group said: "When we arrived, management spokesmen started shouting: 'Get out! We don't want you people in here!' They stated that the cafe was a private club, but we pointed out that two white members of the group had eaten there recently and that we knew it to be a licensed public place.

"Next, they stated that all the tables were reserved, but we showed them that while some tables were so marked, ours was not. Finally they claimed they were closed, but we brought out that customers were still arriving.

"When all these alibis failed, there came a cry: 'Let's throw them out!' Employes and customers began jerking the chairs from under us. Two of us fell to the floor, were seized, beaten and dragged toward the door. They beat the head of one of us (Dale Drews) against the floor and left him lying, nearly unconscious, in front of the bar.

"When the police arrived, instead of upholding our legal right to be served, they arrested us on disorderly conduct charges at the management's instigation. They refused to listen to any charges against those who had assaulted us."

Gerald Bullock of Chicago CORE and a vice president of the local NAACP commented: "The basic issue involved here is whether or not the city of Chicago, its officials and law enforcement agencies will continue to allow such open defiance of the civil rights laws of Illinois on the part of Jennie's Cafe and many other such establishments in the city."

Continue Howard Johnson Campaign

ST. LOUIS—Following a couple of test demonstrations which indicated that the Howard Johnson restaurant which opened last spring still discriminates, St. Louis CORE launched a campaign to influence the city comptroller, who is a brother of one of the owners and managers.

"The comptroller's office is an elective one on a city-wide basis," Charles Oldham of St. Louis CORE points out. "Since there are about 75,000 Negro voters in St. Louis we felt that some pressure should be fairly effective, with the city election coming up in the spring."

The two tests were conducted by four women, two Negro and two white. On the first occasion they were stopped at the door by a hostess who said they could not be served and blocked their way. They decided to return at a less busy time.

This was in the early morning about a week later. They got into the restaurant before they could be stopped and sat at the counter. Upon being refused service, they remained for about 45 minutes marked by discussion with the waitress, owners and managers and by a threat of arrest.

Since then spokesmen for the group have had one further discussion with the manager, who evidenced no change of attitude. This is the only one of the six local Howard Johnson restaurants to discriminate.

Picket Lily-White "All Nations" Day

BALTIMORE, Md.—Again this year Baltimore CORE spotlighted the inconsistency of an "All Nations Day" which bars Negroes. Seventeen members of the group and Leroy Carter, national CORE field organizer, picketed the event which was held in Gwynn Oak Amusement Park, the only such establishment near the city line.

Several Asiatic and Latin American countries did not participate this year. CORE has been contacting the various embassies in Washington and the consulates in Baltimore urging that the participating nationality groups boycott the event, as long as racial discrimination is practiced in the Park. The campaign will be stepped up this winter with the formation of a Gwynn Oak Committee, says Joan Wertheimer, group coordinator.

The Park's ban on Negroes was admitted by its Manager, Hal Stewart in an interview with an *Afro-American* reporter a week before the CORE demonstration. The exception, he said, was Negro nursemaids—provided they wear uniforms. This was in reference to a protest from a woman who charged that her nursemaid had been barred without a uniform.

CORE has conferred with the owners—Arthur Price, former president of the city council and his sons—but they have thus far refused to end segregation.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The Nashville CORE group has been collecting first hand data from integrated drive-ins outside of Nashville to be used in negotiations with Nashville drive-ins. Preliminary meetings have been held with two drive-in managers and with the manager of a big theater chain.

* * *

IN MEMORIAM—Carolyn Bedford of North Adams, Mass., sent a $5 contribution to CORE in memory of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Bedford.

CORE Backs Tallahassee

In response to an emergency appeal in August from the Inter-Civic Council, CORE forwarded to its president, Rev. C. K. Steele, $150 to help continue the non-violent protest action which has been in effect since June 5. During August city officials started to harass the car pool drivers and arrested a number of them, including Rev. Steele, for not displaying "for hire" signs. These cases are being fought in the courts.

In early June CORE forwarded to Rev. Steele a resolution of support adopted at its annual convention. The resolution was similar to that in support of the Montgomery protest action, which was adopted by the spring CORE Council meeting and reprinted in full in the last CORElator.

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Jim Peck, *editor*

BROTHERHOOD MONTH, 1957

No. 69

OPEN DRIVE TO END RESTAURANT BIAS

by Ralph Blackwood

HUTCHINSON, Kans.— This picture shows a few members of our group discussing strategy in our town-wide campaign to end restaurant discrimination. The campaign got under way after tests (reported in the last COREIator) followed by a telephone survey, indicating that more than half of the restaurants discriminate.

Hutchinson News-Herald—Photo by Bill Brown

We succeeded in getting the Hutchinson Ministerial Alliance—largely through the efforts of Rev. Harold Sowlen—to adopt and publicize a resolution in our favor. We then conferred with a Mr. Franklin, president of the Restaurant Owners Association who promised to bring our proposals before the Association's board meeting. Only three owners attended. One of them, commented that since he had never been able to get the three restaurants which he used to own to agree on prices, how could a group of separate owners agree on any unified policy of any kind. Following the meeting, we sent letters to all the Association's board members requesting a policy change and announcing our forthcoming program of sit-ins. At the next board meeting, better attended than the previous one, our "threat" was discussed. Some owners wanted to eject us physically. Others said that wouldn't work. Mrs. Pearl Nieto threatened to close her R & S Restaurant permanently rather than serve Negroes.

Continued on page 2

Core In On Bus Strategy Planning

ATLANTA—Leroy Carter, CORE field organizer, acted in an advisory capacity to the Love, Law and Liberation movement, the ministers' group working for bus integration in Atlanta. He attended all the strategy meetings which climaxed with several leading ministers establishing a test case by going on a bus, sitting in the front and getting arrested. Their action got nation-wide publicity and brought a threat of martial law from Governor Marvin Griffin.

While in Atlanta, Carter attended a 3-day conference of southern Negro leaders held at Atlanta University. Purpose of the conference was to coordinate plans for integration through non-violent action.

Restaurant Bias (Con'd)

We selected Eddie's restaurant on Sherman and Walnut for our first sit-in. Edwin Beasley, the owner, claimed he was too busy to meet with us, but I happened to meet him at his other restaurant shortly before we took action. He claimed he wasn't prejudiced and used the stereotype argument about losing business. He said he would serve us—but at considerably higher prices: a special menu for Negroes would be provided (see box headed "A Priceless Story").

That is exactly what happened when we went to Eddie's in a group—12 Negroes, 4 whites and 4 observers. Since we were served, and since the prices were exhorbitant, we decided not to go again in a large group. However, we have been sending one or two Negroes there every few days. Since no customers have been observed objecting or leaving, Beasley's loss-of-business argument has been disproved.

Next, we decided to work on the R & S Restaurant, whose owner, Mrs. Nieto had expressed herself so antagonistically at the Association's board meeting. When I talked with her just before the sit-in, she said in a loud voice that she wouldn't serve us, she didn't want our business and didn't even want my business.

I arrived for the sit-in with two Negroes—Gerald Woodson and Everett Snowden. Five students from Sterling College who had come as observers were already seated. As the three of us entered, the woman in charge tried to block us, so we turned toward another table and started to sit down. The woman tried to grab Woodson's chair, so he took another. We had been sitting there for an hour when Mrs. Nieto stormed in, locked the door and banged down the venetian blind next to our table. As the customer left, she locked the door behind them. After another hour, most of the customers were gone, so we left. On the street we met one of the Negro kitchen workers who reported Mrs. Nieto as saying: "I'll burn the son-of-a-bitch down before I'll serve them."

About two weeks later we returned to the R & S. Apparently, Mrs. Nieto had learned about it in advance. She was standing at the window and upon seeing us, she locked the door. She unlocked it for each customer and then locked it again. We didn't attempt any further action that evening.

Our next sit-in at R & S. took place January 12. The three of us walked in and sat at a table up front. Mrs. Nieto was not there but the cook came out and tried to get us to leave. He locked the door and pulled down the venetian blind. Finally, he threatened: "If you don't leave, I'm going to have you arrested." We stayed another fifteen minutes until all the customers except one couple had left. Then, we departed.

After having coffee at a nearby lunch counter, we passed by the R & S. Mrs. Nieto was standing watch at the window. Upon seeing us she waved frantically for the cook who came out and locked the door. By that time we'd passed by—we had no intention of returning that day. But we do plan to return some time soon.

A Priceless Story

A separate menu for Negroes with exhorbitant prices was Edwin Beasley's bright idea for keeping his restaurant in Hutchinson lily-white. The prices on that menu would have been considered high for a high class restaurant in a big city—and Eddie's is but a middle class restaurant in a small town where soups are ordinarily 20c, hamburgers 35c, and coffee a dime.

Here are some of the prices on the menu for Negroes: Soups 75¢, hamburgers (Sandwiches) $1, coffee 25¢, beef tenderloin $5.25, T-bone steak $5.50, pork chops $3.25, sandwiches (except hamburgers ind American cheese) $1.25 to $1.50, pies and ice creams 50c.

Beasley was so sure of himself that he announced his plan in advance to Ralph Blackwood of the local CORE group. When Blackwood asked him the price of coffee on the Negro menu, Beasley said: "If you come once, you won't come back again." But the CORE group did come back several times. It cost them money, but it disproved Beasley's argument that he would lose business if he served Negroes.

Survey To Show Business Losses From Bias

NASHVILLE—The Nashville group, which has just applied officially for affiliation with CORE, has made a survey to show drive-in owners that they are losing money by refusing to admit Negroes.

Three hundred Negro familiees in a neighborhood near one of the drive-in theaters were interviewed on whether they own a car, how often they attend movies now, would they be interested in going to a drive-in if permitted admission; if so, how often; if not, why not; and finally, whether they are interested in the CORE project to end discrimination at local drive-ins.

One manager of a local theater chain has promised to take up the issue of integration with his board of directors. Another manager has announced that he is not interested in integration. In this case, according to Esther Cannon of the local group: "We are now laying plans for direct action."

ST. LOUIS—St. Louis CORE is continuing its campaign to get local department stores to open all their eating facilities to Negroes. While these stores all have counters at which Negroes are served along with whites, other restaurants in the building still discriminate. The group is also still working for enactment of a local FEPC ordinance. Last September the bill was defeated again but by a much closer margin—13 to 12. Fifteen favorable votes are required for passage so there is a good chance for enactment next time the bill comes up.

Actions in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—As an outcome of the September CORE picketing if Pasadena's city hall a community-wide committee has been set up to investigate charges that the municipality refuses to hire Negroes in other than menial capacities. Also the NAACP and a department of the Council of Churcres, which registered strong protests at the time of the picketing, have been negotiating with city officials.

For the first time this Christmas season Ohrbach's department store hired Negro saleswomen and they have been kept on after the holiday season. CORE had negotiated with the local personnel manager who claimed, as did the main office in New York, that the store's policy was non-discriminatory. The local personnel manager had explained the store's failure to hire Negro salespeople on the grounds that they might feel "uncomfortable" confronting the public. Following the policy change, CORE will seek further negotiations.

Like in New York, Los Angeles CORE has been acting jointly with Jewish groups to get the local AAA to adopt a fair employment policy and to cease endorsing hotels which discriminate.

The CORE group has negotiated with two local hotel chains operating a total of 12 hotels. The owner of the Cooper chain has been cooperative and has posted anti-discriminatory directives. The manager in charge of the Babcock chain (it is absentee-owned) has been uncooperative and further action will be required.

CORE'S NEW OFFICE

CORElator **readers take note: CORE's new office is located at 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.**

The FOR office, in which CORE had rented space for the past few years, has moved from the city to Nyack.

Campaign To End Lily—White Policy Of 'White Coffee Cup'

by Joan Wertheimer

BALTIMORE—October 1956 saw the opening of a new shopping center which instituted significant advances in human relations. Segregation barriers were lifted in employment and all but one of the eating establishments serving this center opened their doors to everyone. Although bounded on three sides by Negro communities, this restaurant—the White Coffee Pot—refused to serve Negroes.

Inspired by the example of Montgomery and aware of the successes scored by Baltimore CORE the people living in the neighborhood of Mondawmin (an Indian name which means friend of man) vowed to remove this blot. They set up a temporary organization called the United Citizens Groups for Better Human Relations and asked two local CORE representatives, McQuay Kiah and myself to help organize a CORE-type action program.

Negotiations with the owners having proved unsuccessful, a series of sit-ins were initiated. These have been most exciting and inspiring. Groups of from 40 to 60 people participate in these demonstrations with the ratio of white and colored being fairly equal. Negro ministers have begun to take a leading role in this action and while the white community is participating in only a limited sense we hope that this will change in the near future. Of tremendous significance, we feel, is the fact that people have been taking part in this program who previously had no experience with non-violent direct action.

The pattern of the action has been that we send a large group into Mondawmin and have smaller groups with signs and leaflets demonstrate at some of the other restaurants in the chain. This has been a very effective approach and people throughout the city are aware of what we are attempting to do even though the large newspapers, aside from the *Afro-American*, have not considered this newsworthy.

CHICAGO—Chicago CORE is planning a program of socio-drama for presentation in neighborhoods such as Trumbull Park, where there is racial tension. The group is also continuing its program of testing restaurants in the downtown Loop section.

Now It's Desegregation—Kansas Style

by Leroy Carter

On my first statewide tour through Kansas, I wrote a report and called it "Segregation Kansas Style." This present brief report comes at the close of my second statewide tour, and after two committees which were formed as a result of my visits had gone into action.

My first visit to Sterling disclosed discrimination in virtually all of the town's restaurants and public places. At a meeting of interested people, a committee was formed to conduct tests. Those tests revealed policy changes in all places except the local barbershop. Negroes still have to make a 15-mile journey to get a haircut.

A similar committee which conducted tests in the town of McPherson reported some progress toward desegregation—but less than in Sterling.

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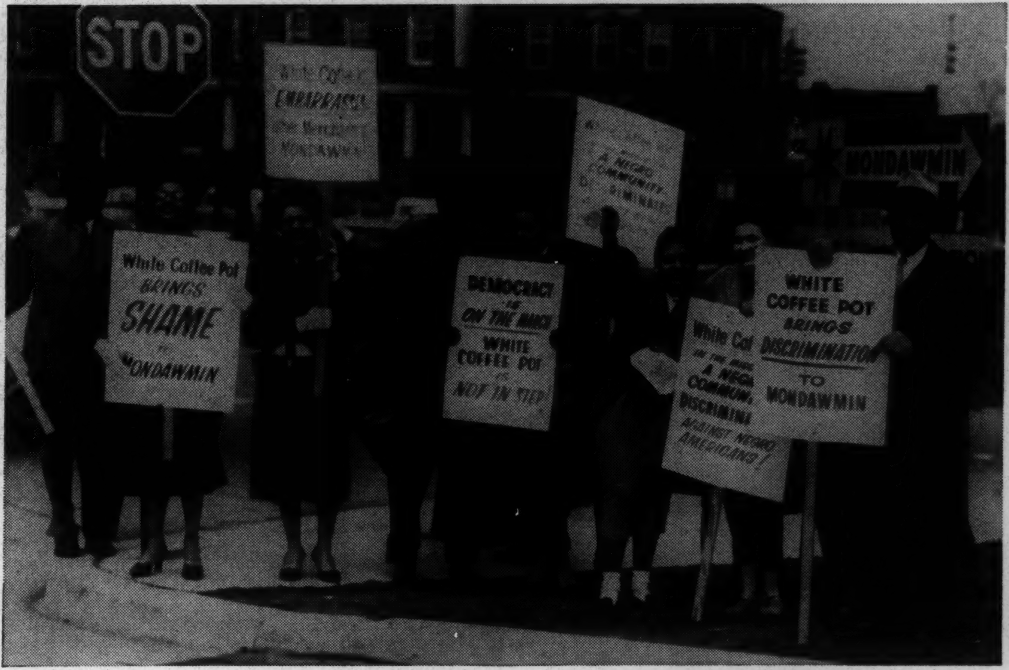
98 SPRING-SUMMER, 1957 No. 70

WHITE COFFEE POT IS NOT IN STEP


STOP
White Coffee Pot EMBARRASSES the Merchants of MONDAWMIN
A NEGRO COMMUNITY DISCRIMINA
MONDAWMIN
White Coffee Pot BRINGS SHAME TO MONDAWMIN
DEMOCRACY IS ON THE MARCH
WHITE COFFEE POT IS NOT IN STEP
White Cof IN THE MIDDLE A NEGRO COMMUNITY DISCRIMINA AGAINST NEGRO AMERICANS!
WHITE COFFEE POT BRINGS DISCRIMINATION TO MONDAWMIN

So proclaim these pickets in a recent demonstration outside Mondawmin, a new shopping center which opened last year in Baltimore. One of the placards explains: "White Coffee Pot in the middle of a Negro community discriminates against Negro Americans."

Picketing had previously taken place directly in front of the White Coffee Pot, on the shopping center's mall. But the center's management adopted a new policy and posted at each of the center's seven entrances notices saying: "No solicitors, peddlers or pickets

Continued on page 2

Motorcade at Drive-In Protests Bias

NASHVILLE—With a motorcade of 10 cars —eight containing Negroes and two whites— Nashville CORE opened up a major action campaign to end discrimination at the local drive-in movies.

The date chosen by the group was May 17, third anniversary of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision which was marked by the nation-wide Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington.

Continued on page 2

MOTORCADE (Cont'd.)

The Bel-Air drive-in, which was selected for the action, belongs to the Condra chain whose owner had been negotiating with CORE but who announced two days previous that the policy of refusing to admit Negroes would remain in force.

Each of the 10 cars in the motorcade drove up to the entrance and upon being barred, each driver requested a full explanation. Local police did not interfere. A second motorcade, this time of 20 cars, is being planned.

Careful planning went into the May 17 motorcade. Esther Cannon of Nashville CORE consulted with Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the year-long Montgomery bus protest action.

"I talked with him by phone when he was in town and he said he favored the direct action planned, that it would definitely aid the movement toward integration in the drive-in theaters," Esther Cannon reported. "He stressed the importance of training in nonviolence for all participants in the action."

In line with Rev. King's suggestion, a training conference of all the participants was held.

A committee representing the CORE group, armed with its survey of potential Negro patronage, met with the owner of the drive-in chain on April 29.

"He said he is in business to make money and if he could make more money by opening his theaters to everyone, he was in favor of it," reported Esther Cannon, who was a member of the committee. "He promised to take it up with 'the boys' and would have a decision within two weeks. On May 15 he told us that they were not going to open up the theaters to Negroes. He added that while they were interested in making more money, they thought that this would not be accomplished by a change of policy."

The CORE survey, reported briefly in the last CORElator, covered 1242 persons in the West Charlotte area of Nashville. More than 87% of the persons interviewed said they would go to the Bel-Air, the drive-in closest to that neighborhood, if Negroes were admitted. In addition, 81% said that other members of their families would go in the event of a policy change. The probable additional attendance per month was estimated to total 1915.

WHITE COFFE POT (Cont'd.)

permitted on Mondawmin property without consent of the owners. Those not securing such consent will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

Asked whether this did not amount to taking sides with the White Coffee Pot owners, the center's manager said: "Emphatically not. Our only concern is to keep our passage ways clear."

The United Citizens Groups for Better Human Relations, of which Baltimore CORE is a part, asserts that the center is in effect taking sides to protect discriminatory practices by one of its tenants.

A committee was set up to contact other tenants in the center. Adah Jenkins and Bob Wilkinson—both of CORE—met with the vice president of the tenants association who confirmed prevailing reports that other tenants are opposed to the White Coffee Pot's discrimination and had not protested the picketing directly in front of the restaurant. Meanwhile the group is meeting with attorneys to determine whether the center's picket ban is legal.

Until the issue is resolved, picketing will continue outside the entrances to the center. Previous to the campaign of picketing, the group has conducted a number of successful sit-ins inside the White Coffee Pot. But the owner posted guards whose sole function is to block the entrances whenever members of the group appear.

ST. LOUIS—Members of St. Louis CORE conducted a letter-writing campaign previous to the House enactment of a bill establishing a Missouri Commission on Human Relations. "The Commission has no powers, but it is at least a start in the right direction," commented Charles Oldham, local CORE spokesman.

NON-VIOLENCE GOES TO WASHINGTON

Jim Peck

As I surveyed the thousands of persons assembled at the Lincoln Memorial for the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom on May 17 and as I listened to the southern leaders of non-violence tell about their respective communities, I was struck by the extent to which this technique has taken hold in the struggle against racial discrimination in the U.S.

I could not help contrasting this precedent-setting, nation-wide assembly of over 25,000 with the small, scattered CORE groups of 50 persons or less which have been pioneering with non-violence in race relations since 1943. And, though none of the speakers mentioned CORE—it is a small organization—I felt that the role of CORE in the struggle for racial justice was vindicated more on this May 17 than on any previous occasion.

Possibly similar thoughts were in the minds of other CORE persons in attendance—particulary those who have played a major role in the organization such as George Houser, CORE's founder and executive director for many years and Jim Farmer, with CORE from the start and still active in the organization. Despite the big crowds, I ran into Houser and Farmer as well as several other CORE members and friends at the Pilgrimage. Bayard Rustin, another CORE co-founder with whom I worked on the organizational staff of the Pilgrimage, was a coordinator on the speakers' dais.

THE PILGRIMAGE

To the uninformed the spirit of non-violence which pervaded the Pilgrimage was a revelation. None of the "disturbances" predicted by several Washington white supremacists in letters to the police, materialized. Police were out in force but there was nothing for them to do. Following the Pilgrimage police officials commented on the orderliness of the crowds. But, it was more than just orderliness, it was a dignity unusual in any gathering of such size—and this was noted even by newspapermen and commentators not particularly sympathetic with the Pilgrimage's aim.

The idea of the Pilgrimage was launched at a meeting of Negro leaders in New Orleans, called in February as a result of President Eisenhower's public statement refusing to make a major civil rights speech in the south.

The demand for such a speech was issued by the initial conference of Negro leaders in Atlanta as a result of the bombings of churches and other acts of violence by white supremacy extremists following successful conclusion of the year-long Montgomery bus protest action.

THE PLANNING CONFERENCE

The spirit of the New Orleans conference is conveyed by Ralph Blackwood, who attended on behalf of CORE. He writes: "On the way to New Orleans my spirits fell when I noticed interstate passengers riding the bus in the old segregated way.

"Almost as soon as I stepped into the room where the southern Negro leaders were discussing the campaign for winning 'first class citizenship,' my depression began to vanish. I started to feel the way I do when I read about Ghandi or Tom Payne. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. stood behind the rostrum directing the discussion.

"As the discussion went on I learned that these leaders planned to request once more that President Eisenhower speak out on civil rights and to inform him that if he failed to do so, they would feel it necessary to carry out a Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington. As they worked out plans, I was surprised and encouraged to see the deep underlying unity among the leaders. Of course, the discussion grew lively at times—as is natural when working toward a democratic decision—and if these leaders were anything like all other leaders I had known, there would be frictions not obvious to the newcomer. But, nearly always, a unanimous decision was reached. The optimism was catching.

"I left New Orleans late at night more optimistic than I had ever been before. The interstate Negro passengers sitting in the back seat didn't bother me now: I had seen the new Negro leaders."

Support Koinonia

Norman Long, president of Koinonia Farms wrote the editor of the CORElator that one of the most effective ways for CORE to help is to publicize the interracial cooperative's present plight. Hence this appeal.

Following a year of dynamiting, shooting and burning in which damages to the farm have totaled $30,000, Koinonia needs:

1. Funds. Contributions should be sent to Koinonia Farms, Americus, Georgia.

2. Loan-pledges. Faced with a boycott by the insurance companies, Koinonia has decided on a method of getting insurance from its many individual friends across the country. Each such person pledges to loan $50—to be paid only in event of an emergency situation. Pledges should be sent to: Mrs. Harry Atkinson, c/o John Thomas, Ringoes, New Jersey.

On April 4 CORE co-sponsored a fund-raising meeting in New York at which Rev. Clarence Jordan, co-founder of the community told the Koinonia story. For those CORElator readers outside of New York and those in New York who were unable to attend, we give a brief summary.

A year ago Rev. Jordan sought to help two Negro students gain admission to Georgia Business College and the wave of hysteria which has been fanned through the deep south by the White Citizens Councils suddenly engulfed the little town of Americus where the cooperative farm had been in peaceful existence for 14 years. In July the farm's roadside market was bombed for the first time. Since then, acts of terrorism have been committed repeatedly.

On March 1 the president of Koinonia publicly rejected an ouster ultimatum delivered during a 70-car Ku Klux Klan motorcade "because we feel there are basic principles at stake which we cannot forsake."

The principles are those of brotherhood and they are being maintained—as Rev. Jordan pointed out at the New York meeting—by non-violence. It is therefore appropriate that this appeal for support be made in the publication of CORE, an organization which has pioneered in non-violence to combat racial discrimination.

Ministers Wives Urge Restaurant Boycott

HUTCHINSON, Kans.—The Ministers Wives of Hutchinson have issued an "appeal to all citizens to refuse to eat in establishments which discriminate in any way."

Pointing out that "about half our cafes do not now serve Negroes," the Ministers Wives also ask "that the owners and managers of our restauranats serve all orderly citizens willing to pay for their meals."

The appeal was in the form of a letter signed on behalf of the Ministers Wives by Dorothy E. McKnight and Ann McMillan and printed in the Hutchinson News-Herald. Both women were in Hutchinson CORE since its formation and participated in the group's campaign against restaurant discrimination, which was described in detail in the last CORElator.

LITERATURE

NEW

Our Struggle, story of the Montgomery bus protest, by Rev. Martin L. King (reprinted from *Liberation*) ....20¢

OTHER

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It Can Happen in Missouri, story of St. Louis CORE's successful campaign against discrimination ....free

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Name ....

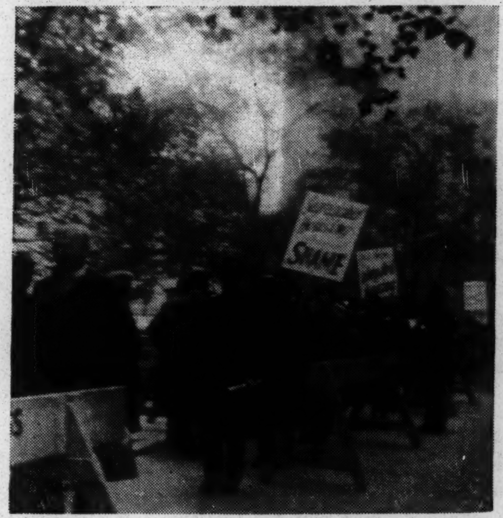
Address ....

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
Jim Peck, *editor*

FALL, 1957 No. 71

Core Sparkplugs Mass Rally For Fair Housing



NEW YORK CITY—CORE is a very small group in the big city of New York. Yet it successfully sparkplugged a mass demonstration of some 300 persons at City Hall on October 23 to urge prompt passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill. This fair housing legislation was stalled by the city administration following a high-pressure campaign of the big real estate interests.

Plans for the demonstration got under way at a CORE-initiated city-wide meeting of interested groups. At this meeting the Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill was formed. Rev. Eugene Callender of Mid-Harlem Community Parish was named chairman and Dr. Wm. Herbert King of Grace Congregational Church volunteered as his chief assistant. The team named to head mobilization and publicity was Jim Robinson, who

Continued on page 2

Core Active in Nashville School Crisis

By Anna Holden

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—At a meeting on Oct. 2, Nashville CORE pooled contributions for the McKinley family whose home had been damaged by fire and rock-throwing.

Linda Gail McKinley was one of four Negro children enrolled in Fehr school, about two blocks away when school opened. CORE members had visited the family and encouraged them to place the child in the nearest school rather than transfer her to a formerly all-Negro school. Linda McKinley and one other Negro child remained at Fehr school, though two withdrew during the mob demonstrations.

This is an example of the kind of work our CORE group did in connection with the crisis precipitated by John Frederick Kasper, professional segregationist, at the start of the school year.

On August 27, registration day for first graders (only first graders are involved this year under Nashville's partial desegregation plan), only 13 Negro parents took their children to formerly all-white schools although an estimated 126 Negro children were zoned in these areas.

Following announcement of this data, CORE decided to support these 13 Negro parents and to contact parents of other eligible children, 58 of whom were neither registered nor transferred as late as Sept. 6.

We divided into teams and visited parents in the neighborhoods surrounding Glenn, Jones, Fehr, Buena Vista and Liscomb schools. Negro children had been enrolled in all but Liscomb. We spoke to parents about the may-

Continued on page 2

HOUSING RALLY (Cont'd.)

recently started working full time as CORE's executive secretary and Jim Peck, editor of the CORElator.

A statement urging widespread participation in the demonstration was issued by Jackie Robinson, nationally-known baseball player; Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York; Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of the Amsterdam News; former Judge J. Waties Waring, who issued the original anti-segregation opinion in the Clarendon County school case; Dr. Kenneth Clark of the Northside Children's Center; A. Philip Randolph, a vice president of AFL-CIO and Benjamin McLaurin, chairman of the Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice.

Although this statement of support pointed out that the rally was to have "no partisan political significance," City Hall did everything possible to have it called off. Stanley Lowell, secretary to Mayor Wagner, made a personal appeal at one of the demonstration planning meetings. Carmine DeSapio, Tammany boss, personally contacted Rev. Callender, chairman of the demonstration committee and a number of important persons who might have supported the rally. A false rumor was circulated that the American Jewish Congress had withdrawn. Jackie Robinson received two calls that the demonstration had been called off. Rumors to this effect were circulated in Harlem the very evening before the demonstration.

Yet the demonstration committee remained unified and this unity was vindicated by the turnout.

While some 300 persons walked on the outskirts of City Hall Park with placards urging immediate passage of the fair housing bill, a committee consisting of Jackie Robinson, Shad Polier (of the American Jewish Congress), Pat Alvez (of the Urban League), Benjamin McLaurin (representing A. Philip Randolph), Dr. King and Rev. Callender conferred with the mayor.

Following the meeting, Jackie Robinson addressed the assembled demonstrators.

The demonstration ended immediately following his report.

Organizations represented by the Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill were the NAACP (metropolitan branches), American Jewish Congress (metropolitan chapters), Americans for Democratic Action (New York), CORE, In Friendship, Neighbors for Brotherhood and Riverton Tenants League.

SCHOOL CRISIS (Cont'd.)

or's promise of adequate police protection for both schools and parents' homes and offered any assistance CORE might give.

On the Monday morning when school opened and the following Tuesday and Wednesday, CORE members accompanied Negro parents to Glenn and Jones schools.

The two CORE members assigned to the Glenn neighborhood—Rev. R. W. Kelly of Clark Memorial Church and Robert Schwerdtman, Fisk University graduate student—later met with Assistant School Superintendent Oliver over pending transfer cases in Glenn and Caldwell schools. Four parents who had applied for transfers prior to the opening of school decided to change to formerly white schools and appeared at these schools on opening Monday. After a week of consultation and deliberation, Oliver ruled that the transfers could not be revoked and that the children would have to attend the all-Negro school to which they had been transferred. Nashville's school crisis has underlined several acute community needs. First, school officials require considerable pressure from interested community groups to comply with the spirit of the court's desegregation order. The one-grade approach and the transfer plan all but killed any possibility of eligible Negroes taking advantage of their neighborhood schools.

Secondly, Negroes as well as whites need education on desegregation at the grass roots level. They need to know specifics of the plan as well as what community groups support it and where they can get assistance in the event of difficulties.

Third, organizations interested in school desegregation and human relations do not reach the great body of people affected by the process of integration. Channels to reach these people should be opened.

Finally, while Kasper and his followers were able to stir up certain elements of the community to mob action and violence, apathy and indifference on the part of the responsible community made this possible. Until the Hattie Cotton school was blown up, and even after that in some neighborhoods, police tended to ignore much of what was occurring. "Softness" toward the troublemakers in the early stages laid the groundwork for the mob hysteria and violence that took place when school opened.

Picket All-White "All Nations" Day

LET US
PRACTICE
WE PREACH
GET IN STEP!

BALTIMORE—Dressed in the costumes of various nations, girls of Baltimore and New York CORE led a picket demonstration at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park on the Park's annual "All Nations Day," September 1.

Apparently unaware of the ambiguity of holding an all-white "All Nations Day," the Park refuses to admit Negroes, even on this occasion. Pointing this out, the leaflets distributed by the pickets were headed: "ALL NATIONS, ALL PEOPLE — EXCEPT THE AMERICAN NEGRO, OUR FELLOW CITIZEN."

This marks the third year that the event has been picketed by Baltimore CORE in conjunction with several other local groups. A deputation from New York CORE also participated. Coordinating the demonstration were Adah Jenkins of Baltimore CORE and Leroy Carter of New York CORE.

Combat Bias by Negro-Owned Restaurant, Newspaper

PASADENA, Calif. — When a Negro-owned business establishment discriminates against Negroes, the act is doubly offensive.

Pasadena CORE has been working on a restaurant and a weekly newspaper guilty of this offense, reports Paul Lockwood, spokesman for the group.

The restaurant is Benny's on East Colorado Boulevard, where Negroes are seated in a segregated section. This practice was revealed as a result of three tests by the CORE group. One negotiation session has been held with the manager.

The newspaper is the Crown City Press, which has been playing up Negro crime while belittling the NAACP and its work. CORE has launched a campaign involving phoning, discussing the issue as widely as possible and contacting advertisers and dealers. A committee including two ministers and representatives of other organizations is coordinating this campaign. The editor of the paper is J. Robert Smith, formerly with the Los Angeles Sentinel and Amsterdam News.

During the summer CORE tested several motels and found no discrimination. Future plans call for working on department stores where, for the most part, Negroes are limited to menial positions.

* * *

Write Howard Johnson Now

Now is the time to write Howard Johnson, president of the Howard Johnson Restaurant Chain, Wollaston, Mass. urging that the company cease granting franchises to establishments which discriminate.

Johnson, himself, indicated that he would be receptive to such a plea in a statement he issued after a Howard Johnson-franchised restaurant in Dover, Delaware gained international notoriety on October 8 by refusing to serve K. A. Gbedemah, finance minister of Ghana.

Accompanying Gbedemah at the time was his secretary Bill Sutherland, an American Negro who participated in a number of CORE actions before leaving the U.S. for Ghana a few years ago.

Last year St. Louis CORE conducted a campaign at a newly-opened Howard Johnson restaurant which refused to serve Negroes even though located in a Negro section.

Community Action Opens With Victory at Drive-In

By Charles Oldham

ST. LOUIS—Following the national CORE convention here, the St. Louis group met with representatives of the local NAACP to map out an extensive community action program. It was felt that CORE's experience and philosophy of non-violence would be most helpful particularly in the fields of public accomodation and employment.

As a result of the meeting a program was developed and an Employment Opportunities Council was established with the aim of coordinating the activities of other groups such as the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations and Urban League as well as those of CORE and NAACP. These other groups are not to affiliate with the Council but their members who are interested in action join the Council, and work with it.

The first meeting of the Council decided to work on Kingshighway, a street which runs through the Negro district but where there is considerable restaurant and employment discrimination.

The first business establishment selected was the Foot Long Drive-In, which served Negroes in their cars but refused to serve them at the inside counter. Following several fruitless meetings with the manager, a picket line was established one evening around supper time.

The picket line was effective with neighborhood residents cooperating almost 100%. In three hours only five white customers and two Negroes entered. At the end of that time, the pickets were invited in to eat. Since then, the drive-in has been tested several times and on each occasion Negroes received prompt and courteous service.

While the first project of the Council happened to be public accomodation, the second is employment—at the Kroger, National Food and A & P super markets, 18 of which are in the Negro community. It was decided to request hiring of Negro clerks and stenographers in the companies' business offices as well as more Negro employes in the stores.

First task was to make a survey of all the stores to determine the number of Negro and white employes, the ratio of Negro and white customers, and the most effective locations for picketing if negotiations failed. This survey has been completed and negotiations are scheduled. In this project the Council has kept in close touch with the Urban League so that employes can be sent promptly to the jobs when they become available.

The Opportunities Council action committee also conferred recently with the manager of four Ben Franklin stores, which though located in the Negro community, employ no Negroes as either clerks or salesmen. Each manager agreed to change this policy as soon as vacancies occur (each store has only 4 to 5 steady employes) and to start hiring Negroes as extra help during the forthcoming Christmas rush.

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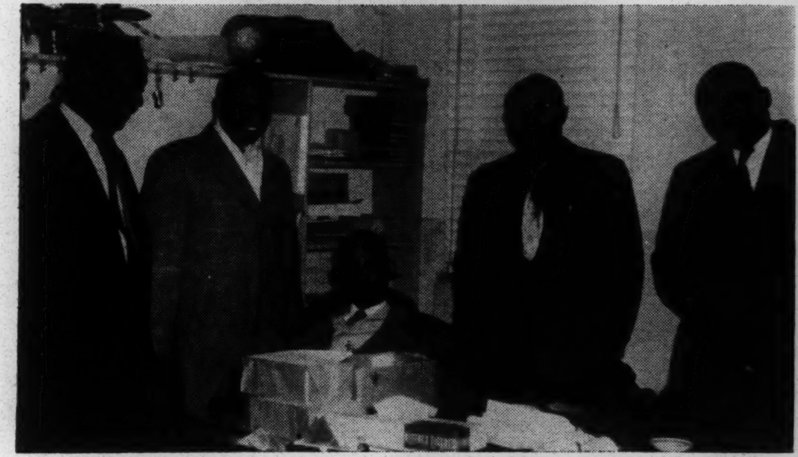
Jim Peck, *editor*

FEBRUARY—BROTHERHOOD MONTH—1958 No. 72

Sumter CORE Registration Committee in Action . . .

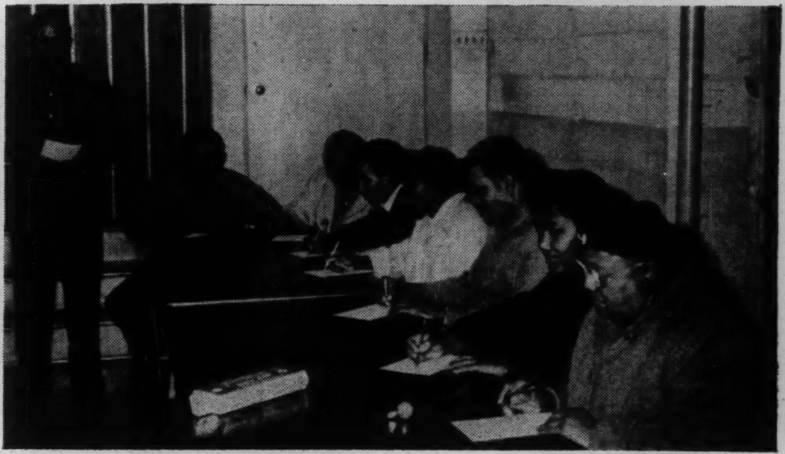
. . . A Planning Session



Left to right: Rev. H. P. Sharper, Rev. Donald Rice, Rev. J. H. Nelson, James T. McCain (CORE national field secretary) and Rev. Edward Frazier. Similar committees to mobilize Negro registration have been set up by McCain in three counties. Rev. F. C. James, chairman of the Sumter county committee, is not in the picture (he took it).

. . . An Instruction Session

James T. McCain, national field secretary, instructs a group on how to fill out application blanks for registration. Following such sessions, he accompanies the people to registration offices and remains with them until they receive their certificates, which are required for voting.



(see story on page 2)

Registration Campaign in South Carolina

(see pictures on page 1)

SUMTER, S.C.—Since the first of the year, James T. McCain, national CORE field secretary, has been organizing a registration campaign in an area of South Carolina where he has lived and worked for the major part of his life. Aim of the campaign is to translate the new Civil Rights bill into reality by getting Negroes to exercise their right to vote.

The procedure followed by McCain is to establish in each county a committee which instructs persons on how to fill out application blanks, accompanies them to registration offices and remains with them until they receive their certificates for voting. These committees are called Committee on Registration Education (CORE).

So far three such committees have been established—in Sumter county, where McCain's home is located; Richland county, which includes the city of Columbia and Clarendon county, where the first school case originated.

"Since the Sumter committee has been organized, several hundred persons who ordinarily would not have gotten registration certificates received them," McCain reports. "Each day the registration office is open, a committee representative accompanies a group there. Applicants who fail to receive their certificate because of any error on the bank, are given further instruction by the committee and are taken back to the registration office to re-apply. At present over 50 volunteers are assisting the committee."

In Sumter county, registrars have not thus far resorted to using technicalities to bar Negroes from registering—a practice so widespread in the deep south. However, in Clarendon county, an applicant reported back to the CORE committee that she had been refused a certificate because she mispronounced the word "indict" in reading the state constitution. She plans to re-aply until she obtains the certificate.

In Williamsburg county Negroes—some of them teachers and college graduates—have been sumarily refused registration blanks because in the registrar's opinion they could not read and write. McCain hopes to establish a CORE committee soon in this county.

While a purpose of the newly-enacted election law was to discourage Negroes from exercising their voting rights, its effect has been to discourage whites. While Negroes, aided by the CORE committees, are making a point of registering, regardless of inconvenience, many whites are unwilling to spend the half-hour of time required for registration under the new law's procedure.

CORE is considering a summer workshop in some southern community combining instruction on non-violence with community action. Suggestions from CORElator leaders regarding location, dates, program, etc. will be welcome.

ST. LOUIS—Wallet-sized cards listing all local eating places with "facilities open to all," have been made available by St. Louis CORE following an intensive testing program. They can be obtained from Charles Oldham, 5110 Palm, St. Louis 15, Mo.

The Lucky 13th

NEW YORK CITY—"Mohawk Airlines has made the 13th a good luck day," is the heading on leaflets distributed on January 13 by New York CORE in front of the central airlines ticket office on New York's 42nd St.

The leaflet goes on to explain: "On January 13th Ruth C. Taylor, the first Negro stewardess on a scheduled domestic airline, begins training as a Mohawk stewardess."

The leaflet distribution—some 1500 were distributed over the lunch hour period—was the opening action of New York CORE's campaign to break down the policy of discrimination in employment of flight crews, which prevails throughout the airlines industry.

In addition to Ruth Taylor, the only Negroes employed aboard planes are a pilot for New York Airways, a local helicopter service, and two pilots on airfreight lines.

Representatives of New York CORE have conferred with the chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, which has a number of airline cases pending and with the personnel manager of TWA, which is in the process of considering a policy change. CORE's campaign will continue, climaxing at a strategic time with a major demonstration.

* * *

ST. LOUIS—Four skits, written and acted by CORE members and depicting highlights of St. Louis CORE's anti-discrimination actions over the past 10 years, were presented Jan. 12. Featured speaker was Dr. Huston Smith of Washington University, who is a CORE member. Some 200 persons attended.

Extensive Testing Program

BALTIMORE — For its winter program, CORE has selected widespread testing of eating, recreational and other public facilities in the city with a view to initiating an effective action project.

With the assistance of several civic and educational organizations, CORE has drawn up a list of some 30 establishments, some of which are favorable to integration, others that are known to discriminate openly, and still others whose policies have not been determined. This list has been divided among five captains who each have teams to test and report back. Some of these teams are all-Negro, others are interracial; some include only women, others include men and women.

Helen Brown is serving as general coordinator. Support of the program has been enthusiastic. The number of participants is much greater due to cooperation of the other interested organizations.

Most recent places tested, as this CORElator goes to press are Nate's and Leon's which serves Negroes only on take-out orders and Miller's, a white-table-cloth restaurant.

* * *

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—CORE encouraged attendance at the Community Choir's performance of The Messiah, December 8, at Nashville's War Memorial Auditorium. Seating at the performance was on an integrated basis and the Choir was made up of both white and Negro singers. Lee Pennington, a member of CORE's executive committee, sang in the integrated choir.

Win Employment for Negroes

ST. LOUIS—As a result of CORE action, employment of Negroes is assured at two major supermarkets.

Following a conference between CORE representatives and the personnel director, Rapp's has agreed to hire some Negroes in all capacities at its new supermarket now under construction. The CORE spokesmen pointed out that because of the store's location, much of its patronage will come from the Negro community.

Following 10 days of picketing, an A & P supermarket has agreed to hire Negro meat cutters, truck drivers and more clerks immediately and to consider hiring Negro office workers in the near future. CORE members cooperated with NAACP in maintaining the picket line.

Survey to Prepare For Stepped-Up Integration

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—In anticipation of next year's integration of the remaining 11 grades, members of the Fisk University student Sociology Club will work with CORE on a survey of school children in areas of Nashville affected by desegregation.

The survey is aimed at locating families with school age children in mixed housing areas. Just what grades will be involved in Nashville's "next step" in desegregation is still unknown. CORE and the Sociology Club both consider, however, that it is important to begin contacts with these families early, so that there will be time for follow-up work on the part of community groups.

For the present, the survey will be limited to two neighborhoods, which will be covered intensively: one in East Nashville and the other in South Nashville. The school board had anticipated enrollment of Negro first graders in nearby "white" schools in both areas last fall, but none registered. Both areas have sizeable Negro populations and neither received much attention from community groups last fall. Information gathered in the survey will be turned over to other groups interested in contacting parents to prepare them for desegregation.

LITERATURE

NEW

THIS IS CORE (replacing WHAT IS CORE), a colorful pamphlet detailing CORE techniques, structure and organization ....10¢

CORE RULES FOR ACTION (replacing CORE ACTION DISCIPLINE), a colorful pamphlet detailing CORE methodology ....10¢ (on quantity orders: 5 copies for 25¢, 100 copies for $2.50, 1000 copies for $20.)

OTHER

OUR STRUGGLE, story of the Montgomery bus protest, by Rev. Martin Luther King (reprinted from LIBERATION) ....20¢

PICTURE STORY OF A CORE PROJECT ....5¢

IT CAN HAPPEN IN MISSOURI, story of St. Louis CORE's successful campaign against discrimination free

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98 SPRING—1958 No. 73

STATE-WIDE CONFAB HIGHLIGHTS REGISTRATION DRIVE

by James R. Robinson

SUMTER, S.C.—A state-wide conference on April 23 attended by some 300 persons from eleven counties highlighted the South Carolina registration campaign conducted since October by Committee on Registration Education (CORE) groups under the leadership of James T. McCain, national field secretary.

Prior to the open meeting I got a chance to discuss with the delegates CORE's method of non-violent, direct action. At the open meeting, James Farmer, one of CORE's founders, outlined the history of the organization and

(Continued on page 2)

MOBILIZE COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR COMPLETE SCHOOL INTEGRATION

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Following through with its key role in first grade integration last fall, Nashville CORE has taken the lead in mobilizing community support for desegration of the remaining 11 grades by this fall.

By the April 10 meeting of the school board, 44 local groups had signed a statement initiated by CORE stating: "We feel that it would benefit the community to accomplish desegregation as quickly as possible, so that the process will not be

(Continued on page 3)

REGISTRATION (Cont.)

the development of its action techniques. He stressed the importance of the South Carolina registration campaign as a step, not only toward freedom in the south but toward democracy in the entire nation.

Rev. Fred C. James of Mount Pisgah AME Church, where the meeting was held, acted as chairman. In the course of the meeting he introduced Courtney Siceloff, who is chairman of the interracial South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Delegates listened with enthusiasm to progress reports from Rev. J. W. Seals for Clarendon County; Rev. R. O. Bass, for Greenville; Rev. I.D. Quincy Newman, Charleston; I. P. Stanback, Columbia and Frank Robinson, Sumter. In addition mention was made of the work done by the Palmetto Voters Association, the NAACP and other non-CORE groups including Jasper County (William Stone), Beaufort County (Brown) and Darlington (Stanley).

The Reports indicated that South Carolina has only a few pockets of resistance where Negroes are denied their right to register. Generally, registration certificates are granted — in some instances grudgingly, in others willingly— to Negroes who take the trouble to fill out the blank and either produce a tax receipt on property assessed at a minimum of $300 *or* read a paragraph of the state constitution selected by the registrar.

Main problem faced by the CORE groups is to overcome the habit of nonregistration and non-participation in political activities which has become ingrained since Reconstruction days. Successful in this objective have been the repeated Sunday registration appeals made from pulpits by Negro ministers, many of whom are active in the CORE groups. House-to-house canvassing with distribution of stickers (see picture) have also proved helpful. In Beaufort registrants wear "I am Registered" pins.

The strongest motivation to register occurs where the Negro vote is crucial. Columbia chairman Stanback cited the mayoralty runoff election in the state capital, Columbia, on March 9, which Lester Bates won by 14 votes. In ward 9, which is predominantly Negro, Bates received 690 votes as against 45 for his opponent, John Campbell — a dramatic demonstration of how Negroes can swing the balance of power.

Rev. Newman, Democratic leader of ward 10 as well as chairman of Charleston CORE, told the conference that Negro registration in four wards should give pro-civil rights voters the balance of power in that coastal city.

At the conference it was announced that a Negro candidate will run for City Council in Sumter. Subsequently Rev. James announced his candidacy. He will have a fair chance of election since there are two vacancies and thus far five white candidates have filed.

As Negroes get a chance to vote for candidates of their own, they will register with greater enthusiasm realizing that they will be casting a positive civil rights vote and no longer choosing the least extreme of the segregationist candidates.

But while registration and voting are the paramount issue throughout the deep south, CORE in South Carolina hopes to extend its action to other areas of discrimination. In Columbia, where intracity bus segregation was outlawed even before the Montgomery case, CORE will consider a bus-riding campaign which will translate the court decision into practice.

Registration represents a new emphasis in CORE and marks our initial effort in the deep south. If we can succeed in getting the great majority of Negroes registered in the south, civil rights will again become an issue which liberal whites as well as Negroes can promote.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BIAS AT AAA MOTELS

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles CORE has been engaged in a project to end discrimination at AAA-approved motels surrounding the city. To date the group has successfully negotiated a policy change at 12 of the 42 which were found to be discriminatory. Court actions were initiated in two cases, one of which was unsuccessful and the other resulting in awarding of damages under the state civil rights law.

Recently the group joined forces with NAACP in a campaign against job discrimination at the local Anheuser-Busch beer plant. CORE members were assigned to the strategy board and requested to participate in negotiations and picketing.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION (Cont.)

dragged out over a long period of time, keeping the public in a state of tension and confusion and giving those who are opposed to compliance a constant field for debate."

When the statement was first submitted—on March 13—it had been signed by 26 organizations. On that same date the Parents Preference Committee, a segregationist group active since the fall crisis and sympathetic to John Frederick Kasper, presented a statement urging the board to stand by its "voluntary integration" plan. This plan had been disapproved by U.S. Judge William Miller on February 18.

With the pro-integration statement of 26 organizations and the pro-segregation statement of one organization before it, the school board deliberated and on March 31 voted 7 to 1 to proceed with integration at the rate of only one grade per year.

The dissenter was Coyness Ennix, the only Negro on the board. Ennix, who has been on the board since 1952—two years prior to the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation—commented: "This is not desegregation with all deliberate speed. A federal district court in Kentucky already has said that one grade at a time is too slow."

Whether Ennix's view or that of the seven white board members prevails, has yet to be decided in federal court.

"Whatever plan is followed, the process of desegregation is under way and Nashville has begun to move toward compliance with the Supreme Court," commented Anna Holden of Nashville CORE. The nine Negro first-graders in integrated schools are doing well and the undercurrent of opposition seems to be weakening.

"The Jewish Community Center was damaged by dynamite on March 16, apparently because of the anti-segregation position taken by Rabbi William Silverman and some of the Jewish groups regarding meetings at the Center.

"On the other hand 20 organizations are sponsoring a community-wide human relations institute in May and 44 organizations have joined in petitioning the school board to desegregate the entire school system by fall."

"ALUMNI DAY" FOR RETURNING DEMONSTRATORS

ST. LOUIS—It became a sort of Alumni Day April 17 when 10 St. Louis CORE members stood in line for two hours seeking to be served at the Stix Baer & Fuller department store's tea room.

Although seven years had elapsed since the group's 18-month-long action campaign to open the first floor lunch counter, several of the store personnel and particularly the detectives, recognized CORE members, greeted them, asked after their families, how many children they had, etc.

Management admits satisfaction over the non-discriminatory policy prevailing at the first floor lunch counter for the past seven years as a result of CORE action, but refuses to change policy at the store's tea room and Humpty Dumpty cafeteria.

The April 17 stand-up followed the collapse of negotiations. Further demonstrations at the tea room are planned. During recent months CORE has been negotiating with the other two big department stores as well as with Stix Baer & Fuller, with the aim of opening all eating facilities to everybody, regardless of color.

LEAFLETS TO IMPLEMENT HOUSING LAW

NEW YORK CITY—New York CORE has decided to help put the newly enacted fair housing law into practice through widespread leaflet distributions in Harlem and other Negro ghetto areas. The leaflets will emphasize that under the law, people can now move into any section of the city they choose. A poster walk through Harlem on this issue is also being contemplated.

The CORE decision was reached following a conference with top officials of the Committee on Intergroup Relations—the municipal agency charged with enforcing the new law. At the same time, through a letter by Willis Jones, chairman of CORE's housing committee, printed in The New York Times April 18, CORE went on record against new public housing projects in ghetto areas. Asserting that such housing perpetuates ghettoes, the letter urged that new public housing should be erected in areas where integration will develop naturally.

HELP CIRCULATE CORE'S NEW SCHOOL PAMPHLET!

By helping to circulate as widely as possible CORE's new pamphlet, *A First Step Toward School Desegregation* by Anna Holden—particularly in the deep south—you will be helping to avert violence such as occurred last fall in Nashville and Little Rock.

The pamphlet gives a detailed story of how Nashville CORE visited parents and escorted their children to integrated schools thus initiating desegregation last fall despite the violence of segregationist mobs.

The pamphlet provides a definitive "yes" to the question raised by Martin Luther King in his introduction: "Can the method of non-violence that erased the color line in Montgomery's buses be applied effectively to schools?"

As a CORE contributor, you will soon be receiving a free copy. We hope you will order additional copies (for prices, consult literature list on this page) and that you will also give us helpful suggestions on distribution.

PLAN SIT-INS AT WHITE COFFEE POT

BALTIMORE—Unless the White Coffee Pot chain changes its whites-only policy, a program of protest sit-ins by Baltimore CORE will take place starting in May.

This was decided by the group following two negotiation sessions aimed at getting the restaurants to serve Negroes. Resolutions calling for a boycott of eating establishments such as the White Coffee Pots, which limit Negro patronage to take-out orders, were adopted at a number of the mass meetings on registration held throughout the city.

They were introduced by Rev. H. Alexander Baron, chairman of Baltimore CORE, who, along with Robert Watts, the group's vice chairman, has been working with NAACP and other organizations on a city-wide registration drive. As a result of the campaign, many thousands of additional Negroes have registered to vote.

BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

In spite of strict economy, CORE's bank balance has slipped seriously. Thousands of dollars are needed to avoid a deficit at the close of the fiscal year on May 31.

30,000 letters of appeal are going out this month. If you have received or do receive more than one, please understand that we cannot *afford* to cross check lists.

Thanks to the many who have sent in names for the current letters.

LITERATURE

NEW

A First Step Toward School Desegregation by Anna Holden with introduction by Martin Luther King (see box on this page) ....25¢; 5 for $1 ($15 per hundred, $100 per thousand)

The Montgomery Story, comic book-styled pamphlet on the 1957 bus boycott....10¢

OTHER

This Is CORE, a colorful pamphlet detailing CORE techniques, structure and organization ....10¢

CORE Rules For Action (replacing *CORE Action Discipline*), a colorful pamphlet detailing CORE methodology ....10¢

Our Struggle, story of the Montgomery bus protest, by Martin Luther King (reprinted from *Liberation*) ....20¢

Picture Story of a CORE Project........ 5¢

It Can Happen in Missouri, story of St. Louis CORE's successful campaign against discrimination ....free

CORE Action Discipline ....free

Literature marked free costs 2¢ apiece in quantities over 10. On priced literature, there is a reduction on quantity orders.

I enclose $..........for literature (specify which)

I enclose $..........for general contribution to CORE work.

Name ....

Address ....

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James R. Robinson, *executive secretary*
James T. McCain, Gordon R. Carey, *field secretaries* Jim Peck, *editor*
98 FALL—1958 No. 74

DEPARTMENT STORE DRIVE BRINGS RESULTS

FAMOUS-BARR OUGHT TO HIRE NEGROES —NOW!
CORE AND NAACP
C.O.R.E. PROTESTS DISCRIMINATION AT FAMOUS-BARR

ST. LOUIS—This picture shows one of the cars in a motorcade. The placards state the motorcade's objective—to get the Famous-Barr department stores to hire Negroes (in other than menial capacities). The sign on the car names the two local organizations sponsoring the campaign—CORE and NAACP.

A second objective was to have Famous-Barr open all its eating facilities to everybody, regardless of color (the first floor lunch counter had been opened several years ago as a result of CORE action).

This second objective was attained on the eve of a scheduled mass demonstration around the main store, when company officials decided to open all restaurant facilities—not only in the main store but in the stores in outlying shopping centers.

Regarding employment, negotiations started on August 25 when representatives of CORE and NAACP, accompanied by a minister, met with management. At this meeting, management agreed to process job applications of males without regard to race.

As to females, the store wants to give priority to 38 women displaced by the installation of self-service elevators. Some of these elevator operators have been with the company as long as 31 years. A few have already been placed in clerical jobs which Negroes have never held. Management promised to place others as saleswomen. Of the store's 5,750 employes, only 343 are Negroes, most of whom are in menial capacities. The negotiating committee pointed out that Negroes represent 30 per cent of the city's population.

A second negotiations session is scheduled in the near-future. Meanwhile St. Louis CORE is surveying employment practices of five local bakeries. To date the survey reveals that no Negroes are working as bakers or in handling bread and very few are employed as salesmen. Their employment by the bread companies appears to be limited to the job of porter.

CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

Our National Office is swamped. We need the help of volunteers with clerical or typing skills who can give at least one day a week on a regular basis. Evening and weekend volunteers can also occasionally be used. Please call James R. Robinson, executive secretary, COrtlandt 7-0408 to arrange a time.

PAVE WAY FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION

(*Editor's Note—Because the Norfolk school situation remains unresolved as this COREIator goes to press and because mention of individual names at this time might impair Norfolk CORE's work, no individual names are mentioned in this story.*)

NORFOLK—As this COREIator goes to press, local opinion for opening the schools on an integrated basis rather than shutting them down in accordance with the Governor's "massive resistance" program, is on the rise. Students, teachers, ministers and lawyers have petitioned the Governor in protest over his policy.

The first local activity on this question was initiated by a newly-formed CORE group in Norfolk. Its first meeting, attended by 10 persons—Negro and white—was held in early September.

Plans were made for a Fellowship Meeting of Negro and white students and parents which would establish a spirit of goodwill toward the then-scheduled opening of school.

As it turned out, the Fellowship Meeting held at a large church was attended by 40 students and 35 parents—Negro and white. Among the Negro students were 15 of the 17 who have been assigned to formerly white schools. The white students were pupils in these same schools. Thus Negro students scheduled for a particular school met their future white schoolmates.

In a community like Norfolk an assemblage of this sort is news. There was group singing, games and refreshments. A leading minister gave a brief talk and then the students and parents, respectively, adjourned to the lawn in small discussion groups.

When the CORE group got together next, they made plans for neighborhood meetings to spread the spirit of goodwill throughout the community. In addition to conducting these meetings the group is making plans for making integration function smoothly, once the schools are opened.

REGISTRATION DRIVE CONTINUES

SUMTER, S. C.—Since reopening of the registration books in South Carolina, following the June primary, Committee on Registration Education (CORE) groups have renewed their community registration campaigns.

So reports James McCain, CORE field secretary, as this issue of the CORElator goes to press.

"For example, since the registration books reopened, the Marion CORE group has organized 8 out of 14 precincts in the county," writes McCain. "The group is now in the process of organizing the remaining 6 precincts. One precinct leader registered 27 new persons in one day."

Commenting on the South Carolina registration campaign, which started just a year ago, McCain said: "In counties where we have CORE affiliates, the percentage of Negroes registered is higher than in counties where no such group has been organized. For the first time, during this year's primary runoffs, candidates have invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems. In a number of communities candidates who stressed segregation were defeated. Negroes ran for public office in larger numbers this year than in any year since Negroes won the right to vote in the South Carolina state primaries."

In Sumter, Rev. F. C. James, a leader of the CORE group, ran for City Council. This was reported in the last CORElator. Although he was defeated, the fact that a Negro ran brought "a number of benefits," according to a progress report by Rev. J. Donald Rice.

"Rev. James was accorded all privileges accorded the other candidates," Rev. Rice reported. "He received full front page coverage in the local daily paper and radio station, which in itself is news. A session was held at Sumter county courthouse where all candidates, including Rev. James, were allowed to speak before an unsegregated audience. Other people seeking office will remember the Negro voting power: it will be easier for the next Negro to win."

An example of CORE accomplishments in the registration drive is shown in a letter from the Greenville group, which says: "Since we have had direct contact with CORE and since the visit of James McCain to our city, the Political and Social Action Committee has aided in getting 4,040 persons registered in the city and county of Greenville. In the past ten years the maximum number of registered Negroes was 2,736."

ALL-DAY SIT-IN

BALTIMORE—"This is An All-Day Sit-In," said a placard carried by CORE pickets on September 13 in front of the White Coffee Pot in Mondawmin shopping center. And it was.

"Our group entered the restaurant at 11:30 a.m. and sat with no food, water or service of any kind until 8:30 that evening," reports Helen Brown of Baltimore CORE. "At the same time we maintained a picket line outside. One of our signs said: 'Our Negro and White Members Have Been Sitting . . . Hours and Will Remain Until Served.' Small inserts giving the time were changed every half hour.

"It was a beautiful day, one of the best the shopping center has had for some time, business-wise —but not for the White Coffee Pot. We attracted much attention, most of it favorable."

Pickets were not molested by police, despite management's opinion that picketing of establishments within the shopping center is illegal.

CORE-style sit-in techniques recently gained nation-wide publicity when they were used on a large scale by an NAACP youth group to combat restaurant discrimination in Oklahoma City.

HOUSING LEAFLET DISTRIBUTIONS

NEW YORK CITY—Starting in October, New York CORE initiated a widespread leaflet campaign aimed at putting into practice the city's 1958 fair housing law. The first distributions covered major housing projects in Negro ghetto areas.

Headed "Knock on Any Door," the leaflet says: "Look for housing in *any* neighborhood you like. NO ONE has the right to refuse you a home because of the color of your skin, the church you go to, or the land where you or your parents were born." The leaflet goes on to outline, clearly and simply, how to take action under the law "if you meet discrimination or what looks like discrimination."

Starting of the leaflet campaign comes just a year after the mass demonstration at City Hall, which CORE sparkplugged and which led to enactment of the fair housing law.

NEW GROUP FINDS RESTAURANTS VIOLATING LAW

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—A recently-formed CORE group has tested 20 downtown restaurants and has found only one which serves Negroes—despite existence of a State Civil Rights Law.

Negotiations are being sought with two of the eating places which have been tested several times, but have maintained a jimcrow policy.

Marian Oldham and Norman Seay of the CORE group in nearby St. Louis helped to organize East St. Louis CORE. At the request of Homer Randolph, they attended a meeting Sept. 4 at which officers were elected and an action program started. On Sept. 28 the St. Louis and East St. Louis groups held a joint meeting to discuss the philosophy of CORE. Randolph came to know CORE through his brother-in-law in the Baltimore group and through a St. Louis mass meeting held jointly by CORE and NAACP.

GUARD HOUSES AGAINST VANDALISM

LOS ANGELES — "Because of our philosophy of dealing with violence in a non-violent way," writes Sayuri Buell of Los Angeles CORE, The Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations called upon the group to act in two cases of Negroes moving into formerly white neighborhoods. In both cases the action involved guarding homes against vandalism during the nighttime hours.

In the first case, a Negro teacher and his wife and two children had bought a home in a formerly white area. The man who sold the house, threatened with violence, suggested an all-night vigil until the new owners established residence. The threat failed to materialize. CORE members who participated in the vigil include Frank Allard, Art Kunkin, Don Pinkerton, Don Yetter, Rev. Howard Carey and Newton Caspar.

In the more recent instance, vandalism had already occurred when CORE was called upon to stand vigil. Somebody had broken into a Negro's home and slashed his carpeting to shreds. CORE participants in this case were Earl Walter and Bernie Sapiro.

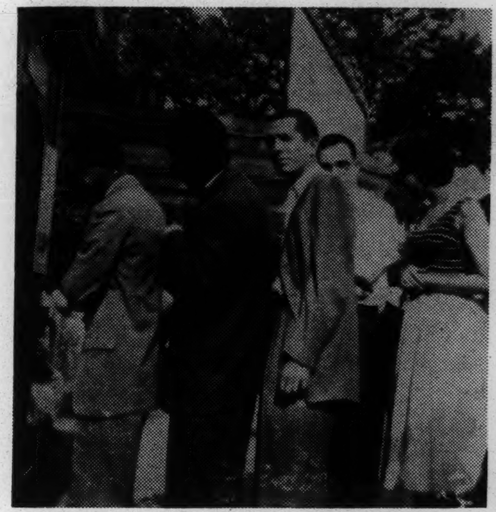
IN BRIEF

For the first time CORE has *two* secretaries — an interracial team — James McCain and Gordon Carey. They have helped to establish new groups in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia and are in the process of establishing one in Washington, D. C.

WAITING LINE TECHNIQUE USED ON "ALL NATIONS DAY"

by Jim Peck

BALTIMORE—The technique of peacefully waiting in line, insisting on the right to buy a ticket, was used on August 31 by Baltimore CORE for the first time in its campaign to end discrimination at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park. The occasion was "All Nations Day," an annual event sponsored by the Park, in which management remains blind to the inconsistency of barring Negroes.



As a person with considerable experience in the waiting line technique, especially during New York CORE's successful Palisades Pool campaign, I was invited to come to Baltimore for the occasion.

At a planning meeting, five persons volunteered to participate in the waiting line—Anderson Brooker and Lloyd Bernard (Negroes) and Joseph Sheehan, Marian Bardoff and myself (whites). Brooker, who would lead the line, was to be our spokesman. In back of him would be Lloyd Bernard, Joseph Sheehan, Marian Bardoff and myself. All five of us would remain in line until Brooker and Bernard were sold tickets. Meanwhile, the other CORE persons, about 20 in number, would picket outside the entrance as the group has done on each "All Nations Day" for the past three years.

We approached the ticket booth according to plan, and Brooker asked to buy a ticket (see picture). The woman in the booth told him that "colored" are not admitted. He explained that he considered buying a ticket within his rights and that he intended to remain until sold one.

Meanwhile, the line was becoming longer as others lined up behind us. A Park guard hurried over and shouted at Brooker: "You know you can't get in here: you people have been coming around for years—I know you. Now, get out of here! Get out!" Then a county police lieutenant approached and, talking more calmly than the Park guard, said: "This is a man's property and he has the right to choose who he lets in." Brooker explained that Gwynn Oak is, admittedly, a Park open to the public—not a private club—and is therefore bound to admit anybody willing to buy a ticket.

Then, Arthur Price Jr., operator of the Park, came over and directed the people behind us to another ticket booth. He spoke to Brooker about the "mores" of the community and his fear of losing money if Negroes were admitted.

At this point, I said that I would like to introduce him some time to Mr. Irving Rosenthal, the owner of Palisades Amusement Park, who formerly had the same fears about losing business but who, a year after changing his policy, told the head of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination that he had been a fool not to do so long ago.

As the discussion went on, a crowd began to gather. I heard a few anti-Negro epithets as well as some remarks in our favor. Most of the people said nothing—just stared. The county police lieutenant asked Price whether he wanted us removed. He answered affirmatively and before long several county policemen took the five of us by the arm and escorted us to the front entrance. They acted after we stated we would not leave unless placed under arrest.

After conferring across the street, the five of us decided to try again. So, we returned to the same ticket booth in the same order. This time, we were not there for long (the first time, it had been about fifteen minutes): county police seized Brooker and Bernard and carried them to the entrance. Sheehan, Marian and I followed—without police escort this time. Park guards suddenly adopted a policy of "No pictures inside the Park" (although countless pictures were taken before and after the incident) and they ejected photographers and reporters. A burly Park guard placed himself squarely in front of a photographer trying to get a shot of the two Negroes being carried out.

In a second conference across the street, the five of us decided against using the technique a third time. Management policy was obviously to have us ejected without making an arrest and a repeat performance without any additional participants was not deemed of great value. So, we joined the pickets out-front for the remainder of the picket time.

Singer Denounces Park's Policy

Dramatic highlight of the "All Nations Day" entertainment program inside the Park came when Susan Pollard, after singing on behalf of the Jewish Community Center, gave an impromptu talk against the Park's racial policy.

As she tells it: "After I finished singing my three numbers, I gave an intoduction by saying: 'I'm going to say something now in language all of you should be able to understand.' "

She concluded with: " '*All* Nations Day' should be for *all* people, and that means anybody who wants to come. Now, if you agree with me, if you are really in favor of world peace and brotherhood—and I think everybody is —do something about it: write a letter to the Sunpapers. Get in touch with the people who run Gwynn Oak Park and who are in charge of 'All Nations Day.' Tell them how you feel. Tell them that next year you want to see 'All Nations Day' be for all people."

"At this point," she relates, "the microphone was turned off, but it didn't really matter because I had said everything important that I had wanted to say. There was a great deal of clapping, yelling, booing and general pandemonium.

"I walked quietly off the stage. Nobody tried to get at me or to offer any personal comment except one elderly woman who grabbed my hand and said she hoped that He whom she loved above all others—whose son was sent to Earth as a Jew—would bless me and keep my soul. I said: 'Thank you.' "

NASHVILLE'S "SECOND STEP"

by Anna Holden

(*Editor's Note—In her pamphlet,* A First Step Toward School Integration, *Anna Holden told how, a year ago, CORE helped to make school integration work in Nashville despite mob violence which marked opening of the school year. In this article, dealing with the current school year, she tells about the "second step."*)

NASHVILLE—With the spotlight on defiant Little Rock and Virginia, Nashville's "second step" toward school integration went almost unnoticed. According to Nashville's grade-a-year plan, the second grade became integrated this fall.

In line with city administration and school board policy, no news or pictures of Negroes registering were released locally. School and police officials were pledged to take action which would avert a repeat performance of last year's mob violence. Last year, similar pledges had been made but this year, after a costly experience with an initial soft policy toward agitating segregationists, police meant business.

Negro parents were skeptical, however, and were cautious regarding registering their children in the desegregated schools. On special registration day for first graders, only 15 Negro children registered for such schools. Fifteen additional Negro children signed up on registration day for second graders. On the Monday when school opened, 4 more Negro children registered in formerly white schools bringing the total to 34 out of an eligible 300.

CORE members and friends initiated a survey of parents of these children, personally contacting 215 of them in 9 of the affected school districts. Participating in the survey were some of the parents who had enrolled their own children in desegregating schools — Mr. & Mrs. Hugh Watson, Mr. & Mrs. Lester Hodges, Mrs. Fred Dozier, etc.

A "Friendly Community Survey" cataloguing ages and grades gave us the required names and addresses of the parents.

Follow-up visits sounded out their feelings toward registration in the desegregating schools. Those interested were assured of support. Requests for escorts to registration and opening day were few, but parents making them were accommodated by CORE members and their friends.

I reported survey results and participated in panel discussions at orientation meetings — along with Robert McGhee, Lee Pennington and Florence Smith. One of these meetings, attended by John Frederick Kasper, the professional segregationist who sparkplugged last year's mob violence, was interrupted by a bomb scare.

The survey's statistics contributed confidence particularly in areas where the number of eligible Negro children proved greater than the school board's estimate. The figures gave courage to Negro parents fearful of being pioneers if they registered their children at a formerly white school. For example, in a South Nashville school with no Negroes last year, four Negroes registered this year. The survey had shown that there were as many as 44 eligible Negro first and second graders in the district.

Reluctance to send more Negro children to integrating schools this year was found to stem from lack of confidence in public officials, hesitancy to send different-aged children to separate schools, babysitting problems of working parents, unwillingness to pioneer in a new situation and resistance to breaking established associations with Negro schools, teachers and school-related patterns. Many Negro parents were found to be unaware of the new school zones and of the success of first grade integration during the last school year.

The total number of Negro children registered is only 34. But, considering the general pattern in the south and last year's mob violence in Nashville, CORE and other interested organizations feel gratified by the outcome of the "second step."

SERVAS is a world-wide cooperative organization which designates homes in various countries where "serious-minded, responsible young people can stay and learn about their fellow-men." COREIator readers who would like to offer hospitality to SERVAS-approved visitors in their homes, or who would like to stay at SERVAS-approved homes when traveling abroad—get in touch with Reva King, 268 West 12 Street, New York 14, N. Y.

NEW GROUP OPENS LUNCH COUNTERS

CHARLESTON, West Va.—In less than two months a new CORE group has successfully concluded negotiations with Woolworth, Kresge and Newberry dime stores. All three stores have agreed to serve everbody, regardless of color, at their lunch counters.

Negotiations started following a brief sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter on August 15 during which group members were refused service. Subsequently CORE initiated a boycott. A second sit-in had been planned but was postponed pending negotiations. The local newspaper carried an editorial which Elizabeth Gilmore, CORE secretary, characterized as "a last ditch effort to stop the sit-in."

Charleston CORE is also seeking to end discrimination at the lunch counter of the Diamond Department Store and has initiated a boycott there. The manager has promised an early decision on CORE's request for a policy change.

OF SPECIAL INTEREST . . .

1. *Youth March for Integrated Schools,* Saturday, October 25, Washington, D. C.— Students from 4th grade through college will participate. For details, contact the Youth March office, 312 West 125 St., New York 27, N. Y.
2. *CORE Holiday Cards.* Most COREIator readers have already received samples and price list. Those who have not, should contact the office promptly. Our limited office staff would appreciate your placing orders as early as possible.
3. Martin Luther King's new book, *Stride Toward Freedom,* is available from the CORE office at the publisher's price of $2.95. (See announcement and order blank enclosed.) Also available is COREIator Editor Jim Peck's new book, *We Who Would Not Kill,* at the publisher's price of $3. While the book is mainly about Peck's war resistance, it describes in detail the strike which ended jimcrow seating in the Danbury prison mess hall and, in brief, some of his experiences with CORE.
4. *CORE Literature.* Instead of printing our literature list in the COREIator, as usual, we are sending it on a separate sheet, which you will find enclosed.

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
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Jim Peck, *editor*

FEBRUARY—BROTHERHHOD MONTH—1959 No. 75

The Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools

By GORDON R. CAREY

RICHMOND—It is said that the Confederacy was born in Montgomery and died in Richmond. Through Martin Luther King, Jr., Montgomery today gives moral leadership in the struggle for civil rights. Richmond also supplies a kind of leadership—but of another nature. Senator Byrd and Governor Almond give "moral" leadership to the other South.

Their leadership has led Virginia to the brink of educational disaster. "Massive resistance" has turned over 13,000 children away from their schools and threatens the entire public school system. In three areas schools are vacated because some Virginians prefer ignorance to desegregation. However, there are cracks in the wall of "massive resistance." When the wall crumbles completely CORE can be proud to have played a part.

I had the opportunity to work with and witness one of the most significant demonstrations of goodwill and faith in democracy ever to take place in the south. On a cold, rainy day in January over 2000 persons treked to Richmond from every corner of the state. They came to petition their governor to open the schools. Specifically they asked that 13,000 white children be permitted to return to class. They petitioned the opening of all schools to children regardless of skin-color. It was proposed that a bi-racial commission be established to

(Continued on page 2)

REPORT ON SOUTH CAROLINA

By Field Secretary James T. McCain

SUMTER, S. C.—In addition to continuing work on registration, CORE groups in South Carolina have taken action recently in a number of other areas.

In Sumter, following a meeting between the city council and a CORE committee including Rev. F. C. James and Rev. T. R. Frierson, a Negro policewoman was hired for the first time in local history. Also, an agreement was reached to include Negroes in the local civil defense program. Plans to negotiate with a local supermarket on employment of Negroes, were announced recently by Rev. Frierson, who heads CORE's special action committee.

In Columbia, several local CORE members and I tested the airport's eating facilities during the busiest hour of the day. We were served without trouble. Since then, other Negroes have eaten at the airport without incident. Another action of Columbia CORE is a campaign urging Negroes to ride the city buses in an unsegregated manner and to use the Public Library.

In Charleston, John Chisolm, vice-president of the local group along with 18 other Negroes attempted to use the Municipal Golf Course and were barred. Subsequently, the golf course was closed and offered for sale. As a consequence, a suit has been initiated seeking reopening of the golf course to all, regardless of color. Following the example of Columbia, the local group plans a campaign for riding the buses in an unsegregated manner. Also, a study of the employment policies of one of the local dime stores is under way.

Meanwhile, the registration campaign continues. Mass meetings on this issue are scheduled for Spartanburg, according to a report from Mrs. J. E. Williams, the group's secretary, and for Sumter. The Greenville CORE group is planning a house-to-house campaign. The Clarendon County and Marion CORE groups are also working hard on registration.

(Continued from page 1)

work on the step-by-step desegregation of state schools. Governor Almond has not acted.

It was Emancipation Day, January 1, 1959. I was staying in Petersburg at the home of Wyatt Tee Walker, the dynamic, young minister who was the coordinator for the Pilgrimage and is the state director of CORE. For several weeks we had been working day and night. When we looked outside that morning and saw the gloom and steady downpour of rain, our spirits were rather low. It was a holiday, an occasion when everyone celebrates the night before and watches football all day long. We wondered if people were really concerned enough to give up their holiday and come out in the rain for an idea. We had not even any big-name speakers to draw a crowd, only an idea.

But Virginians that morning were ready to take their stand for free, desegregated public schools. 2000 strong they came. Armed with love and the spirit of nonviolent resistance, the weather could not halt their Pilgrimage.

The meeting at the Mosque was one of Virginia's moments of great religious inspiration. An interracial panel offered prayers and brought greetings of reconciliation and hopes for a brighter day to come. It was only after the meeting in the auditorium, however, that I was really convinced that the voice of sanity would be heard and that "massive resistance" would be changed to "massive reconciliation," as one of the clergymen had prayed.

When I saw over 1500 persons follow Rev. Walker from the Mosque to march clear across Richmond to the steps of the State Capitol I knew then that this force could not fail. We sang as we marched. The rain which pelted us failed to daunt a single marcher. Our line stretched for blocks, moving slowly and with dignity through the busy downtown streets and on to the giant columns of the Capitol building (see picture). From the Capitol the crowd sent the strains of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" ringing over the entire Capitol grounds.

This was the first time that any such demonstration had been held in the South. It was mobilized by CORE with the help of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP, largely through the Negro churches. On New Year's Day, 1959, Negroes demonstrated that they do believe in public schools and are willing to do something to save them.

The Pilgrimage is only the first step. It expressed in a dramatic way the determination of Virginians of color to work toward a peaceful solution of the many problems facing the south. Virginia's 2000 pilgrims have gone back to their local communities to work on voter registration. Through their churches and other organizations they will speak to the consciences of whites and Negroes alike.

"Massive resistance" is not beaten. On January 13 the Norfolk City Council voted 6 to 1 to cut off all funds for grades above the 6th. This means an additional 7000 pupils may well be locked out of Norfolk schools. It is an obvious attempt to put pressure on the Negro community and blame Negroes for illegal actions of the State. Of the affected children 5200 are Negro.

I have faith, however, that public schools in Virginia will survive; that a new society of brotherhood will eventually evolve. When 2000 will make the long trek to Richmond, thousands more will start marching to the ballot boxes. When people give themselves as well as their vote, victory cannot be far away.

Virginians without whose assistance the Pilgrimage could not have been a success:

Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Dr. J. B. Henderson, Dr. W. L. Hamilton, Dr. Robert L. Taylor, Dr. E. C. Smith, Rev. William B. Abbot, Rev. C. S. McCall, Mr. W. Lester Banks, Dr. Philip Y. Wyatt, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Dr. Hugo A. Owens, Rev. H. G. Hairston, Mr. Joseph F. Simmons, Mr. Eugene West, Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, Mrs. Ruth Valentine, Mr. J. Rupert Pico.

MOTEL CASE, JOB SURVEY

LOS ANGELES—As this CORElator goes to press, a discrimination case against the Hollywood Lodge Motel is scheduled to be argued in small claims court. The plaintiff is Earl Walter, Los Angeles CORE member. His witness is Bernie Sapiro, who obtained accomodations at the motel immediately after Walter was turned away.

The case was initiated following fruitless negotiations with the Management by a CORE committee including Earl Walter, Henry Hodge, Rev. Howard Carey, Lee Veda and Sayuri Buell. Following the first session, management refused to honor subsequent appointments with the CORE committee.

Ending discrimination at AAA-approved motels surrounding the city, is a project which has occupied Los Angeles CORE during the past year. At a number of motels, the group has successfully negotiated a policy change.

Los Angeles CORE is also conducting a survey of employment practices in areas where patronage is predominantly Negro. Already, the surveyors have disclosed that in a Sears Roebuck store whose patronage is sixty per cent Negro, only one Negro clerk was observed. The survey is limited to major companies which have branches in other parts of the state or nation — department stores, markets, shoe stores, etc. The surveyors include Rosemary Ezra, Franklin Newbro, Newton Caspar, Earl Walter, Henry Hodge, Sayuri Buell and Don Smith.

CONTINUE RESTAURANT TESTING

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. — East St. Louis CORE is continuing to test local restaurants, most of which have been found to discriminate in violation of the state civil rights law.

A number of complaints have been filed with both the East St. Louis Council on Human Relations and the Illinois Council on Human Relations, with copies going to the prosecuting attorney and mayor. A complaint against one of the restaurants contains 18 separate counts of refusal to serve.

"Illinois has a very good civil rights statute, but for years no group has pressed the issue," said a spokesman for the group. "With the advent of East St. Louis CORE, direct action is being taken for the first time to assert the rights set forth under the law."

Party for Desegregated Kids and Parents

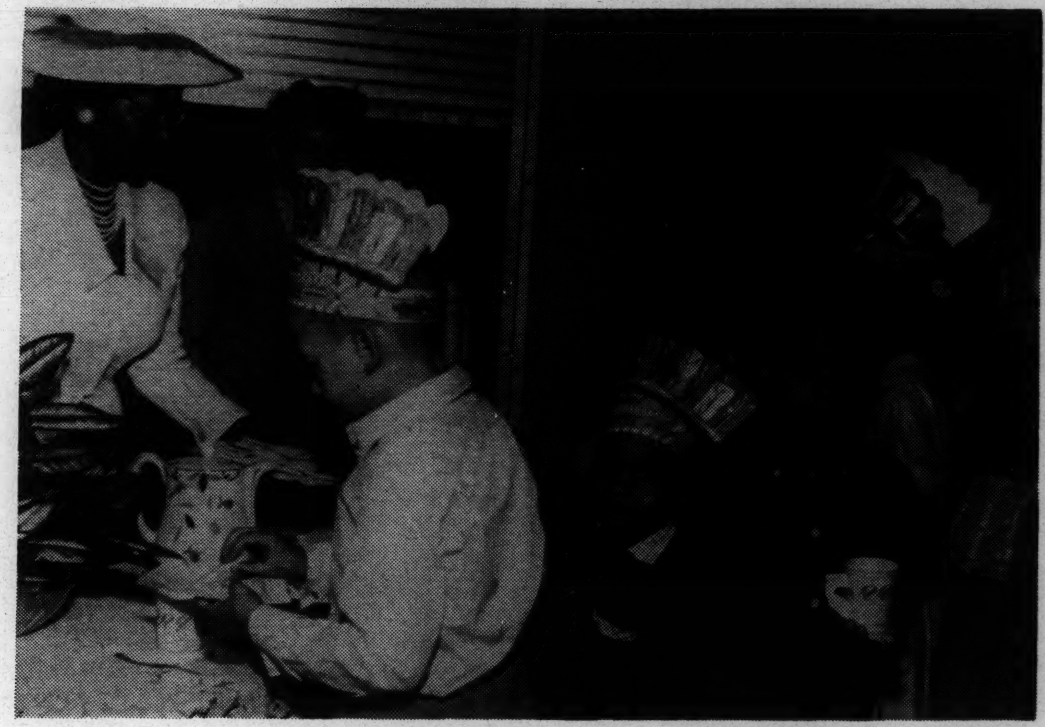


PHOTO BY JAMES FLETCHER

By ANNA HOLDEN

NASHVILLE—Nashville CORE entertained children attending desegregated schools and their parents, Sunday, December 7, at an informal get-together in the Educational Building of Clark Memorial Church. The CORE party gave these pioneer parents and CORE members an opportunity to become better acquainted and exchange information on developments in the different school districts. At the party there were parents from five of the seven districts in the process of desegregation. Six empty chairs were reminders of additional districts, some with sizable Negro populations, where none of the eligible Negro children have enrolled. (Enrollment in integrated schools is optional.)

Children competed in a hula-hoop contest and played games on the first floor under the supervision of the Fisk University Sociology Club, while parents met upstairs. Mrs. Hugh Watson and Mrs. William Darden led parents in a question-and-answer game, covering many aspects of the current school desegregation situation. Statements made by the parents indicated that relations with teachers and principals and between children are generally good in the various schools represented. Negro parents who had attended PTA meetings this fall reported a fair to excellent reception from white parents. Some of the mothers have attended meetings of class room mothers as well as PTA meetings.

At the close of the question-and-answer game, refreshments prepared by Mrs. Charles Martin and Mrs. Lois Vestal were served. Rev. R. W. Kelley, host pastor, gave the closing prayer.

Miss Jane Newlin and Mr. Robert McGhee registered and greeted parents at the door. Fisk Sociology Club members who entertained the children included: Miss Mattie Thompson, President; Miss Phyllis Hannah; Miss Eloise Stewart, Miss Joan Carter, Mrs. Lawrence Watson and Mr. James Culmer. Mrs. Florence Smith, party chairman, was unable to attend because of illness.

The Fisk Sociology Club had voted Nashville school desegregation as its action project for this year. Club members will continue the CORE-initiated survey of school districts affected by desegregation and prepare maps of school zones for distribution among parents.

CHALLENGE SPORTS ARENA BIAS

NORFOLK, Va.—When the Harlem Globe Trotters, professional basketball team, played here on December 16, Norfolk CORE decided to challenge segregated seating at the Norfolk Municipal Auditorium.

Eight tickets in the white section were purchased in advance and were given to five Negroes and three whites. When the interracial group arrived at the auditorium, ticket takers and ushers tried to stop them. But they insisted on their rights and proceeded to their seats.

The head usher, then, ordered them to leave. When they refused, he called the police, who threatened arrest. After conferring, the group decided that one person would be sufficient for a legal test case. So, all but Leonard Holt, left with the understanding that they would get their money back.

Holt told police that he would not leave unless placed under arrest. He was thereupon arrested but the precinct captain ruled that a warrant would have to be sworn out by the auditorium's manager. The manager declined, asserting that this was up to the promoter of the event. The promoter declined, saying that it was up to somebody else. So, Holt was released.

The incident at the auditorium drew no visible protest whatsoever from the white spectators.

PROGRESS IN CHARLESTON

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—In the first half-year of its existence, Charleston CORE has become well-established as part of the community.

Reporting on a public mass meeting held by the group on Sunday, December 7, Elizabeth Gilmore, CORE secretary says: "It was a most enthusiastic and spirited gathering, which encouraged us very much and also indicated the support of our group by the people of Charleston.

"We are planning to have CORE speakers in 31 churches on February 22, first day of Brotherhood Week."

Regarding the group's action program, Elizabeth Gilmore reports: "Two more of our local restaurants are now serving Negroes — Hodo's and The Lobby. We have not yet been able to open the Diamond Department Store's cafeteria and lunch counter and are planning to sit in during the first or second week of March when spring buying is heavy."

EMPLOYMENT CAMPAIGN GOES ON

ST. LOUIS — St. Louis CORE and NAACP are continuing their joint campaign for fair employment at the Famous-Barr department stores.

"We have had several conferences with management and a number of the 38 women displaced by self-service elevators have been given other jobs," reports Charles Oldham of St. Louis CORE. "Only one, however, has been given a job as saleslady—in the camera department. However, store officials have assured us that additional Negroes will be added to the sales personnel.

"We have also scheduled conferences with two other department stores — Stix Baer & Fuller and Scruggs Vandervoort Barney—aimed at placing Negroes in sales, clerical and other non-menial jobs.

"In addition to the department stores, we are working on the Tastee Bread Co. The general manager has advised us that the company will make a special effort to hire Negroes, but none have been hired to date. An action project, possibly a boycott, is being contemplated if a policy change is not forthcoming."

Sit-Ins at Restaurant

Three sit-ins at Santoro's Restaurant, just opposite Washington University campus, have been conducted by the university's NAACP chapter with the help of St. Louis CORE.

On all three occasions Mr. Santoro called the police who threatened arrests for trespassing if he would make a complaint. According to plan, the group thereupon left the restaurant and picketed outside. Since then conferences on the legality of such arrests have taken place with the city manager and city counselor. Another sit-in is planned for Brotherhood Week.

WASHINGTON GROUP UNDER WAY

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The new Washington CORE group has decided to work for fair employment in the chain food stores. Negroes are generally barred from employment in jobs such as checkers and clerks except in Negro areas where a token few are occasionally hired. The group is presently undertaking an intensive survey in these stores to determine the extent of discrimination and the areas in which to begin work.

The group is also cooperating with the Committee for the Promotion of Christianity in the YMCA in an effort to end racial bias in the downtown Y.

TWO MEN EAT ONE DINNER

NORFOLK, Va. — When Rev. William Abbot, white minister and Leonard Holt, Negro attorney tested the Giant Open Air Market's lunch counter for Norfolk CORE, they ordered two dinners. The waitress took both orders but served only one—to Rev. Abbot.

When told that one dinner was missing, she called the manager, but he declined to rectify the error. So ,the two men shared the one dinner. They paid and left—but not for good—Norfolk CORE hopes to open the big market's lunch counter to everybody, regardless of color.

RESTAURANT CHANGES POLICY

BALTIMORE —Wilson's Restaurant, a white-tablecloth eating place where Baltimore CORE conducted a vigorous campaign three years ago, "is now open to all and is maintaining a well-balanced, integrated clientele."

The Wilson's campaign was marked by weekly picketing and by walk-ins, in which interracial groups entered the restaurant and asked the manager to negotiate. In 1958 Baltimore's only unsegregated white-tablecloth restaurant was the one in the railroad station.

Baltimore CORE is now planning a campaign against reelection this May of die-hard city councilmen who recently helped to defeat an ordinance against discrimination in public acomodations.

NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The national CORE office staff wishes to thank all those who have volunteered time in the office. A special word of thanks is owed to Harold Fackert, Jim Peck (who also edits the CORElator) and Mrs. Paul Talbot, who have given many hours of work.

Volunteers are still badly needed. If *you* can give time typing, filing, mailing, etc., won't you call us, COrtlandt 7-0408?

HOLIDAY CARD SALES UP

Thanks are in order to the many hundreds of CORE contributors who purchased CORE cards for the holidays. Four times as many cards were sold this year as against one year ago.

Next year, we hope to offer a choice of four cards—one of them a "conventional" design which so many of our members have asked for.

CONCENTRATE ON HOUSING

By Cynthia Carrington

BOSTON—A mounting tenor of concern in regard to housing brought about, last fall, an upsurge of activity in this area. Fair housing groups were formed in many suburbs to encourage integration by making homes available for sale to minority group members. Governor Foster Furcolo and other government officials promised a broadening of housing codes administered by the State Commission Against Discrimination. Harvard University for the first time refused to list any housing for rent unless the policy was open occupancy.

So, the first committee established by the newly-organized Boston CORE group was a housing action committee. Most of the membership participates actively in its work. Its task is to examine recently-compiled data on housing in the Boston area and to plan a CORE action project to change rental policies of the large apartment houses, particularly around Cambridge. Since the state housing law applies only to construction receiving public aid, the vast majority of rental units are excluded.

The housing action committee is at present planning a project around a single individual, in the hope not only of finding him suitable housing but of developing a house-hunting and negotiating technique which can be applied on a larger scale.

Boston CORE would welcome an exchange of information with other CORE groups in this regard, since we plan to focus most of our activity on housing.

Still Available from CORE Office

A TIMELY BOOK

Martin Luther King's *Stride Toward Freedom,* the story of the precedent - setting Montgomery bus protest action of 1956 . $2.95

A TIMELY PAMPHLET

Anna Holden's *A First Step Toward School Integration,* the story of how CORE helped to make school integration work in Nashville despite mob violence which marked the opening of the 1957-58 school year . . . 25¢

(Chronology of events in Nashville 1955-58, ten cents extra.)

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

James R. Robinson, *executive secretary*
James T. McCain, Gordon R. Carey, *field secretaries* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 SPRING, 1959 No. 76

EDITOR IN HOSPITAL

James R. Robinson, executive secretary, announces to COREIator readers that Jim Peck edited this issue in the hospital where he is recuperating from tuberculosis.

Since he has his typewriter, he is also able to carry on much of the CORE office work which he did prior to hospitalization. Those wishing to write him can do so at the CORE national office address.

SIT-INS CONTINUE DESPITE ARREST THREATS

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Despite threats of arrest, CORE members are continuing their sit-ins at the Coffee Shop of the Diamond Department Store, one of Charleston's largest, and the only such store with eating facilities.

"On April 13 we stood in and sat in," reports Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmore, secretary of Charleston CORE. "The Coffee Shop area was roped off but two CORE members were able to get seated inside the ropes before being spotted. The remaining three of us stood just outside the barricade which was effective, because we were seen by everybody entering the store."

Starting in February small groups of Negroes sat at the counter from one to three hours. They were not served. On February 16 over 30 CORE members engaged in a four-hour sit-in. Management closed the counter an hour early.

Four days later another group at the counter was threatened with arrest if they returned. The following day they came back. On February 26 a CORE group was told they would be arrested if they even entered the store. The next day they sat at the counter for two hours and fifteen minutes, having alerted attorneys to management's threat. No arrests were made.

That the sit-in groups had remained quiet and orderly—in keeping with CORE principles of nonviolence—was reported in the local papers. The news stories also mentioned that white persons sitting alongside the Negroes at the counter had not voiced any protests.

Nevertheless, William McKim, the store's manager, and brother of the head of Associated Dry Goods Corporation, which owns the Diamond, maintains that serving Negroes would ruin his business. Although the dime store lunch counters have ended discrimination (as a result of CORE action), although some movies and other public facilities have been inte-

(continued on page 2, bottom col. 1)

Los Angeles Youth for Integration

YOUTH
L.A. AND
WASHINGTON
SUPPORT
GRATION
NOW
FOR
DEMOC
NO
ALL
ITIZEN
L.A. Youth
Demonstrate
with
Washington
Youth
EQUAL RIGHTS
FOR ALL

Photo by Art Kunkel

LOS ANGELES—Since this city is over 3,000 miles from Washington, D. C., most local, would-be participants were unable to journey to the nation's capital and join the 26,500 record turnout at the Youth March for Integrated Schools on April 18.

So, Los Angeles CORE initiated the Los Angeles Committee for the Youth March for Integrated Schools. Rev Maurice Dawkins, president of the local NAACP and Rev. Vance Geier of the local FOR were named co-chairmen. Henry Hodge of CORE was chosen demonstration chairman.

A march with placards at City Hall on the same day as the Washington demonstration was decided upon by the Los Angeles Committee. Several other local groups pledged their support. As explained in the leaflet which was distributed: "We in Los Angeles who are not able to travel to Washington, march to show local support for speedy integration of the nation's schools."

Sayuri Buell of CORE reports: "From 75 to 100 young people participated. The Los Angeles *Times* reporter interviewed Henry Hodge and me. KTTV, Channel 13, gave good coverage. The public reaction seemed friendly."

CORE members particularly active in organizing the demonstration were Bernie Sapiro, Lee Veda, Joan Love Aaron and Bob Davenport.

New Survey to Ease 3rd Year Desegregation

By ANNA HOLDEN

NASHVILLE—To insure that the maximum number of eligible Negro children benefit from the third year of Nashville's grade-a-year desegregation plan, CORE has initiated a survey of the major school districts affected. A similar survey last year proved helpful in getting Negro parents to learn the advantages of enrollment in integrated rather than segregated schools—the choice being optional under Nashville's plan.

Parents of children in five desegregated school districts met with CORE members during the first week of April to make plans for the survey. The districts represented included Jones, Buena Vista, Glenn, Caldwell and Fehr, all areas with a substantial number of Negro children eligible.

This year CORE members hope to contact parents in two new school zones: Howard, which has a sizable Negro population but no Negroes yet enrolled; and Clemmons, a district with a growing Negro population and two Negro children enrolled. Other areas which CORE hopes to survey this year, as it did last, are Fall, Tarbox and Kirkpatrick. The Howard district has been surveyed by the Fisk Sociology Club this winter and spring.

Parents and CORE members plan to proceed much as they did last year, questioning each Negro family as to the ages, grades and present schools of their children. Those with children eligible for desegregation will be contacted further. Revisits to homes surveyed last year are necessary because of the high rate of population turnover in many of the districts. With an earlier start this year, it is hoped that one or more meetings with parents can be scheduled in each of the districts by early summer.

Unless Nashville's grade-a-year plan is reversed by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, only grades one, two and three will be desegregated next fall. The NAACP has appealed a case challenging both the grade-a-year plan and the transfer system, which sets up the race of the majority of children in a school as a condition for a parent to obtain a transfer out of the district.

Reports from parents indicate that Negro children in the seven desegregated schools this year are getting along well. At least six of the thirty-four who enrolled last fall have dropped out because their families moved out of the school districts. However, a few additional children have moved into these districts during the school year, so the net loss is less than six.

Tastee Bread Must Not Be All-White

ST. LOUIS — Direct action to get Taystee Bread Co. to hire Negroes in all capacities got under way April 9 when St. Louis CORE members visited bakeries and small groceries in a predominantly Negro area. They talked with owners and managers about Taystee's refusal to hire Negro production and office workers and urged removal of Taystee products from the shelves. Since then many other stores in Negro neighborhoods have been visited by CORE members in an attempt to build up the campaign against Taystee products.

St. Louis CORE first contacted the company regarding its employment policy last September. In November, on the basis of a conference between Eugene Tournour, chairman of St. Louis CORE, and M. Cushing, manager of the company, CORE issued a release to the three local Negro papers that qualified Negroes could then apply for jobs at Taystee.

A number did apply, Cushing stated in a phone talk with a CORE representative in December. But a month later he admitted in another phone conversation that none had been hired.

So Tournour wrote Cushing: "In view of the fact that our original contact with your company was in September, we feel that sufficient time has elapsed for the company to have implemented its policies by the actual hiring of some Negro personnel. Our group seriously discussed a direct action program. However, before starting such action we feel that in all good faith we must accept your request for an additional two weeks and we will again contact you in the hope that some progress has been made."

None was, so the CORE action program started.

CHARLESTON

(Continued from page 1)

grated, although the schools have been desegregated, McKim maintains that "Charleston is not ready for this sort of thing." He persists in this contention even though some excellent Charleston restaurants have served everyone for quite some time.

BACK STUDENTS' CORE-LIKE CAMPAIGN

BALTIMORE — Baltimore CORE is supporting a group of Morgan State College students who decided to use CORE techniques against discrimination at a theater, an ice cream parlor and a cafeteria in nearby Northwood Shopping Center.

"The students wanted to do something to change the whites-only policy of the Northwood Theatre, a movie located in the shopping center just a few blocks from the campus," reports Helen Brown of Baltimore CORE. "When friendly persuasion was unavailing, they decided to adopt the CORE technique of passive resistance.

"We attended several of the planning meetings, advising them and giving them the benefit of our experience. We also participated in several of the picket demonstrations they hold regularly in front of the theater and were present at two abortive conferences with the two theater owners."

Having failed to stop the picketing with signs, claiming that the shopping center is private property, the owners have threatened to seek an injunction.

The students have also conducted two sit-ins within the shopping center: one at the Arundel ice cream parlor and another at the Hecht Co.'s cafeteria. As a result, the ice cream parlor is now open to all regardless of color, and the cafeteria management has requested time to confer with the company's head office.

NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

In April and May, National CORE is attempting to increase its membership through direct-mail campaigns. In all, about 75,000 letters of appeal will be sent. *It is not possible to cross-check names and addresses.*

Should you receive one or more of these letters, please help us by forwarding to a friend who might be interested, adding your personal note to the form letter. It is vitally important that this campaign be successful: the cost of our expanded program has exceeded the income each of the past four months.

About 3,500 persons have joined since the fiscal year began last June 1. We need 1,500 new members now to complete the goal of 5,000 for the year ending May 31, 1959.

TWA HIRES NEGRO STEWARDESS

NEW YORK CITY—First break in the color line on flight-crew employment by a major domestic airline occurred recently when a Negro stewardess completed her training and went into service with Trans World Airlines. Earlier, a Negro stewardess had flown briefly with Mohawk Airlines, and TWA had hired a stewardess who left for health reasons during her training period.

A year ago New York CORE distributed leaflets at airlines ticket offices asking an end to jimcrow in the air. The Urban League, through negotiations, complaints to governmental bodies and screening of applicants, played a major role in securing this first chink in the whites-only wall erected by airlines in this country.

During New York CORE's work on the airlines, conferences were refused by major lines except TWA. Eastern, American and United proved unwilling even to discuss the issue. New York CORE is considering a project aimed at asking the public to fly TWA in preference to its competitors until such time as the competitors adopt a fair employment policy aloft.

FILE 42 COMPLAINTS

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—Forty-two complaints under the Illinois anti-discrimination law have been filed as an outcome of East St. Louis CORE's campaign against restaurant discrimination. So reported Homer Randolph, the group's chairman.

Meanwhile, CORE is seeking wider local support by letters to East St. Louis churches and organizations offering to send a speaker who would explain CORE principles.

NEW GROUP STARTS ON DIME STORES

LEXINGTON, Ky.—The newly formed CORE group here has initiated a campaign to end discrimination at dime store lunch counters.

"Four dime stores in downtown Lexington — McCrory's, Woolworth's, Kresge's and Green's have been visited by small, interracial teams," reports Bernice Lott, recording secretary. "Following exploratory visits to determine store policies and following negotiations with managers, these visits were conducted regularly, once or twice a day for a two-week period.

"A number of negotiation sessions have been held with the managers, singly and together. Letters have been sent to the companies' national offices. The two replies received thus far indicate the possibility of negotiation with national representatives."

Meanwhile, the group is laying plans for the next step: handing out to customers cards favoring a non-discriminatory policy at the lunch counters. The customers would hand these cards to the sales clerk from whom they make a purchase.

CORE CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN JUNE

The National CORE Conference-Convention will take place from Sunday, June 14 to Friday, June 19, at Presbyterian Conference Grounds, Pacific Palisades, California.

For the first time, national contributors as well as delegates of local groups are being invited. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED, please write the national office. Cost will run under $35, including board, room and registration.

Preceding the Conference-Convention, Los Angeles CORE is sponsoring an action workshop, Friday evening, June 12 to Sunday afternoon, June 14.

Please let us know if *you* are interested in this meeting. Small discussion groups characterize the Conference sessions, rather than set speeches.

Use the Law

NYC HOUSING
Public & Private
OPEN TO ALL
IT'S THE LAW
N.Y.C. HOUSING
OPEN TO ALL
IT'S THE LAW
YOU CAN APPLY ANYWHERE IN N.Y.C.
KNOCK
DOOR
ANYWHERE IN N Y C

Photo by Willis Jones

Members of CORE use signs as well as leaflets to advise New Yorkers of their rights under the Fair Housing Law.

CORE HELPS PASS FAIR HOUSING LAW

BOSTON—Boston CORE feels it may take justifiable pride in the recent enactment of Massachusetts' fair housing law, since the group played a key role at a hearing of a joint House-Senate committee on the measure.

Since it was known that the legislative committee's decision would be in large part based upon evidence presented at the hearing, CORE set out to compile as much specific data as possible. In fact, CORE was the only organization which submitted written case histories as evidence.

These case histories were based on facts obtained at a CORE meeting in early March to which the group invited aggrieved persons whose experiences might bear weight at the hearing. As a result of this meeting we learned of some 75 actual cases of prospective tenants being turned away. In almost every case the prospective tenant was not even permitted to see the apartment or house.

This information contributed to the success of the hearing, which resulted in a unanimous recommendation by the legislative committee that the bill be favorably acted upon. The committee's recommendation was accepted and the bill passed. But Boston CORE anticipates much work ahead since enforcement of the new law may prove difficult and minority group members need to be educated as to its provisions. The law outlaws discrimination in the rental of "all apartment buildings of three units or more and in sales or rentals in all housing developments of 10 units or more, regardless of the way they are financed."

NEGOTIATE WITH YMCA

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With the objective of full membership for Negroes in the YMCA's Central Branch, Washington CORE has started negotiations with various Y officials.

The first steps are reminiscent of the buck-passing encountered by CORE groups in other localities when negotiating with the Y. First the group met with Randolph Myer, secretary of the Metropolitan YMCA, who stated that the membership question is not one for the Metropolitan board. CORE then met with Ralph Foster, secretary of the Central Branch, who suggested a meeting with the Branch's Interracial Practices Committee. Such a meeting is being sought, as well as a conference with Murray Bernhardt, Y president, upon his return from California.

According to Thomas Timberg of Washington CORE, both Y officials interviewed thus far defended the organization's "gradualist policy of integration," pointing out that sleeping facilities and certain classes and activities are now open to Negroes. Transients at the Central Branch normally have access to the gym and pool, but Negro transients paying the same fees are excluded.

CORE'S FURTHEST-SOUTH GROUP

MIAMI — CORE's furthest-south group, in Miami, Florida, has been established with the aid of field secretaries Gordon R. Carey and James T. McCain.

"Our first project is desegregation of dime store lunch counters," reports Jack Ivory II, the group's corresponding secretary. "During our negotiations with Grant's the manager suggested that we raise the issue with the Chamber of Commerce and said he would do likewise before considering any policy change. We have also begun negotiations with Woolworth's and McCrory's."

Prior to this project, while Carey and McCain were still in Miami, the group tested eight restaurants and an art theater in downtown Miami. They were served at three of the restaurants and were admitted to the art theater. While this may seem surprising, it must be remembered that Miami, because of its large population of northerners and influx of vacationers from all over the country, is not typically deep-south.

ANY MIAMIAN INTERESTED IN WORKING WITH CORE SHOULD CONTACT MRS. THALIA STERN, 1710 DAYTONIA ROAD, MIAMI BEACH—UN 6-0406.

INTERRACIAL TEAMS TELL ABOUT CORE

NORFOLK—Norfolk CORE "is carrying CORE's message to other groups via four-person interracial teams in panel discussions of the challenge to human relations in these times," reports Harry Reid, the group's chairman.

"Most recent of these panel discussions was at the Norfolk division of Virginia State College where Jim Reeves, Charles Graves, Bill Abbot and I appeared before two assemblies of the student body. The response was gratifying. We hope that such appearances will result in attracting new members to our CORE group."

* * *

Funds are needed for the defense of 30 opponents of South Africa racial segregation now facing trial for "treason." The case is an important one in the struggle for African freedom. Contributions should be sent to the South African Defense Fund, 4 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

* * *

William Clay, active member of St. Louis CORE, has been elected to the Board of Aldermen.

Registration Campaign

BY MRS. J. E. WILLIAMS

SPARTANBURG, S. C.—Several meetings after a CORE group was formed here, its members decided to make the first major project voter registration. We set our goal at 15,000 Negro voters for the city and county.

A mass meeting was called on March 5, with persons from other organizations invited. At this meeting CORE took the initiative in organizing precincts and electing temporary officers.

James T. McCain, CORE field secretary, arrived March 19 to instruct us in techniques of getting people registered. He promptly converted the temporary groups into permanent ones. Permanent chairmen, secretaries and block workers were elected.

Block workers carrying leaflets and posters were asked to contact all persons on their respective blocks and to encourage those not registered to do so. The posters were placed in business establishments where managers were requested to cooperate with the campaign by speaking to their customers.

On April 2, 100 leaders and precinct workers met and reported that 1071 persons had been contacted. Of these, 712 were already registered and 359 expressed a desire to get registration certificates.

Final provisions were made to transport persons to the registration office and to give whatever additional assistance may be found necessary. Persons were selected to stand by the registration office and give aid when needed.

Meanwhile, block workers will continue to knock on doors, and precincts will hold regular meetings until everybody is registered. A mass meeting will be held each month a few days before the registration books open. Precinct leaders and block workers will continue working to reach our goal of 15,000 Negro voters. Groups have been organized in all city precincts where Negroes live and in five precincts in the county.

Key persons working in the campaign—along with my husband and me—are Rev. I. D. Newman, Rev. C. M. Johnson, Rev. J. J. Foster, Larry Wilson, K. M. Brown, Raymond Collins, J. W. Coan and Carl Lofton.

* * *

CHARLESTON, S. C.—"We have selected a person to give reading lessons two nights a week to those who cannot read well enough to fill out registration blanks or to read sections of the State Constitution as required," reports Esau Jenkins, chairman of Charleston CORE.

* * *

GREENVILLE, S. C.—"Since James T. McCain was here to help us organize for voter registration, we have been able to register 100 during the first month," says Rev. J. S. Hall Jr., of Greenville CORE. "Our goal is to add 10,000 voters to those already listed."

* * *

SUMTER, S. C.—"If persons who want to register can't get to the registration office, they call the Sumter CORE car pool," relates Frank B. Robinson of Sumter CORE. "We, then, pick them up, take them to the registration office and return them home. In business places we ask the proprietor to see that his employees register and we leave a sample registration blank in a frame."

END TWO-WINDOW SERVICE

By George Kelly

MARION, S. C. — The operator of Hewitt Esso Service Station runs a drive-in lunch stand next door. He required Negroes to go to a side window for a little thing like ice cream. In his service station, he had a water fountain with paper cups and a sign "For Whites Only."

As chairman of CORE, I had a talk with him. Then, I called a meeting and we went into action. Several CORE members who had large monthly accounts at the station went to the lunch stand and tried to get ice cream at the front window. They were told to go to the side window. They then stated that if they couldn't be served at the front window, they didn't want the ice cream. Next, they went over and paid up their accounts at the gas station, announcing to the operator that they would not trade with him any more.

Other Negroes did likewise, until finally he had to close the service station. But rather than close the ice cream stand, he has shut the side window and now serves everyone from the front window.

Word of this has spread and Negroes are now getting better service from other businesses in town.

YOU CAN MEET AND JOIN . . .
the people in these pictures by coming to Miami September 5-20 for the Interracial Action Institute, sponsored jointly by this group, the Greater Miami Committee of Racial Equality, and national CORE. Estimated cost for the 16-day period including board, room and use of swimming pool is $100 per person. Application blanks and fuller details can be obtained from national CORE office.

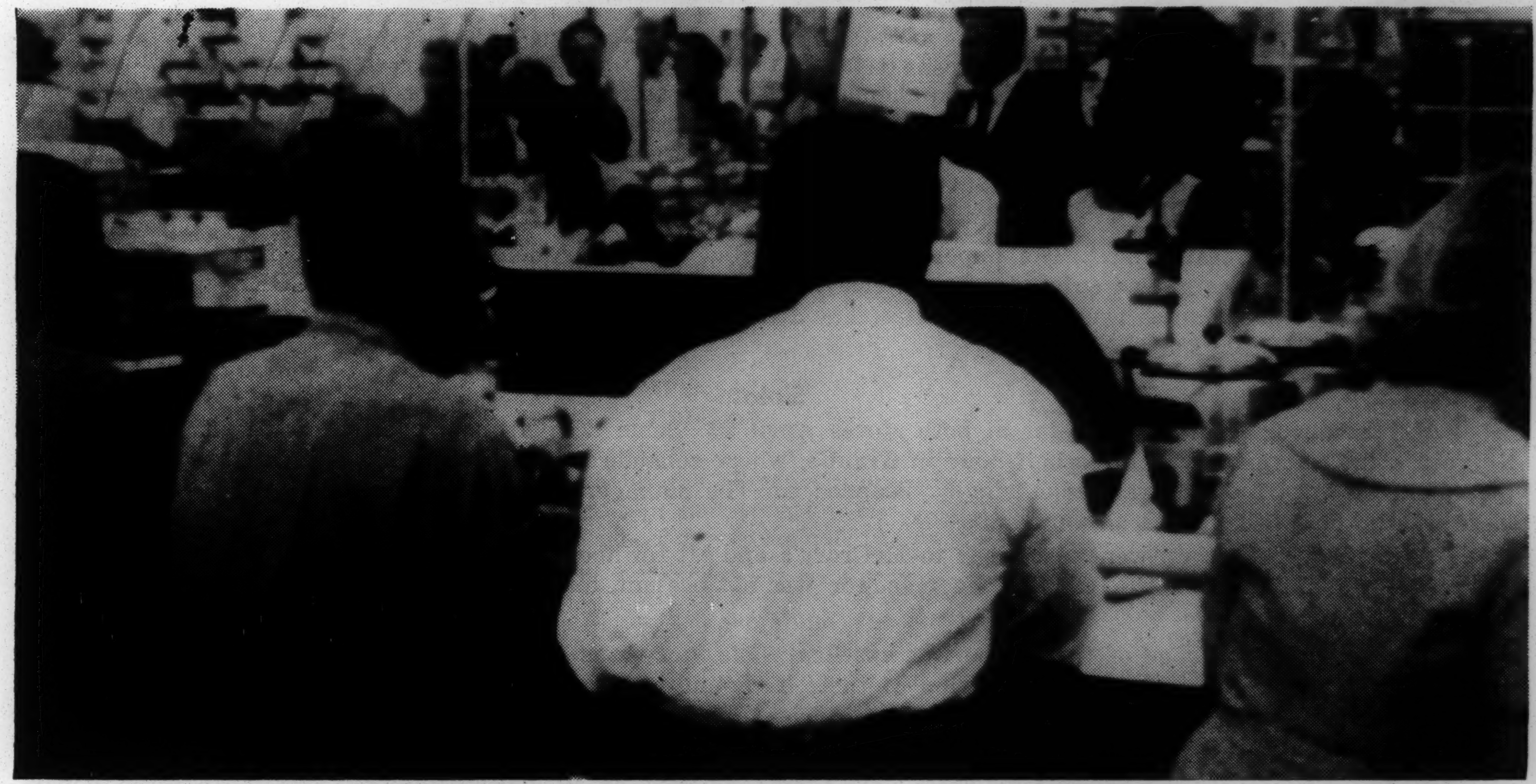
CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

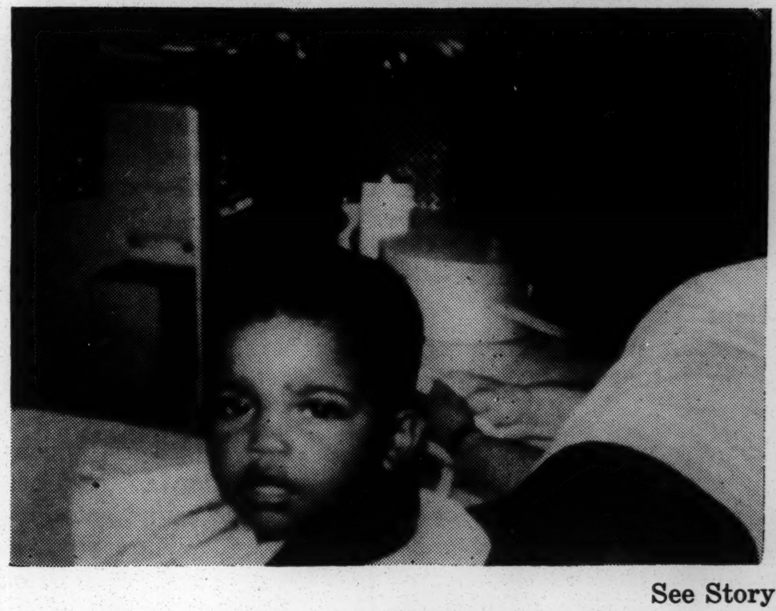
James R. Robinson, *executive secretary*
James T. McCain, Gordon R. Carey, *field secretaries*
Jim Peck, *editor*

98 SUMMER, 1959 No. 77

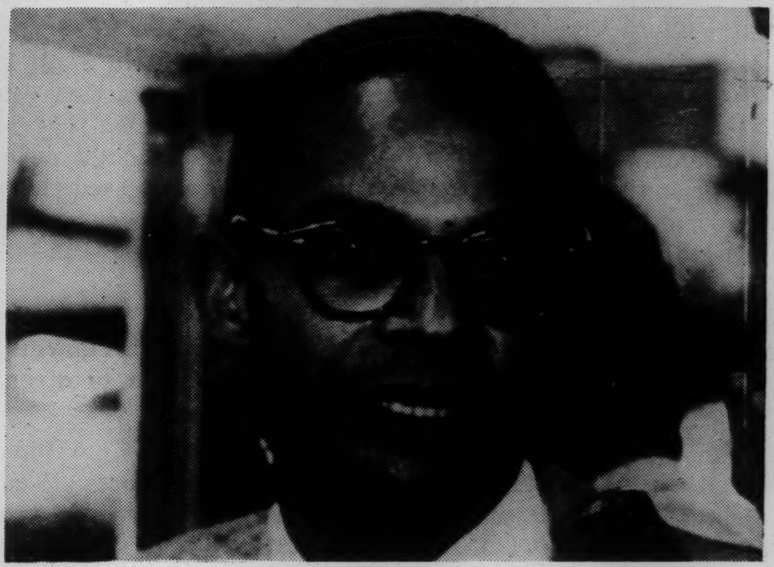
MIAMI SIT-IN



YOUNG PARTICIPANT



PROJECT LEADER



See Story on Page 2

The Miami **CORE** Story

By SHIRLEY ZOLOTH

Several factors combined this past January to motivate a few Miamians to send out a call for CORE field secretaries. Main factor was that when four Negro children were approved for assignment to the previously all-white Orchard Villa elementary school, CORE's outstanding community work in the Nashville school situation was recalled and CORE's presence in Miami was felt needed.

Field Secretaries James McCain and Gordon Carey arrived on February 28 and by March 12, Greater Miami CORE had its first meeting with some 15 members. Dr. John Brown, an opthalmologist, became temporary chairman and has acted as the group's chief spokesman (see lower-right picture on p. 1).

Tests

For its initial project, the group chose—not school desegregation—but what was deemed one of the most illogical areas of discrimination: the downtown dimestore and department store lunch counters. Despite the fact that Miami's large Negro residential section is only a few blocks away, there is no place in the downtown Miami shopping area where Negroes can sit down and have a cup of coffee, or a sandwich or a dish of ice cream. They are confined to the stand-up counters where, paradoxically, they are allowed to make their purchases in turn with whites and stand next to them eating and drinking.

Grant's was the first objective of CORE's campaign and McCrory's the second — largely on the basis of the apparently bigger proportion of Negroes who shop in these two stores in preference to Woolworth's and Kress's. CORE's method of testing was followed scrupulously. The first testing team went to Grant's on March 19, was refused service, and made several attempts to see the manager. A few days later, such a meeting was arranged. Like the other managers with whom CORE met subsequently, he didn't deny the justice of CORE's request, but refused to be the first to change policy.

McCrory's was tested next. The importance of repeated tests was demonstrated here, for the first CORE team that took seats was served quietly and graciously. However, the following day, another CORE team sitting at a different part of the counter was refused service. The attitude of McCrory's manager in conferring with CORE was similar to that of Grant's manager.

Sit-Ins

So, the group decided on sit-ins at both stores April 29. Some 20 persons participated, about half of them Negroes. First the group sat for a half-hour in Grant's, where considerable picture-taking and interviewing occurred (see pictures on p. 1). The waitresses simply disappeared. The manager was not in view. Police were on hand, but there was no hostility. It was all very amicable.

Afterward, the group went next door to McCrory's and sat for about 15 minutes. Here, the waitresses remained at their posts but ignored the group. The manager was not present, but a policy of prohibiting cameras and microphones was enforced.

TV and radio coverage of the sit-ins was excellent. The story was on Garroway's "Today" show. Each of the three local TV stations devoted a good portion of their early and late evening news reports to films taken at Grant's and on-the-scene interviews. Through UPI coverage, stories appeared in many newspapers throughout the country.

As a result of the community interest aroused by this first action of its type in Miami, CORE found itself with an increasing number of supporters. Tests were then conducted at Woolworth's and Kress's; at three department store lunch counters: Burdine's, Richard's, Byron-Jackson's; at two of the Walgreen drugstore lunch counters and at several Royal Castle Hamburger counters. Meetings with several more managers and with the Better Business Division of the Chamber of Commerce followed.

In anticipation of our next action—a sit-in June 13 at Grant's—Phil Meyer of the Miami Herald had an extensive interview with Dr. Brown and myself. This action got under way at 11:30 with some 30 participants, about half of them Negroes. More Negroes kept arriving so that by 4:30 we ended with a group of about 50. The attitude of the management and waitresses was hostile, though no overt threats were made. Many of the customers expressed surprise that Negroes were not served and expressed the viewpoint that they should be. Only a very few customers made anti-Negro or anti-Semitic remarks. A second sit-in, involving about 40 persons was conducted two days later. Sit-ins at Woolworth's and at Burdine's took place June 27.

Future Plans

Since then the group has concentrated on enlarging its committees, increasing its membership, getting more community support and building up a reservoir of strength for future sit-ins, which may have to be sustained for long periods of time.

Various factors indicate the timeliness of our lunch counter campaign. A survey of 100 white passersby, conducted by a local TV commentator during our first sit-in, revealed that 98 not only had no objection to Negroes being served, but were surprised to learn that discrimination prevails at the lunch counters. This was borne out during our longer sit-ins, when a constant stream of white customers sat down alongside members of our group and placed their orders, completely oblivious to the fact that Negroes were sitting nearby.

FOCUS ON PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

LOS ANGELES—Before, during and since the Workshop held by Los Angeles CORE in conjunction with the national CORE convention, the group has been concentrating on public accommodation.

As part of the Workshop, a negotiations team met with Mr. Wigger of the Mary-Lind Foundation which offers rooming facilities to indigent persons. After listening to the CORE deputation, headed by Charles Gray, Wigger expressed willingness to cooperate after consulting with his administration and checking that CORE is non-Communist. A month later, Sayuri Buell of the CORE group met with him and received an assurance that he would accommodate any person referred by the Department of Charities, regardless of color.

Also during the Workshop, three test teams visited motels, a category of public accommodation on which Los Angeles CORE has been working for some time. Approximately half of those tested were found to discriminate. Heading the three teams were Earl Walter, Vera Greenwood and James McCain. Follow-through tests are planned soon. About a month previous, River Glen Motel, faced with a CORE-initiated suit, signed a no-discrimination agreement.

In another Workshop action, one group led by Henry Hodge and another by Gordon Carey, investigated policies of apartment dwellings and housing tracts on the city's outskirts. Of the one real estate agent and five apartment managers visited by Hodge's group, 50% were found to discriminate. Of the three apartment managers visited by Carey's group, two were found to discriminate and one was doubtful. Hodge and Sayuri Buell plan an early meeting with a real estate agent who is willing to give information on policies of the Southwest Realty Board. CORE is also investigating the policy of the Lakewood housing project.

SPARTANBURG, S. C. — "At our July 3 meeting, plans were made to launch a financial drive to support our registration campaign," write Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman and Mrs. J. E. Williams of Spartanburg CORE. "We cannot do anything without money and we do not plan to accept money from politicians."

NEW YORK CITY—James Farmer, a founder of CORE who has been continuously active in the organization, joined the NAACP staff June 1 as activities director, a newly-created position.

SIT-INS AT CAMPUS RESTAURANT

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Following three months of restaurant-testing in the vicinity of the University of Kentucky, in which five were found to serve Negroes, Lexington CORE decided on direct action against one which discriminates and which caters almost exclusively to students—The Varsity Village Restaurant.

"Ten CORE members—five Negroes and five whites—entered the restaurant at 11 a.m., July 11, above the verbal protests of the manager and sat quietly at the counter for two hours," relates Joy Query of Lexington CORE. "By the end of the sit-in, the group had increased to 18. They departed at 1 p.m.—leaving 25c tips for the waitresses—when the manager said he was closing, and did.

"The second sit-in took place July 17 at the peak of the lunch period trade, with 14 participants. At first the manager displayed considerable anger, but talked quite calmly with the two group leaders after the sit-in ended. His attitude is far more conciliatory than two months ago, and he now shows signs of a willingness to negotiate.

WIN COMPENSATION FOR BEATEN BOY

MARION, S. C.—Using the non-violent technique of negotiation, Marion CORE won compensation for a Negro high school boy who had been a victim of violence.

While working on his job as busboy at a drive-in lunch stand, the boy had been assaulted by a white customer who slugged him in the face and broke his nose.

Instead of swearing out a warrant for the man's arrest, as suggested to the boy's grandmother by the police chief, CORE members decided to negotiate with him directly.

"We urged that the man pay the hospital bill and the boy's salary for the time he spent off his job," reports George Kelly of Marion CORE. "At first he refused. We let him know that, in this event, CORE would support the grandmother in a civil suit. So, the police chief persuaded him to accept our terms, saying it would be better for all concerned. The agreement was signed, and the grandmother was satisfied. We feel very proud of CORE."

SAN FRANCISCO—Following an investigation of employment policies of Safeway and Sears Roebuck, San Francisco CORE has established teams to investigate local rental policies, Ellen Fisk writes.

NORFOLK RIGHTS SUIT CALLED IMPORTANT

NORFOLK, Va.—A civil rights suit involving Harry Reid, chairman of Norfolk CORE, and three other members of the group, was the subject of a feature story by Norman Regner in the Sunday, July 5, edition of the "Virginia-Pilot & Portsmouth Star."

The four were ousted from Norfolk's Municipal Auditorium last December 16 when they refused to sit in the jimcrow section at a basketball game featuring the Harlem Globe Trotters, outstanding professional team.

Purpose of the recently filed suit, according to the newspaper article, "is to take the state entirely out of the business of enforcing segregation in public places. And because it asks the courts to read new meaning into what the writer of the Fourteenth Amendment called simply 'the equal protection of the laws,' it may well be cited as a major precedent in civil rights briefs for years to come.

"Actually, twice before, courts have been asked to test these particular Virginia (segregation) laws. But in each case the outcome was inconclusive as a guide for future decisions. This suit, however, is a civil suit and can't be stopped so easily. It will reach the State Supreme Court at least, and very likely could go to the highest tribunal in the land."

TAYSTEE BREAD DRIVE WINS JOBS FOR FIVE

ST. LOUIS—The direct action campaign against Taystee Bread Co., reported in the last CORElator, has resulted in the company's hiring three Negro production workers (a loader, a slicer and a wrapper) and two Negro route salesmen. So reported Charles Oldham of St. Louis CORE.

The group had organized a boycott of Taystee products, concentrating on bakeries and groceries in Negro areas. The direct action climaxed a campaign which started last September to get the company to hire Negroes in other than menial capacities.

NYACK, N. Y.—CORE Field Secretary Gordon Carey was married to Betye Boyd on August 2 here. They are presently honeymooning in Mexico and will return via Miami in time for CORE's Interracial Action Institute Sept. 5-20.

SUMTER, S. C.—With CORE members fulfilling their pledges to register at least two persons per month and with block-by-block canvassing, Sumter CORE is progressing with its registration campaign, Frank Robinson reports.

Joint Action Against Jimcrow "All Nations Day"!

BALTIMORE—Baltimore CORE invites friends who are in the vicinity of this city on Labor Day weekend to participate in the fifth annual picket demonstration at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park on "All Nations Day," an event in which management, paradoxically, adheres to its policy of barring Negroes.

THE DEMONSTRATION WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE MAIN ENTRANCE BETWEEN 3 AND 5 P.M. ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 6. Participants can either come directly to the site (by car or city bus) or they can go there with the CORE group which will be leaving from a central point in Baltimore. For more specific information, contact Mrs. Giles Brown, 2816 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore 18, Md.

Regarding recent activity by the group, Mrs. Brown reports: "Our most recent meeting with the management of Carlin's Drive-In Theater was very encouraging. The management seems to be seriously considering admitting Negroes—at least on a trial basis—so we're hopeful that before too long there'll be another integrated drive-in movie."

Mrs. Brown also reports a Criminal Court ruling of significance to the group's campaign against a branch of the White Coffee Pot located in Mondawmin Shopping Center. The court ruled against management's contention that CORE's picketing was illegal because it took place within the privately-owned shopping center.

In his decision, involving a union picket, Judge Edwin Harlan wrote: "By opening it (the shopping center) to the public, the owner's property rights have become secondary to broad use by the public which includes the right of a labor union to engage in peaceful picketing." CORE's right to picket would be, obviously, in the same category.

A HOWARD JOHNSON CHANGES POLICY

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—An important break in East St. Louis CORE's 9-month-old campaign against restaurant discrimination occurred when the manager of the local Howard Johnson Restaurant phoned Homer Randolph, the group's chairman, and promised service to all regardless of color.

The manager had been fined $25 as a result of complaints filed under the Illinois civil rights law by Randolph, Eddie Foley, Lulu Dickerson and Jeanne Allen. The prosecution followed CORE's filing of a petition accusing the State Attorney of failing to act within a reasonable time on any of the complaints filed during the past months in the course of the restaurant campaign.

"The petition created an aroused opinion in our town, since no such action had ever been taken before," Randolph reports. It is unfortunate that our State Attorney had to be prodded in this case. However, with the conviction of a restaurant manager who violated the civil rights of citizens under Illinois law, a new era has begun in our community progress."

Most of the town's restaurants discriminate in violation of the state law, CORE discovered through its series of tests.

CRACK JIMCROW AT AIRPORT RESTAURANT

ATLANTA—"You know, Negroes before have refused to sit behind the screen, but no one ever got so far as you people."

So commented a waitress at the Dobbs House Restaurant in Atlanta airport July 24 after an interracial party of five had finished eating their dinners.

True, they had to share among the five of them, dinners served to the three whites in the party. But they ate at the same table—and not behind the jimcrow screen—and this was unprecedented. In fact, the assistant manager had told them it was contrary to Georgia law.

Members of the interracial party were James McCain, James Robinson and Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of CORE and Elmer Neufeld and Guy Hershberger of the Mennonite Central Committee. They were returning home from a south-wide institute sponsored by CORE, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Southern Christian Leadership Conference and attended by Martin Luther King and other leaders of non-violence against segregation.

PORTLAND, Ore. — The recently-formed Portland CORE group has established a committee on restaurant and tavern discrimination and is forming another on employment, Reuel Amdur reports.

PASSING THROUGH WASHINGTON, D. C.?

WASHINGTON, D. C.—If you are a friend or member of CORE—of the male sex — and if you are passing through the nation's capital you can help the local CORE group in its tests at the YMCA's Central Branch. Persons interested should phone Mrs. Carey Bennett, DE 2-6457 for specific instructions.

While continuing its tests, the group is seeking a conference with the board of management with the objective of full Y membership for Negroes. A few months ago, Peter Mpagi, African newspaper editor, after securing a room was told by Y officials that he would not be permitted to use the swimming pool. Mpagi reported the incident to the "Washington Post" with the result that it was publicized. In another incident, a Negro youth just recovered from polio was refused use of the pool.

Another recent activity of Washington CORE was an all-day workshop on June 13. Between 20 and 30 persons attended, reports Thomas Timberg. Chief speaker was James Farmer, who told about the early CORE history—which he helped to shape—and about the CORE philosophy and techniques.

COMING . . .
CORE'S 1959 HOLIDAY CARDS

Two new cards will be offered this year, both in full color. One will be by Gilbert Harris, a religious Christmas card in modern-art technique. The other will be J. Goldman's design of Birds of Peace.

Both the 1957 Happy Holiday Card and the Gilbert Harris 1958 World Brotherhood card will again be available. All except the new Harris card are appropriate for both Chanukkah and Christmas.

The Harris card with the Anne Frank quotation will also be available without the Holiday sentiment in boxes of 50—for use as a gift. This will make an especially beautiful correspondence card to carry the message of brotherhood throughout the year.

CORElator readers will receive a special Holiday Card announcement in early October.

THE PAMPHLET AND THE SIT-INS

Timing for publication of CORE's new pamphlet, "Cracking the Color Line," was purely accidental. Yet it could not have been more appropriate. The pamphlet was a leading factor in prompting Dr. George Simkins, Jr. to approach CORE in behalf of the Greensboro students. It was the subject of an entire column by Jackie Robinson in the New York Post, February 15. Cost—$1, from CORE office.

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James R. Robinson, *executive secretary* Marvin Rich, *community relations director*
James T. McCain, Gordon R. Carey, *field secretaries* Jim Peck, *editor*

SPECIAL ISSUE — MARCH 1960 No. 80

CORE and the Sit-Ins

By JIM PECK

Since early February when Dr. George Simkins, Jr. approached CORE on behalf of the Greensboro, North Carolina students who initiated the sit-ins, CORE has thrown its entire resources behind this significant movement to end lunch counter discrimination.

CORE immediately dispatched its two field secretaries, Gordon R. Carey and James T. McCain to work with the students in Greensboro and in other southern cities where similar sit-ins followed. They were prepared to work with NAACP branches and other responsible groups supporting the sit-ins.

CORE advised its affiliated groups in the south to engage in sit-ins. One of the first such actions was in Rock Hill, South Carolina (see lower picture on page 2). On February 20, 11 members of the CORE group in Tallahassee were arrested while peacefully seeking service at a Woolworth lunch counter. Similar arrests have occurred in some other cities, totaling almost 150 as this special issue of the CORElator goes to press.

CORE urged its affiliated groups outside of the south to conduct supporting picket demonstrations at local Woolworth and Kress stores. New York CORE led-off on February 13 with a mass picketing of the Woolworth store in the heart of Harlem (see upper picture on page 2). The following Saturday, St. Louis CORE picketed two Woolworth stores in the Negro section virtually clearing the premises of customers. Similar picket demonstrations by CORE and by other groups have taken place in many cities outside of the south.

CORE, at the suggestion of the Greensboro students, named a negotiating team consisting of Marvin Rich and me to confer with top company officials at the head offices of Woolworth's and Kress's. We also met with officials of Grant's and McCrory's, with whom we had negotiated in connection with previous CORE sit-in campaigns. While no settlement formula evolved, these negotiations opened the way for future talks.

CORE has contacted many church and union groups and has succeeded in rallying their support. At the same time CORE has taken steps to prevent school administrations from placing undue pressure on students.

Since the initial sit-in on February 1 at Woolworth's in Greensboro, the sit-in movement has spread to 25 cities in 5 states (as this special issue goes to press) and promises to spread further. Several hundred Negro students and some whites have been involved. Non-violence was maintained even in those cities where the sit-iners were taunted by rowdy gangs of white youths.

Already, the movement has become the most significant non-violent action against racial discrimination since the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott. It can succeed in ending lunch counter discrimination for all-time in the U.S.—provided it has the wholehearted support of all Americans who believe in racial justice and equality.

YOUR SUPPORT & THE SIT-INS

Can the student sit-in movement be better organized, more tightly disciplined? With greater help from CORE's field staff, the answer *could* be: YES.

But, unless field staff can be increased, CORE's answer to many requests for help must be: NO.

Field staff *can* be increased IF generous additional financial support is given. We realize that many have sent all they possibly can. But with support from those who are able to give again, and particularly from those who have not yet given since the CORE year began last June, we shall be able to say YES rather than NO to many courageous student groups. GIVE NOW!

Nonviolence and the Sit-Ins

By GORDON R. CAREY

In confidential talks with student leaders and later at a mass meeting of 2,500 in Durham, North Carolina, on February 16, Martin Luther King, Jr., admonished students in the sit-in movement not only to abstain from violent retaliation, but also to realize "the tremendous force of non-violence."

The students involved have, for the most part, grasped the vital importance of remaining peaceful no matter what happens. As the sit-ins spread like wildfire, it was inevitable that somewhere action would be taken without sufficient preparation. In two cities minor outbreaks have occurred. In Portsmouth, Virginia, a sit-in on February 16 ended with fist-fights between some Negro high school students and white youths who taunted and attacked them.

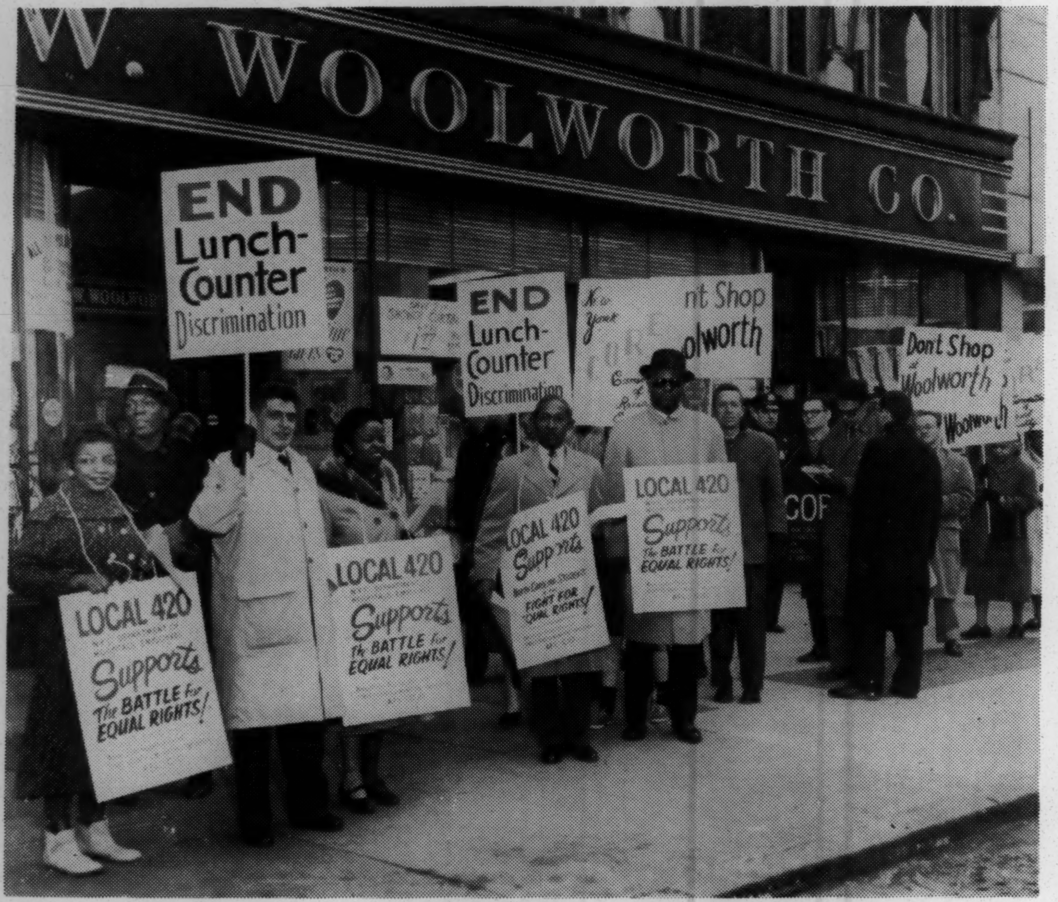
Therefore Portsmouth was chosen as the first locality for a workshop on non-violent methods, and I represented CORE. Some 40 students attended this training session held just four days after the outbreak.

Edward Rodman, leader of the protest group, opened the orientation session with a discussion of "Why Non-violence" and expressed the students' desire to avert a further outbreak of fighting. Following the orientation session came a socio-drama in which a sit-in was fully enacted. After a question-and-answer period, the students went "on stage"—to Woolworth's: They sat in at the counter during the lunch hour. This time (and on subsequent occasions), no incident of violence occurred.

After management closed the counter, the students returned for an afternoon session which featured an evaluation of the effectiveness of that day's sit-in. Plans for continued action concluded the workshop.

The Portsmouth workshop greatly helped the students involved. CORE plans to initiate similar workshops in other cities involved with the aim of educating the students to utilize fully what Dr. King described as "the tremendous force of non-violence."

SUPPORT . . .


W. WOOLWORTH CO.
END Lunch-Counter Discrimination
END Lunch-Counter Discrimination
Don't Shop Woolworth
LOCAL 420 Supports The BATTLE for EQUAL RIGHTS!
LOCAL 420 Supports The BATTLE for EQUAL RIGHTS!
LOCAL 420 Supports FIGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS!
LOCAL 420 Supports The BATTLE for EQUAL RIGHTS!

Action in the North

If you are outside of the south, you can organize or join a supporting demonstration such as this one which was conducted by New York CORE at the Woolworth store in the heart of Harlem. Write CORE for picket line nearest you.

You can also write letters now to E. F. Harrigan, F. W. Woolworth Co., 233 Broadway, New York, N. Y., and to Karl Helfrich, S. H. Kress & Co., 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

. . . THE SIT-INS

Action in the South

If you are in the south, you can organize or join a sit-in such as this one which was conducted in Rock Hill, South Carolina with the aid of CORE Field Secretary James McCain. Write CORE for sit-in nearest you.

You can also write the offices of Woolworth's and Kress's (addresses above). It is very important that they receive letters *from the south* opposing lunch counter discrimination.

(OVER)

WIDE WORLD

CORE-LATOR

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APRIL, 1960 No. 81

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. If you are in the South, participate in a sit-in in your community.
2. If you are in the North, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution.
3. Boycott Woolworth's, Kress's, Kresge's, Grant's, McCrory's and other variety stores which refuse to serve Negroes at their southern lunch counters. CORE, NAACP, SCLC, etc., have declared a national boycott of these stores.
4. Write E. F. Harrigan, vice president, F. W. *Woolworth* Co., 233 Broadway, New York, and Karl Helfrich, vice president, S. H. *Kress* & Co., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York. You may write the other chains also, but these two are the key ones.
5. Write the 8 CORE members jailed for 60 days in Tallahassee (for names and addresses, see story at right).
6. Send in a contribution to CORE.

If you want to join with others in your community who are taking action, contact CORE.

BREAKTHROUGHS

Buried in the reems of copy about the southern sit-ins is the fact that since the protest movement started over 100 lunch counters and eating places in various parts of the south have started to serve everybody regardless of color.

Only San Antonio and Galveston, Texas, have received wide publicity about lunch counter changes negotiated by civic leaders. However, one other major southern city has opened its lunch counters to all.

A newly formed CORE group in Frankfort, Kentucky, discovered through testing that Negroes are now served at three local restaurants. CORE teams in Columbia and Jefferson City, Missouri were served at all the eating places which they tested. In Nashville, Negroes succeeded in eating at the local bus station and in Concord, North Carolina, 12 Negro college girls were served at Whitmore's drugstore. There are many other instances of individual eating places changing policy.

CORE Members Arrested

These are two of the CORE members arrested in Tallahassee, Florida. Total number arrested to date in Tallahassee is 46. Eight of them are serving 60-day prison sentences rather than go free pending appeal. They have translated into action Martin Luther King's words: "We've got to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights."

CORElator readers are urged to send these students letters of support. Their names are italicized in the following letter written by Patricia Stephens to CORE's executive secretary, James R. Robinson. Their address: c/o Leon County Jail, Tallahassee, Florida.

LETTER FROM A JAILED STUDENT

Our trial for sitting in at Woolworth's was Thursday (March 17). There were eight charges against us. Most of them were added after we were released on bond. The original charges were disturbing the peace, inciting to riot and disrupting the peaceful tranquility of the community. On the second count we were given a 60-day sentence or a $300 fine.

There are eight of us in jail—seven A & M students and one high school student: *Clement Carney*, sociology major; *William Larkins*, business administration, president of Student Government Association for '60-'61 term; *Henry Steele*, high school junior and son of Rev. C. K. Steele, pioneer in nonviolent action in Tallahassee; *John Broxton*, auto mechanics major; *Barbara Broxton*, art education; *Angela Nance*, speech and drama; *Priscilla Stephens*, ele-

(Continued on page two)

LETTER FROM STUDENT

(Continued from page one)

mentary education and myself (*Patricia Stephens*), instrumental music. Our ages range from 16 to 23. Except for Clement Carney, who is from New Jersey and Angela Nance, who is from South Carolina we are all Floridians.

We are in what is called a "bull-tank" with four cells. Each cell has a commode and a small sink. There is running water in only two of the cells. One has cold water and the other, both cold and warm. We are in a cell with neither.

Breakfast—if you can call it that—is at 6:30 a.m. Another meal is served at 12:30 and I am still trying to get up enough courage to eat it. In the evening, we are served "sweet" bread and watery coffee.

But we all feel happy that we are doing all this to help our city, state and nation. This is something that has to be done over and over again and we are willing to do it as often as necessary.

We strongly believe that Martin Luther King was right when he said: "We've got to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights."

They just brought our dinner. I really gobbled it down and, believe it or not, it tasted good. Maybe I've gone without eating too long. Well, I've got to dress for our visitors—we have two ministers visit us every day. Sundays and Wednesdays are the days for other visitors. Write when you can.

(signed) Patricia Stephens

PS My parents were here last night to get us out but we explained why we think it important to stay. Priscilla is supposed to be on a special diet and mother was worried about her.

NATIONAL OFFICE WORKING FULL BLAST

With the student protest movement spreading, CORE is redoubling its efforts to give all-out support.

The national office is generally as jammed as the New York subway at rush hour. The regular staff of four is kept on the phone answering an endless series of local and long distance calls. Many of these are from individuals or groups who want the help of a field secretary in carrying on a sit-in or advice in establishing picket lines, distributing leaflets, setting up the boycott, etc. More than *one million* leaflets (see sample enclosed) have been distributed.

The unspacious national office is also headquarters for the local CORE group, which is coordinating picketing in the New York area. This crowds in still more persons: spokesmen for unions and various city groups coming to pick up leaflets and picket signs, officers and volunteers of New York CORE (there are a number of hard-working volunteers) and individuals wanting to help-out or simply seeking information. The other day a man walked in: he is a teacher at Pace College, which is next-door. He had read about CORE in the newspapers and he wanted someone to speak before his class.

TV, radio and newspapermen frequent the office, seeking interviews on latest developments. Since the sit-ins started, the daily newspapers have finally granted recognition to CORE and to its pioneering efforts in nonviolence which paved the way for the current south-wide movement. Also, in the office newsmen find special interest stories such as interviews with southern students whom CORE brings north to interpret the sit-ins on TV, radio, etc. The other day two reporters were waiting to interview Leonard Holt, new CORE field secretary, who had just returned from Atlanta where he helped a new CORE group to initiate an action program. This included an unprecedented citywide leaflet distribution and the picketing of Rich's department store to protest discrimination in its eating facilities. (See story on p. 4.)

Of course, forming new CORE groups—at an unprecedented rate—is still another activity which preoccupies the organization. Coordinating activities of existing CORE groups and aiding unaffiliated student groups involved in the southern sit-ins also demand much time.

There is, needless to say, a hopelessly inadequate number of field secretaries in the present situation. But the entire staff is doing its best—with 70 hours now considered an "easy week."

* * *

CORE has just hired a fourth field secretary, U. S. Grant Prince III, Atlanta graduate student and participant in lunch counter actions in that city. In 1946 he did eight days on a chain gang in Mullins, S.C. because of a lunch counter incident.

IN BRIEF

NASHVILLE—In this city, where a large number of sit-iners have been arrested, the CORE group has worked closely with the students and with the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference.

* * *

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Fourteen students engaged in a sit-in March 26 at the lunch counter of the Diamond Department Store, last holdout in Charleston against lunch counter integration. Following the action, management erected a 4-foot barrier around the counter to seal it off, reports Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmore of Charleston CORE.

* * *

MIAMI — In this city where the CORE group initiated a sit-in campaign just a year ago, sit-ins of a few persons have been conducted preliminary to broader action. One such sit-in at Woolworth's downtown lunch counter on March 4 involved eight Negro ministers. Although the counter was closed immediately after their arrival, they remained seated for almost an hour.

* * *

ROCK HILL, S.C. — In Rock Hill, scene of the first student sit-in outside of North Carolina (February 12), CORE Field Secretary James McCain worked closely with student groups leading the action.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Washington CORE assisted the staff of the International Union of Electrical Workers in an all-day Washington's Birthday picket line at the Woolworth store.

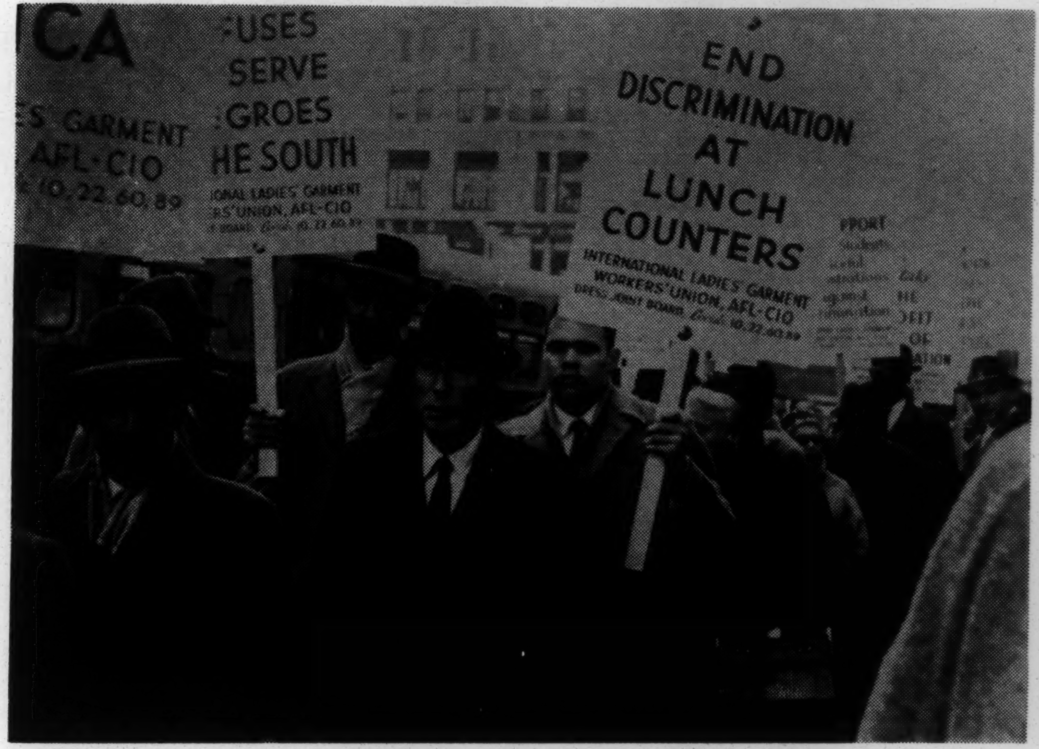
* * *

Recent additions to the CORE National Advisory Committee: Eugene E. Frazier, president of the United Transport Service Employees and AFL-CIO executive board member; Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, chairman of the commission on justice and peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Sidney Hollander, former president of the National Social Welfare Assembly and Jackie Robinson, famed Brooklyn Dodger star.

* * *

In an effort to keep CORE solvent, a letter from Harry Belafonte is being sent to many persons. Should you receive more than one copy, please forward to a friend.

Southern Students Picket With Northern Unionists


END DISCRIMINATION AT LUNCH COUNTERS
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO
SERVE
HE SOUTH
AFL-CIO

Charles S. Zimmerman, ILGWU vice president and chairman of the AFL-CIO civil rights committee, is flanked by Glen Mitchell, Raleigh sit-in leader, and by Edward Rodman, leader of the Portsmouth students.

CHAIN STORES USE CHAINS

In most localities, managements have closed down lunch counters where sit-ins have taken place. In Lexington, Kentucky, the stores have resorted to barriers of chain, reports Gordon R. Carey, CORE field secretary. H. L. Green's, site of Lexington CORE's main efforts, was first to chain-off its eating facilities. Kresge's, next door followed suit.

"Recently, I participated in one of Lexington CORE's demonstrations," Carey tells. "Green's manager had been notified that CORE members planned to climb over the chains. Instead of summoning police, he posted five employees full-time to guard the barrier. We, in the CORE group, remained standing in front of the chain leaving only enough space to permit access to the counter by customers who so requested. The manager maintained that only "friends of the management" were being served.

EAST

Major CORE supporting actions in the east have been in New York where the number of picket lines on April 2 totaled over 100; in Boston, where the previous Saturday there were 13 picket lines involving almost 500 people and in Philadelphia, where a new CORE group was recently formed. In Newark and the Northern New Jersey area, CORE has worked closely with various unions, including the IUE and the UAW in establishing picket lines.

Not all these picket lines are manned by CORE. In New York, for instance, a number of lines are sponsored by NAACP branches. Some are sponsored by unions, ADA, reform Democratic clubs, tenant organizations and student groups from particular campuses. Each week CORE sends out a list including each picket line and its sponsor.

In Boston there are daily picket lines both downtown and in Harvard Square. As many as 16 suburban stores have been picketed.

In Philadelphia the picket lines have been growing. Throughout the east, from the smallest college to the "big three" students have taken some kind of supporting action.

MIDWEST

CORE supporting action in the midwest centers on St. Louis and Chicago.

In St. Louis and also in nearby East St. Louis, variety stores have been picketed. Commenting on the effects of the picketing on one Saturday, Feb. 20, Wanda Penney, chairman of St. Louis CORE said: "Woolworth's didn't do $2 worth of business at the two stores we picketed from 1 to 4 p.m. At one store they had only 7 customers and at another 10." The East St. Louis picketing was headed by Homer Randolph, chairman of that group.

In Chicago, CORE has picketed variety stores both in the downtown Loop area and in one Negro section. Reporting on picketing of a Woolworth store on east 63rd Street Feb. 27, Faith Rich, CORE secretary, writes: "When we came, the store was full. When we looked in after an hour, it was virtually deserted. Very few customers went into the store. Two women who did go in, apologized afterwards and said they didn't realize in time." As in other cities, Chicago CORE has helped mobilize union and student support of the picket lines.

WEST

On March 26, 17 variety stores in the Los Angeles area were picketed in the biggest city-wide demonstration since the start of the southern student protest movement.

"The students deserve a lot of credit on the mobilization," writes Sayuri Buell of Los Angeles CORE. The Independent Students Union headed by Danny Benson and Karl Boice brought out students from Los Angeles City and State Colleges. The UCLA students spearheaded by Jesse Morris made up the bulk of the pickets. They covered the Santa Monica stores and toured the various picket lines with loudspeakers. CORE took charge of four lines in the city with Earl Walter, Henry Hodge, Rev. Ferrell and Bernie Sapiro acting as picket captains."

In Berkeley, despite heavy rain, 75 pickets demonstrated from 9 to 5 in front of Woolworth's and Kress's on March 5. The CORE group there plans to continue its picket lines on Thursdays and Saturdays.

In Portland CORE initiated two picket lines at variety stores with a number of Reed College students.

CORE recently dispatched its field secretary, James McCain on a special trip west to mobilize support.

OPERATION PAPER BAG

by LEONARD HOLT

ATLANTA — "Hey, this is Brown Bag. Need 500 more. Meet ya at Chestnut and Hunter."

The caller was Bill Mays of the newly-organized Atlanta CORE group. He and 18 others in interracial teams were distributing 20,000 leaflets in the Negro business sections. Carrying the leaflets in brown paper bags, they stepped into barbershops, shoeshine parlors, beauty shops and drug stores handing leaflets to customers and depositing small stacks on shelves.

More than a few Negro Atlanta residents looked up in shock as a white-Negro team entered a store. The leaflet was headed: "Let's End Segregation in Atlanta." No leaflets were distributed on the streets where arrests could be made under an out-of-date ordinance requiring a police permit to distribute leaflets.

The leaflet encourages everyone to join the NAACP and register to vote, asks ministers, rabbis and priests to join students in future sit-ins, urges wider job opportunities for Negroes, asks Negro students to apply for integrated schools now and seeks a boycott of variety stores with discriminatory lunch counters.

It concludes: "Let's give up that Easter finery just once. Give the money thus saved to some organization struggling for full rights for Atlanta's minority groups."

"Operation Paper Bag" captured the imagination of the Negro community, despite opposition from some old-guard leaders.

The day prior to the leaflet distribution one such person, a Negro attorney, voiced disapproval of a CORE interracial picket demonstration protesting lunch counter discrimination at Rich's department store.

Judging from my own observations, I would say his viewpoint is unrepresentative. The leaflets were eagerly accepted. For a long time people will remember this first brown paper bag "brigade" which distributed them.

PATIENCE PLEASE . . .

If your inquiries are not immediately answered, if you get an extra appeal letter, or if our office staff slips up on some arrangement, CORE's executive secretary asks you to be patient. It is not physically possible to keep abreast—with hundreds of letters and phone calls coming in every day.

Why We Went to Jail

by Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Virginia State Director of CORE

PETERSBURG, Va.—"If it means going to jail, we'll go to jail." In these words I told reporters how we felt after the City Council unanimously passed an ordinance providing a $1,000 fine, a year in jail or both, for refusing to leave city-owned property.

The ordinance was the City Council's answer to a student petition to open the public library to Negroes instead of confining them to the basement. It was also the City Council's answer to a sit-in of 140 students and adults on Feb. 26 which overflowed the library into the Negro "basement branch" and resulted in temporary closing of the library.

Our answer to the City Council was a second sit-in—on March 7. Fifteen of us gained entrance of whom 11 were summarily arrested.

The arresting officers, including the chief of police and detective lieutenants were aghast that we deferred posting of bond on the spot.

"You want us to take you to jail?" asked the bewildered police chief.

"If that is what you do to people who are arrested, take us to jail."

This was the start of one of the most searching experiences of my life. Of the 11 arrested, four posted bond after several hours in jail. The rest of us elected to stay. We were placed in the psychiatric cell. Its furnishings were two steel bunks, a bowl and an open commode. Two words describe this section of the jail: filthy and segregated.

That night we had a midnight prayer service to bolster our spirits and to express, individually, just why we were there. Then, we turned-in. Two students slept on the steel bunks; the rest of us, on the floor.

We were in jail about 40 hours. The evening of our release, though the snow was 7 inches deep, 1,400 persons came to Zion Baptist Church to hear our story. They contributed $1,100 to our defense.

Our convictions in court were anti-climactic. Rev. Williams and I (left and right respectively in photo above) were given 30-day jail sentences and $100 fines. The students were fined. Outside the courtroom, 700 well-wishers prayed and sang for 5½ hours in sub-freezing weather.

As we made our way through the cheering throng following posting of bond for our appeal to the higher courts, I recalled the words of one wire which we had received in jail: "In the struggle for civil rights, you may not always win, but you never lose."

GREENVILLE, S.C.—Seven CORE members were arrested and convicted for sitting-in at the public library in protest over the prevailing whites-only policy. Their case has gained widespread community support.

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James R. Robinson, *executive secretary* Jim Peck, *editor*

JUNE, 1960 No. 82

OVER THE SUMMER . . . number one task is to keep the lunch counter campaign alive while the students are on vacation.

1. If you are in the south, participate in a sit-in. In a number of communities CORE, NAACP and other groups including adults have adopted a limited program of sit-ins during the summer.
2. If you are in the north, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution. CORE, NAACP and other groups are continuing to picket variety stores in major cities throughout the summer.
3. Keep up the boycott of variety stores which refuse to serve Negroes at their southern lunch counters. If you haven't yet signed a CORE boycott pledge card, do so.

ADULTS MAP SUMMER SIT-INS

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Plans for continuing the student-initiated lunch counter sit-ins in South Carolina during summer vacation were made at a state-wide meeting of over 150 adults here on June 15. Frank Robinson, chairman of Sumter CORE, signed the call for the meeting. CORE Field Secretaries Jim McCain and Major Johns attended.

"We presented to the group what we feel has to be done to keep the student movement from reaching a stalemate over the summer," McCain said. "In part these plans call for sit-ins at least once a week and picketing twice a week."

Several weeks before, he had attended as an observer a similarly-

(Continued on page 2)

CRIPPLED MINISTER ARRESTED

ROCK HILL, S. C.—Rev. C. A. Ivory, a disabled Negro minister and a local leader of CORE and NAACP, was arrested in his wheelchair June 7 while sitting-in at McCrory's lunch counter.

Arrested along with him was Arthur Hamm, a member of the recently formed CORE group at Friendship Junior College.

The Woolworth Stockholders Meeting

by Jim Peck

END LUNCH COUNTER DISCRIMINATION
A NATIONAL STORE DESERVES A NATIONAL POLICY
IS GOOD BUSINESS
SERVE THOSE WHO BUY
END LUNCH COUNTER

Barbara Broxton Heads Picket Line Before Start of Meeting.

When Barbara Broxton, who served 48 days in jail for the "crime" of seeking service at Woolworth's in Tallahassee, finished addressing the company's annual stockholders meeting in Watertown, N. Y., May 18—all in attendance including the top officials—were visibly moved. There was an unscheduled moment of silence after she sat down.

Speaking with obvious emotion, Barbara said: "There will be more sit-ins and more boycotting until integration at lunch counters is won. We will continue our fight and we will continue to go to jail because we feel we are right."

These words were unfamiliar in the strictly-business atmosphere of a stockholders meeting. So was the heartfelt manner in which Barbara spoke. She does not own stock herself but was able to speak as holder of a proxy.

In introducing her, I made my third appearance at a chain stockholders meeting within a month. I had taken the floor previously at the Kress meeting, where I drew speeches of support from two other stockholders—Bernard

(Continued on page 2)

SUMMER SIT-INS

(Continued from page 1)

purposed meeting here of leaders of the South Carolina Student Movement Association, a group representing campuses whose students have participated in lunch counter sit-ins.

Prior to the end of the school year, CORE student groups had been formed at Friendship Junior College in Rock Hill, scene of the first South Carolina sit-ins and at Morris College in Sumter.

Following sit-ins at three Sumter lunch counters which resulted in arrests, the Morris College students worked closely with the adult Sumter CORE group which was the first to be established in South Carolina.

"While awaiting trial they worked on our registration campaign, spoke at churches, served on our negotiating committee to end police brutality and improve general relations with the department," reported Frank Robinson, the CORE group's chairman.

McCain commented: "Since the students' arrest in Sumter, the CORE group registered over 115 Negroes. Sit-ins by students can and do help registration."

MRS. ROOSEVELT:

"An organization called CORE has just published a little booklet on the students' protest against segregation in the south," wrote Eleanor Roosevelt recently in her "My Day" column. She refers to "Sit-Ins, The Students Report," which has been sent to all readers of the CORElator. To help promote the pamphlet, she proceeds to quote the praise given its six student-authors by Lillian Smith in her introduction.

You can help promote the pamphlet by circulating it among your friends and in your community. Single copies are 25c, reduced rates on quantity orders.

Portland (Ore.) CORE reports that on one occasion its variety store pickets were counterpicketed by a group called Committee of Democrats for Faubus, which handed out leaflets saying: "Are you tired of having candidates who act as if they were owned by the NAACP, the Urban League, etc.? If you are, register your protest by writing in your vote for Orval Faubus for President."

WOOLWORTH MEETING

(Continued from page 1)

Reswick and Rosamond Clark—and at the Grant meeting. Here at Woolworth's I held proxies for four other like-minded stockholders with a total of 106 shares.

Other stockholders who came in person to plead for lunch counter desegregation were Mrs. Susan Bodan, Mrs. Adelaide Cann, Allard Lowenstein, James Cunningham (representing some students) and Fred Croissant.

An appeal which carried great impact in Watertown, which is the birthplace of Woolworth's, was that of Rev. Thomas Carlisle of the Stone Street Presbyterian Church, which owns 250 shares of Woolworth. Rev. Carlisle read a statement signed by 14 local ministers and a rabbi concluding: "We believe that the gospel of love for neighbor clearly indicates making available equal service at all lunch counters to all races and we urge you to take a company stand toward this end."

A CORE-sponsored picket line circled the building—on Watertown's main square—throughout the meeting (CORE had also picketed the Kress and Grant stockholders meetings). Over 25 students from St. Lawrence and Syracuse universities and a Negro minister representing the Syracuse NAACP were on the picket line. Much credit for mobilizing local support must go to Albert Ettinger who spent days of preparation in the area.

ON A SOUTHERN PICKET LINE

by James R. Robinson

RALEIGH, N. C.—When I went to Raleigh recently to represent CORE at a weekend conference on the sit-ins, I was invited to picket Woolworths' with students from Shaw and St. Augustine's. Another white man from Colgate-Rochester Divinity School was also on the picket line.

Picketing with an interracial group anywhere in the south is exciting. This time, excitement was unusually high for two reasons. First, it was a holiday and more than the usual number of segregationists from the rural districts were in town. Second, the sit-in conference had received publicity, and there was tension over what might happen.

As we circled in front of the store, several knots of onlookers formed. One man in blue stood alone and kept asking me in an undertone: "Ever date a nigger?" Another, pointing toward me, repeated to his companion: "See that albino nigger there?" The pickets proceeded in silence, as a student from Africa passed out leaflets. No police were present.

Suddenly, the lone man in blue punched the African student and knocked off his glasses. As blood trickled down on his shirt, he continued to distribute leaflets. The man in blue still stood alone. After several minutes, he slugged the white divinity student so hard he fell to the pavement and injured his chin. As the project leader ran to the police station, the man in blue still stood alone—without any support from the knots of segregationists. Apparently surprised, he entered Woolworth's and escaped through the rear exit.

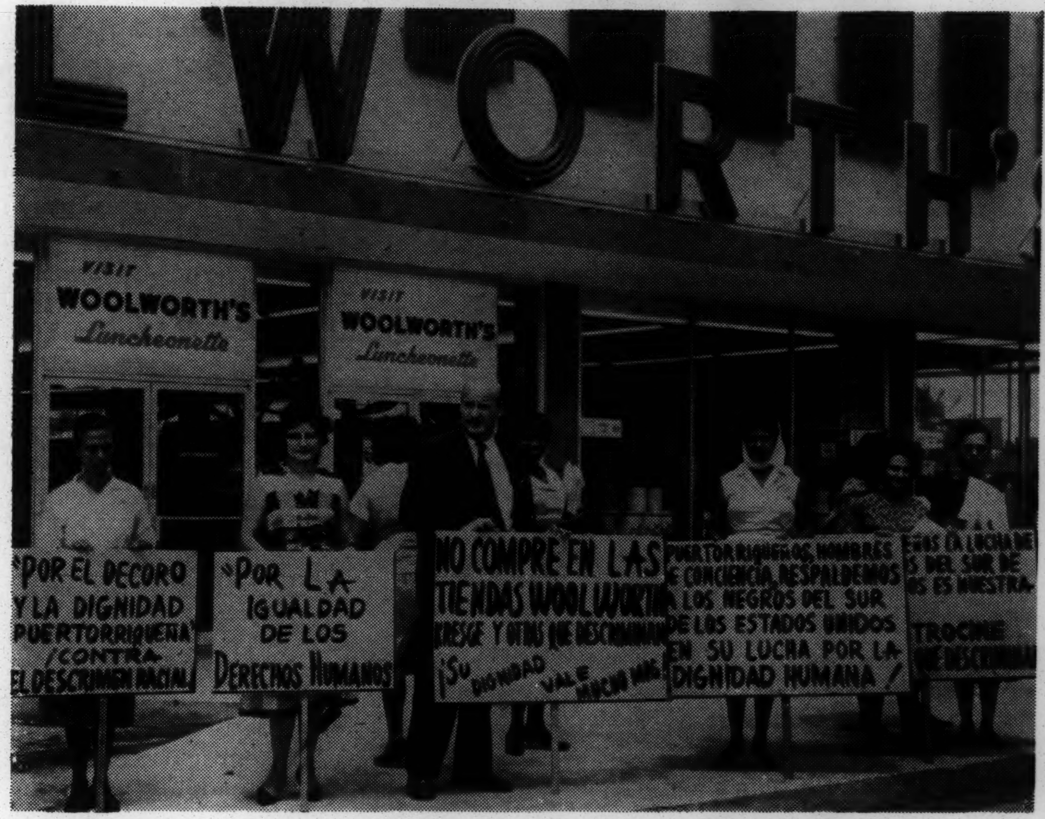
After reporting to the police, the project leader met a white lady. "Did you report it?" she asked. He said he had. "Good," she said, "I was afraid it would not be reported, and I hurried over here myself."

When the police arrived, a white citizen of Raleigh was waiting. "I was passing by when it happened," he stated, "I waited for you to come. Neither the Negro nor the white man had done anything to the man in blue. He socked them without any provocation."

As far as anyone knew, neither of these white witnesses had any connection with the student protest movement. But they were moved to take action in our defense when they saw an unprovoked attack. Such incidents, I am told, have multiplied across the south. The "silent sympathizer" finds his voice only when he witnesses unprovoked brutality.

After the divinity student had been taken to the doctor to have his chin stitched-up, I was the only white person left on the picket line. But the danger had apparently passed. As so often happens, violence not met by violence had spent itself. No remaining onlooker, no matter how prejudiced, was inclined to do any more punching.

Pickets in Puerto Rico


WORTH'
VISIT WOOLWORTH'S Luncheonette
VISIT WOOLWORTH'S Luncheonette
¡POR EL DECORO Y LA DIGNIDAD PUERTORRIQUEÑA! ¡CONTRA EL DESCRIMEN RACIAL!
¡POR LA IGUALDAD DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS!
NO COMPRE EN LAS TIENDAS WOOLWORTH KRESGE Y OTRAS QUE DESCRIMINAN ¡SU DIGNIDAD VALE MUCHO MAS!
¡PUERTORRIQUEÑOS, HOMBRES DE CONCIENCIA, RESPALDEMOS A LOS NEGROS DEL SUR DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS EN SU LUCHA POR LA DIGNIDAD HUMANA!

Extending overseas, the campaign to integrate Woolworth lunch counters reaches a store in Santurce, a suburb of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The picket line was organized at CORE's suggestion by Robert Gladnick, who heads both Local 600, Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Comite Pro Conciencia Humana.

"TEACHER OF YEAR" FIRED

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Richard Haley, a leader of Tallahassee CORE who had been chosen "Teacher of the Year" by the Student Congress of Florida A & M University, has been dismissed without explanation. The dismissal was disclosed after the end of the school year, thus averting any student protest demonstration.

"No specific charge has been presented against me, to my knowledge," Haley said. "I have been employed at Florida A & M University for five years and have maintained most amicable relations with my department head. It's obvious that my work with CORE is the bone of contention. This is an arbitrary, unwarranted invasion of my personal freedom and a clear threat to any other teacher—whether employed by a public or private agency."

Haley plans to take his case before the American Association of University Professors and other interested groups. CORE plans a formal protest.

Meanwhile, the Tallahassee group is continuing its lunch counter sit-ins, proceeding with its campaign over the summer vacation period. Twice, Negroes have been served at Sears.

Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, Barbara and John Broxton and William Larkins, Jr. who served 48 days in jail rather than await an appeal, have been filling speaking engagements in many parts of the country. They wish to take this opportunity of thanking the many CORElator readers who wrote them in jail.

LAST CALL . . .

for 1960 CORE Conference-Convention to take place June 29-July 3 at the Roosevelt Hotel, 4903 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo. Cost will be $10 a day or $40 for the entire period, meals and room included. Make your reservations from CORE national office.

Major topic this year will be CORE's relation to the southern sit-ins and to supporting action outside the south.

WIN LONG LUNCH COUNTER CAMPAIGN

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—A 20-month-long campaign, including many sit-ins, at the lunch counter of the Diamond Department Store ended May 10 when Manager William McKim announced that the eating facilities would thereafter be open to all, regardless of color.

"This signal victory brings Charleston a step closer to a truly democratic community," commented Mrs. Elizabeth Gilmore, secretary of Charleston CORE, which conducted the campaign.

Lunch counter integration was the first project undertaken by Charleston CORE when the group was formed two summers ago. In less than two months successful negotiations for a policy change were conducted with Woolworth's, Kresge's and Newberry's. Two local restaurants, Hodo's and The Lobby, changed policy next.

First negotiations with Diamond took place on August 11, 1958. They were cordial but unsuccessful. A boycott and sit-in program followed. The sit-ins continued despite threats of arrest. Diamond, owned by Associated Dry Goods Corp., was the last holdout in Charleston.

FIND TIME TO WORK ON HOUSING, JOBS

In addition to picketing variety stores in support of the southern lunch counter campaign, Boston CORE has somehow found time to work on housing and St. Louis CORE, on employment.

Reporting for Boston CORE, Jim Laue states that the group has helped document a series of housing discrimination cases some of which have received hearings before the State Commission, has successfully circulated an anti-bias petition in a garden apartment development which discriminates and has gotten some firms employing Negroes to bring pressure on discriminatory landlords.

Reporting for St. Louis CORE, Charles Oldham tells of recent negotiations to get Negroes employed locally in banking and merchandising. Also, as a by-product of picketing McCrory's over the southern lunch counter issue, CORE has gotten the local manager to hire two Negro waitresses, to upgrade a Negro dishwasher to supervisor and to agree that the next two sales clerks hired would be Negroes.

INTEGRATED LUNCH COUNTERS PROSPER

In eight localities where there has been city-wide integration of lunch counters since the start of the sit-in campaign "there has been little solace for the south's prophets of disaster." Thus the Southern Regional Council on June 5 summarized the results of a very significant survey.

"No store in the south which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business," says the survey report. "Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase.

"In contrast, reports from the change-resistant towns have indicated that business in some variety stores—key targets of the demonstrators—has fallen off from 15% to as much as 65% in one store in Charlotte, N. C."

Where desegregation has taken place—which includes some 200 individual lunch counters in addition to those in the eight sites of city-wide change—"Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate victory," the report says. "Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity. White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine."

The eight cities are Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Galveston and San Antonio, Texas; Nashville, Tennessee and Winston-Salem and Salisbury, North Carolina.

Regarding Nashville, the findings of the Council's report are confirmed by Ulysses G. Prince III, CORE field secretary, who recently spent a week there. Nashville was the first city to desegregate which had been the scene of a major sit-in campaign.

Regarding Galveston, the findings of the Council's report are upheld by a recent talk between Jim Peck, a CORE negotiator, and E. C. Wayburn, head of store management for McCrory-McLellan Stores. In a talk over a month earlier, on the very day of the Galveston policy change, Wayburn had been apprehensive, particularly in view of the fact that McCrory's has the city's biggest lunch counter. In the later talk Wayburn expressed complete satisfaction with the change and added that he was also pleased over how it had worked out in Nashville.

The Frankfort Firings

by Sam Bolden

(expelled from Kentucky State College, presently working for CORE)

On May 1 twelve students, including myself, and two faculty members were dismissed from Kentucky State College. Our expulsion prompted over half of the student body to resign in protest and shocked many persons both in Frankfort and throughout the state.

All but one of us are members of a newly-formed CORE group in Frankfort, Ky. The group had made considerable progress in its campaign at the town's lunch counters. CORE had been accused by Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, the college president, of "disturbing the peace" and had been banned from campus only two days before the dismissals.

His pretext for firing us was a student protest demonstration on campus which was related to administration policies and had no connection with CORE's activities at the lunch counters in town. It was neither started nor led by CORE, yet CORE members were singled out as the victims.

Actually, the whole student body with the exception of one lone student participated in the campus protest, an unfortunate aftermath of which was the setting afire of the college gymnasium.

Four months of our lives passed; 18½ semester credits gone; hundreds of extra dollars spent and what have we got to show for it? Nothing, except that we know we have done the right thing.

We realize that a price has to be paid to help end segregation and we are willing to pay it. We are part of the "New Negro" and we realize that the struggle has just begun.

Right now we are preparing to appeal our cases to the State Board of Education. We hope to impress them with the unfairness of these dismissals.

CORE deals with racial discrimination. For President Atwood to accuse us of leading the campus boycott simply because CORE sometimes uses boycotts is a far cry from logic or justice.

ACTION INSTITUTE

Are you interested in training in nonviolence through actual participation in projects? If so, set aside August 14-Sept. 5 for the CORE Interracial Action Institute. For the second year it will be held in Miami, Florida, scene of a lunch counter sit-in campaign which started nine months before the students launched their significant protest movement in February.

Cost, without scholarship, will be $150 per person. Since the total number of participants is limited, application should be made to the national CORE office as soon as possible.

Some full and partial scholarships will be available.

Atlanta CORE has been maintaining its picket lines at Rich's protesting that department store's discriminatory eating facilities.

FLASH—NASHVILLE GRANT'S OPENS

As this issue went to press, word reached the national CORE office that Grant's, only variety chain which had held out in Nashville, has desegregated its lunch counter there. A letter to this effect was received by Jim Peck, a CORE negotiator, from Charles Rivoire, secretary of Grant's head office in New York City.

Peck had written a protest letter to Rivoire over Grant's failure to go along with the city-wide desegregation agreement which became effective in Nashville on May 10. Then, New York CORE, which has been concentrating on Woolworth's, established a picket line at the Grant Store located in the heart of Harlem.

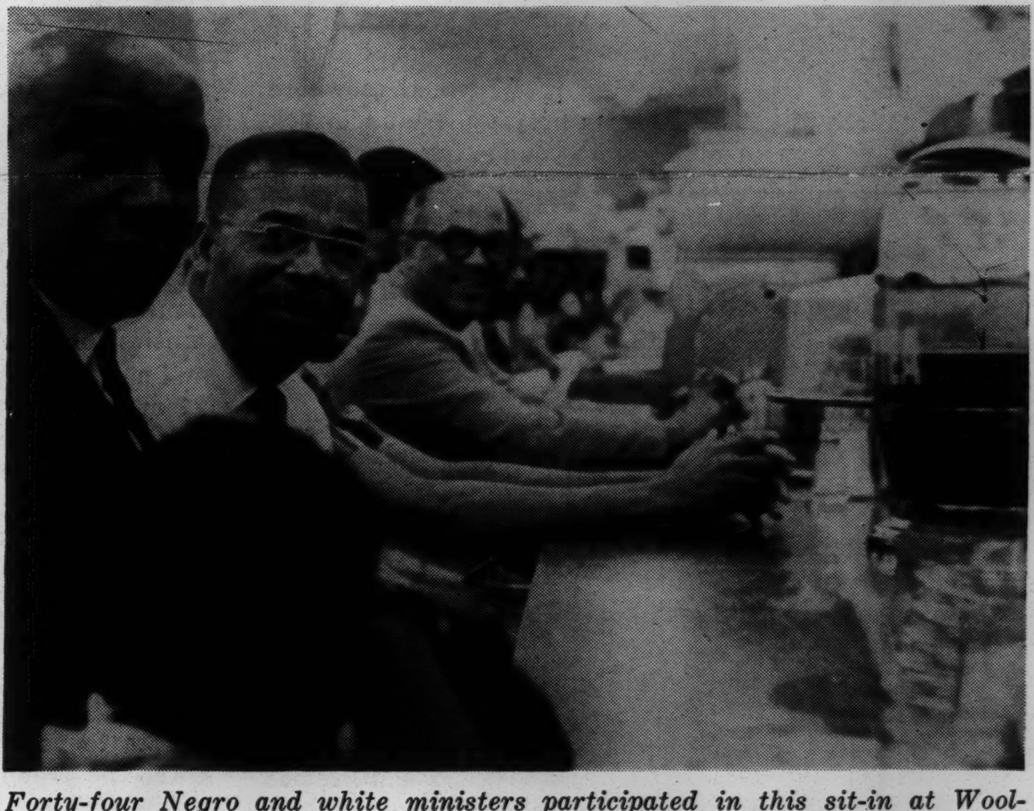
Lexington (Ky.) CORE and Miami (Fla.) CORE are in negotiations with variety stores in their respective communities as this CORElator goes to press.

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James R. Robinson, *executive secretary* Jim Peck, *editor*

SEPTEMBER, 1960 No. 84

Ministers' Sit-In Helps Win



Forty-four Negro and white ministers participated in this sit-in at Woolworth's in Lexington, Ky. A few days thereafter, lunch counters at four local variety stores and a chain drugstore opened to all, ending a 17-month-long campaign by Lexington CORE.

THE STUDENTS ARE BACK . . .

. . . The new school year has started. The sit-in campaign will assume new vigor in many southern communities whose lunch counters still segregate. While lunch counters in almost 100 southern cities have opened to all since the sit-ins started, the job needs completing. So,

1. If you are in a locality where lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes, participate in your local sit-ins, boycotts, etc.
2. If you are in a locality where policy has changed, help make integration successful by patronizing the lunch counters and by commending the local managers.
3. If you are outside the south, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution, and continue the boycott of the national variety chains. CORE, NAACP and other groups continue to picket variety stores in major cities.

NEW ORLEANS' FIRST SIT-IN

by Ruth Despenza

At 10:35 on September 9, seven of us—five Negroes and two whites of a newly-formed CORE group—entered the Woolworth store at the corner of Canal and Rampart Street for New Orleans' first lunch counter sit-in.

We took adjacent seats and ordered soft drinks. We were told that Negroes are not served. So we settled down for a long wait. We told reporters who were present that we would stay until we were served.

Two hours went by before the manager ordered the lunch counter roped-off. Waitresses removed the packaged food items and started selling them at other counters. We were alone at the counter except for District Attorney Richard Dowling, Police Chief Joseph Giarrusso and other city officials.

At about 3 p.m., the district attorney came over and told us: "You are occupying seats in a closed section illegally and without authority when everyone else has left that section. Now you have a chance to either leave or be arrested. You must make up your mind in five minutes."

When that brief period elapsed, the police chief approached us, asked whether we had understood the district attorney and repeated what he had said. As we started to sound-out each other's opinion of the situation, he became impatient and stated: "I'm not interested in your poll: you are under arrest." Our sit-in had lasted almost five hours.

We were escorted into a patrol wagon and taken to the first district station house. After being booked for "criminal mischief" under one of the new Louisiana laws aimed at preventing sit-ins, we were taken to police headquarters to be fingerprinted and photographed. Then we were taken back to the station house where we were locked up until our release on $250 bail each.

Don't miss reading the special inner-fold on The Interracial Action Institute.

McCAIN ARRESTED

Jim McCain, CORE field secretary and five other persons were arrested Sept. 16 for picketing a New Orleans shopping center in protest over the stores' discriminatory employment policies. The arrests were in line with a ban on picketing imposed by the mayor after a picket demonstration at Woolworth's following the arrest of 7 CORE sit-inners.

A second sit-in, by a CORE interracial group of four on Sept. 17 ended like the first—with arrests.

THE INTERRACIAL A

An Intensive Three Weeks

by Gordon R. Carey

Take an interracial group of 40, house them at a nondiscriminatory hotel in a far-south city and train them in the practice as well as the principle of nonviolence—this was our task as staff members of CORE's 1960 Interracial Action Institute in Miami. It was a challenging and educational—though very fatiguing—experience over a 3-week period. Many of the participants were not novices: they had been leaders of sit-ins in their own communities. A couple of participants were as young as 17. One of the liveliest of the group was 75. Most were college students.

Miami is a city of changing racial practices where there is no lack of potential action projects. We undertook a number of them in addition to conducting theoretical sessions (Martin Luther King participated in the August 31 and September 1 sessions). We also had the experience of organizing a very successful mass meeting which was attended by a capacity audience of 1200 and was addressed by Jackie Robinson.

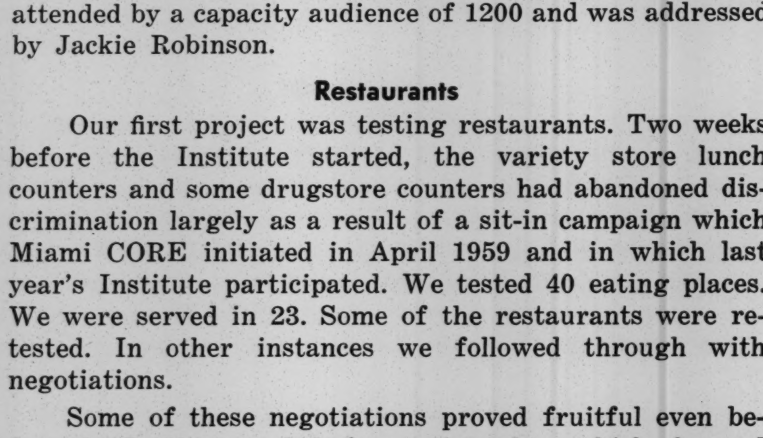
Restaurants

Our first project was testing restaurants. Two weeks before the Institute started, the variety store lunch counters and some drugstore counters had abandoned discrimination largely as a result of a sit-in campaign which Miami CORE initiated in April 1959 and in which last year's Institute participated. We tested 40 eating places. We were served in 23. Some of the restaurants were retested. In other instances we followed through with negotiations.

Some of these negotiations proved fruitful even before the Institute ended. One eating place which changed policy is located in Frederich's Supermarket only a few blocks from Shell's City Supermarket, which had become the focal point of activity. In fact CORE members took to eating lunch at Frederich's in between picketing shifts at Shell's.

Beaches

In terms of putting integration into practice, our beach project was of particular interest. CORE interracial beach parties were held at two white beaches—the 10th Street public beach in Miami Beach and Crandon Park, a Dade County beach—and at Virginia Beach, entrance of which carries a large "For Colored Only" sign. At the 10th Street beach the comments we heard were predominantly favorable whereas at Crandon Park the opposite was true. However, at neither place was there even the threat of an incident.



When our interracial party went swimming at Virginia Beach we were met with a few surprised glances and expressions of curiosity. Negroes were not accustomed to having whites swimming at "their" beach. However, these feelings of awkwardness dissipated rapidly as soon as our group began swimming and playing in the water. We began "chicken fighting"—riding on one another's shoulders while trying to dump into the surf another similar team. Others started watching and enjoying the sport. Color consciousness was washed away with the waves. After swimming, we went to the Park's open-air dance floor where our presence seemed not only welcome but an incentive to more dancing.

Tests of Miami movies determined that they are still discriminatory in contrast to those in adjacent Miami Beach where our teams were admitted to five of the seven theaters tested. Negroes who sought admittance to the Miami movies were told in most cases: "We have no facilities for you."

On employment we made a number of counts of Negro customers for presentation to managements as an argument for employment of Negroes. We also conducted negotiations with several supermarkets. The results of this preliminary work were turned over to Miami CORE which is considering employment as its next major project.

Voter Registration

Our voter registration project, directed by Jim McCain, CORE field secretary who has worked so extensively on this issue in South Carolina, demonstrated how a dramatic action project such as that at Shell's can spur Negroes to register. As soon as we said we were from CORE, the group involved in the Shell's project, we were warmly welcomed. Of those contacted who agreed that they would register the following day, 60% actually did so. The Institute facilitated the procedure by running a car pool to transport such persons to the registration offices.

The most exciting action project of the Institute was that at Shell's where 18 sit-inners were arrested, but that story is told on the opposite page. The other projects, though less dramatic, were equally significant for participants seeking a well-rounded training in the different areas for nonviolent action.

Institute members came from all parts of the country. They are at home again now and active in their local groups. The training given at the Institute is an important part of CORE's program. The Institute is held annually. If you would like information on how to apply for next year's session write now to CORE. Participants this year came from Louisiana, New York, Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Connecticut, California and Massachusetts.

ACTION INSTITUTE

Jail — Not Bail

by James R. Robinson

(In photo below, he is behind the bars.)

At the Interracial Action Institute, we discussed jail versus bail and concluded that in cases of unjust arrest arising from nonviolent protest action, remaining in jail is effective in mobilizing community support. It also forms a direct protest of itself against segregationist laws. At the same time, each individual should be left free to determine the extent of sacrifice he wishes to make.

In line with this feeling, when arrests occurred during the Institute, 11 accepted bail, while 7 chose to remain in jail until the trial.

The Arrests

The prospect of arrest in Miami had seemed unlikely to us at the Institute. We were mistaken. On Wednesday afternoon, August 17, 18 of us were quietly awaiting service at the coffee shop of Shell's City Supermarket, which refuses to serve Negroes, although many of the supermarket's customers are Negro. When first approached, the manager had retorted: "Can't you see the waitresses are busy?" A half hour later, the police arrived. We were asked our names and addresses and then were escorted out of the restaurant. Not until then were we told we were under arrest. Eight of us were placed in squad cars. The remaining 10 were packed into a small paddy wagon where the temperature must have been as high as 110. Our spirits were high also, however. We sang "We Shall Not Be Moved."

We were taken to Dade County jail, which is located atop a skyscraper in the heart of Miami. In accordance with "local custom" we were isolated into four separate groups: white men, Negro men, white women (there was one in our group) and Negro women. Since there was no means of communication between the four segregated groups, decision-making on bail and other questions of strategy was not easy. Once individual decisions were reached regarding bail, we were only two groups: white men (Tom Roland and myself) and Negro men (Leon Bailey, Tom Gaither, Bernard Lafayette, Joe Perkins and Marvin Robinson). We were locked up 10 days, for our trial was not until August 26.

The Jail

As soon as Tom Roland and I were locked in our whites-only cell block, we were asked by the other prisoners what we were in for. Our answer did not win us popularity. Most of the other prisoners were definitely segregationists. For the first three days we were expecting an assault. It was therefore not too much of a surprise when on the third evening, Roland was beaten. By next morning, however, one of the attackers apologized and from that time on, all was peaceful.

Gradually, we were accepted by many of the prisoners —though not by all. During the long days, they engaged us in a number of discussions of our viewpoint. By the end of 10 days in jail, we were participating with them in the rough-housing, card-playing, cigaret-sharing and TV-watching which constituted the only means of passing the time. There were no books, magazines or newspapers. There were no visits for us, since only relatives are allowed.

Our cell block was filthy. We slept on sheetless mattresses which were dirty and worn-out. Prisoners arrested for drunkenness were hauled into the cell block throughout the night and slept on the floor. Add to the filth, the heat and humidity of Miami in August and one can get an idea of the perpetual stench in the cell block. The food, however, was adequate and quite good.

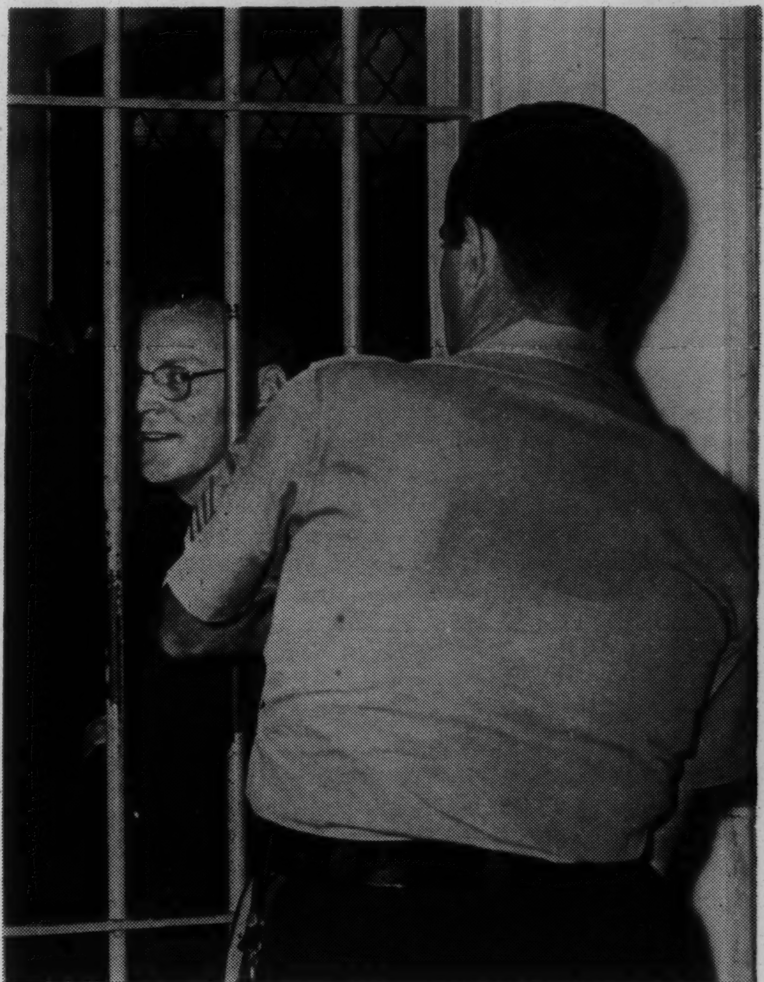
The Publicity

I was frequently called out for interviews on TV. Since the guard indicated which station, the prisoners were able to switch to it. On one such telecast, I expressed our objection to being segregated from our five Negro fellow-sit-inners and maintained we would be safer in the Negro cell block than in the white section. The atmosphere in the white cell block when the program was shown, made me welcome the approaching hour of the nightly lock-up.

TV as well as newspaper publicity remained considerable throughout the 10 days we were in jail. This publicity prompted strong support for CORE's call for a boycott of Shell's by Negroes, who constituted over a quarter of the supermarket's customers. Patronage declined until there was only the slightest trickle of Negro customers.

On August 26, we were finally tried. In the ante-room in which we were held, there was no segregation. Some of the whites from our cell block conversed freely with the Negroes who had been arrested with us and the atmosphere was friendly. We were brought before Judge George Schulz who imposed suspended sentences on all 18 of us.

The following day we were all picketing Shell's. Six days later Frederich's, a nearby competing supermarket, opened its lunch counter to all. Following conclusions of our Action Institute, the campaign at Shell's was taken over by the local CORE group in Miami.



Checkup on Harvard's Housing List Bares Bias

by Jean Mann

About a year ago, following pressure from within the Harvard University community, Phillips Brooks House started requiring all rooming house and apartment landlords on its college housing list to sign pledges that they would not discriminate. Since then local groups helping Negroes to find living quarters in the area have been recommending the PBH list. But a number of discrimination complaints have resulted. In such instances the landlord is supposedly removed from the list. However, what happens is that PBH frequently awaits substantiation of a single complaint before acting.

Recently Boston CORE recommended that the PBH list, which is handed to room and apartment seekers, include mention of the non-discrimination pledge, and urge that any violations be reported. This suggestion was adopted by PBH.

During the last year CORE followed through with tests in instances of complaints involving landlords on the PBH list. Because of the increasing number of complaints, CORE decided prior to the start of the present school year to test the entire PBH list by phone.

One Harvard student, singlehanded, completed 88 phone calls to landlords listed as having rooms for single male students. Of the 88, 68 confirmed that they had or expected to have vacancies. Of the 68, 23 had a definitely discriminatory policy in the tester's opinion and 18 had a questionable attitude.

The procedure was for the tester to call "for a friend," make an appointment and then say: "This student is a Negro: will that make any difference to you?" Of course, it is difficult to know whether a landlord's reaction on the phone would be the same as when confronted with a Negro applicant in person. However, to test each landlord on the PBH list in person would require an unrealizable amount of manpower and the telephone method therefore proves most helpful.

Rooms and apartments on the PBH list for female students are also being tested. All violations are being reported to PBH with a view toward having all discriminatory landlords removed from the lists.

In addition to checking landlords on the PBH list, CORE is trying to get other colleges and universities in the Boston area to emphasize non-discrimination in their housing lists. A special CORE committee is also trying to get personnel and housing officials of local industries and hospital administrators to issue non-discriminatory housing lists.

POETIC JUSTICE

A New York real estate agent who refused to rent to a Negro, has accidentally acquired this same Negro as a co-tenant in the apartment building where he resides. Many people would be skeptical that such poetic justice could occur by pure coincidence in a big city like New York—but it did.

The real estate agent is Howard H. Silver. The Negro is David Patterson, assistant manager of a sporting goods firm. After being refused an apartment in the building for which Silver is agent, he succeeded in finding one in another building. Little did he realize that one of his co-tenants in that building would be Silver.

Where CORE comes into the story is that the New York group went into action to protest discrimination in the building for which Silver is agent. Gladys Harrington of New York CORE, accompanied by Patterson along with two white CORE members who had been offered the apartment after Patterson had been refused, confronted Silver. All four thereupon engaged in an afternoon-long sit-in at Silver's office.

CAROLINA COPS HARRASS VOTER REGISTRATION TEAM

During the last week in August, six members of CORE working on voter registration in South Carolina were twice arrested and once halted by highway police. The team, headed by Frank Robinson, chairman of Sumter CORE, was interracial, including a visiting white couple.

The first arrest occurred on the morning of August 24 in Florence, as the team started its house-to-house canvassing. The six were held several hours for questioning and were released without any charge against them. The two whites were questioned separately and asked why they were "inciting trouble." Police followed the team closely as they resumed their canvassing in the afternoon. The second arrest, with a similar outcome, occurred two days later in Sumter.

On that same day, Robinson was halted by highway police and threatened with revocation of his driving license. "They've stopped me pretty often," he explained. "I've got six points against my license for violations I never committed, for speeding, loose brakes and things like that. All they need is six more points and I won't be able to do any driving. Anyway, they gave me back the license and didn't charge me this time."

Arrested After Wade-in

A week later, highway police halted two cars in which rode the same white couple and a group of Negroes who had sought to go swimming at Myrtle Beach State Park. Despite their denials, the two drivers were charged with "speeding in inclement weather" and were fined $100 each. The arrests occurred shortly after the cars had circled the Park and tried to enter.

Immediately after the group sought admittance, the Park was closed "temporarily" by the State Forestry Commission. It was not known when the Park would reopen.

IN BRIEF

Louisville CORE recently extended its picketing to Stewart's drygoods store. Several times during the summer the group picketed Kaufman's department store and Taylor's drugstore. Aim of the picketing campaign is to open eating facilities to all.

* * *

Chicago CORE recently picketed the Board of Education urging an end to double shifts in Chicago schools. A survey by the group shows that the double shifts could be abolished "by a sensible utilization of classroom space now available." Most of the double shift schools are in neighborhoods with Negro and Spanish-speaking residents.

Twenty members of Baltimore CORE picketed Gwynn Oak Amusement Park September 4 in the sixth annual protest over the Park's "All Nations Day" in which Negroes are refused admittance.

* * *

IF YOU DID *NOT* GET YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF CORE HOLIDAY CARDS, GIVING FULL DESCRIPTIONS AND PRICES OF THE VARIOUS CARDS, WRITE FOR ONE FROM THE CORE OFFICE.

CORE-LATOR

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James R. Robinson, *executive secretary* Jim Peck, *editor*

NOVEMBER, 1960 No. 85

Action in New Orleans

by Marvin Rich

I went to New Orleans for national CORE on Sept. 19 because both Rudy Lombard, local chairman and Jim McCain, our field secretary had been jailed as a consequence of their activities. In the national office, we thought the newly-formed New Orleans group might be dispirited and floundering. Such was not the case.

The first two sit-ins in the city's history had resulted in the arrest of 11 CORE members for "criminal mischief." Mayor Morrison had banned all sit-ins and all picketing as not in "the community interest, the public safety and the economic welfare of the city."

Yet the CORE group mobilized immediately to prepare and distribute 50,000 "Don't Buy at Woolworth's or McCrory's" leaflets. Those arrested who were out on bond (Rudy Lombard elected to remain in jail for sixty days) spoke before church and civic clubs urging a boycott and securing financial support. Others continued to recruit new members.

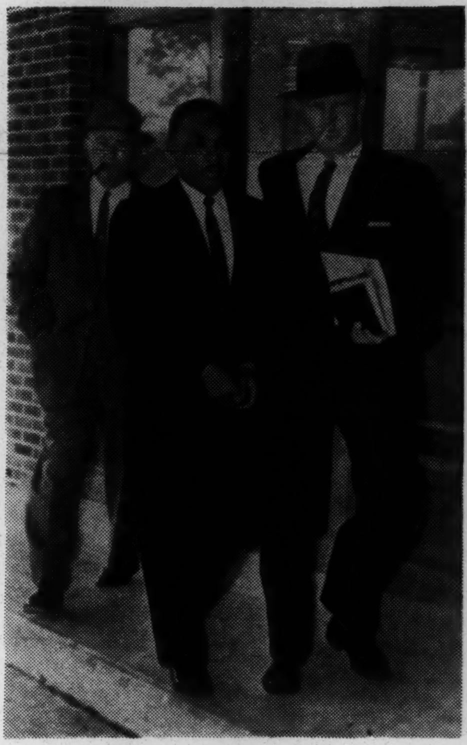
The program committee, chaired by Joseph Smith of Southern University, launched a number of direct action projects. Sit-and-run sit-ins started Oct. 12. Three CORE members entered Waterbury Drug Store and asked for service. They were ignored by the waitress but one customer did pass his coffee to A. D. Moore, Jr. They stayed until they were asked to leave. The next day another CORE group went to Woolworth's.

Then the group stepped up its campaign. White members ordered food and gave it to Negroes. At the Negro counters the process was reversed. This was repeated on several occasions. Commenting on customer reaction, Rudy Lombard said: "White customers continued to sit side-by-side with Negroes as we ate in the stores. There was no disturbance and no complaint. If the companies fear that their customers will not accept a democratic serving policy here, they are mistaken."

All this activity took place despite constant harassment from the police. A white member of the group, Sidney Goldfinch, Jr., has been charged with "criminal anarchy," which could mean up to 10 years in prison. After his arrest, Goldfinch stated: "The real charge is that I, a white American, sat side-by-side with colored Americans, who were asking for equal serv-

(Continued on page 2)

Martin Luther King, Jr. and 80 Others . . .



. . . were arrested Oct. 19-21 for sitting-in at Atlanta lunch counter. All of them have been released from jail under a 30-day truce. A few days before, 11 CORE members were arrested in Sumter, South Carolina. In New Orleans, recent arrests of CORE sit-inners total 12. The campaign continues—so,

1. If you are in a locality where lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes, participate in your local sit-ins, boycotts, etc.
2. If you are in a locality where policy has changed, help make integration successful by patronizing the lunch counters and by commending the local managers.
3. If you are outside the south, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution, and continue the boycott of the national variety chains. CORE, NAACP and other groups continue to picket variety stores in major cities.

A Southern White Girl's First Project

by Margaret Leonard

While two Negro CORE members and I were being held by police near the Woolworth exit, awaiting a police car, several policemen talked to me. One of them asked if I was a southern girl. I said yes, I was raised in Macon and Atlanta, Georgia. Then he asked how come, as a white girl from the south, I was engaging in this kind of action. I replied something about wanting to demonstrate how I feel about racial discrimination. He said he realized that, but why did I feel that way. I just said I always had felt that way.

Yet it was not until two days before that I had decided to implement my feelings by taking part in a CORE-type nonviolent action. I went to a New Orleans CORE meeting that evening with Sidney Goldfinch, Jr., a white graduate student at Tulane, who had been singled out during a recent sit-in for indictment on a "criminal anarchy" charge, which carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail. At that meeting, I volunteered to participate in an action on October 15 at the Woolworth lunch counter on Canal and Rampart Streets.

According to plan, I ordered a ham sandwich, a piece of cake and a glass of milk. I paid and then sat drinking water until two Negro CORE members—Anna Mae Giles and Kermit Moran arrived behind me. I then got up, picked

(Continued on page 2)

New Orleans will be site of CORE's Thanksgiving weekend workshop in nonviolence initiated primarily for students in the deep-south states. For details, contact the CORE office. Another deep-south workshop at a later date is being planned, tentatively, in South Carolina.

ACTION IN NEW ORLEANS

(Continued from page 1)

ice at a McCrory lunch counter. My crime has been that I have joined CORE."

After this statement the assistant district attorney, A. I. Kleinfeldt, accused Goldfinch of "being . . . a member of an organization or society which was known by him to advocate teachings and practices in opposition to the State of Louisiana." Kleinfeldt also said that CORE "to the best of my knowledge is on the United States attorney general's list of subversive organizations."

I immediately sent a protest to Kleinfeldt stating: "CORE is not nor has it ever been on the attorney general's list. I urge that you read the list, which is readily available to every citizen."

Kleinfeldt replied, "It is immaterial whether or not CORE is on the list. We have some evidence that the organization financed to some extent the demonstrations. The matter is being continuously investigated. If and when the investigation is complete we might consider charging others with criminal anarchy."

Kleinfeldt later said he believes that some members of our national advisory committee are affiliated with organizations on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations.

Judge Breheny has signed a motion to place me under $500 bond as a material witness. The first trial of our CORE members is scheduled as this issue goes to press. A special session of the state legislature has started. Meanwhile the CORE group carries on with a hard-hitting action program.

CORRECTION — The photo on page 3 of the August CORElator headed "New Group in Action" was *not* of Iowa City CORE picketing the variety stores—but of a CORE group in another city. The error was due to mislabeling of the photo in our office.

A SOUTHERN WHITE GIRL'S FIRST PROJECT

(Continued from page 1)

up my raincoat and pocketbook from the next chair and left so that the two Negroes could sit down and eat the food which I had ordered at the whites-only counter.

They started eating, but before they had finished, a white woman sat down next to them. Her identity was not known until she placed them under arrest. She also placed me under arrest. I had gone to another counter and had gotten up to leave the store, when she took me by the arm and asked me to come with her. Upon reaching the front counter, where Anna Mae and Kermit were still sitting, she told me she was a policewoman and arrested me.

At the police station, we were questioned in separate rooms. I was asked, among other questions, whether I had received any money from CORE and whether CORE was trying to make money. My interrogators could not understand why I, a southern white girl, would do such a thing if CORE didn't give me money. I tried to explain that I, personally, simply don't like segregation and hope to help end it. They asked if I knew the consequences. I started to state my willingness to risk expulsion from school, but they indicated they hadn't meant personal consequences. However, they expressed surprise that I am a student at Newcomb—in addition to being an authentic southern girl. I was pleased that they couldn't categorize me as some "Yankee rabble-rouser." Yet they tried to make me out as an "oddball."

They asked me whether I dated much and when I said no, they wanted to find out why. I felt like saying "none of your business," but I figured they were trying to picture me as some kind of a misfit, so I continued answering earnestly and politely. They also asked my religion.

At one point a policeman asked what Africans had ever accomplished in art, science or literature. I pointed out that I was not a student of these subjects but an anthropology major. I added that we were far afield of the main point: that we simply don't accord the Negroes their rights. Finally, the captain urged that the interrogators had better "hush up" or I would think they were prejudiced. I laughed and agreed. They released me, urging that I talk to my minister and think very seriously before taking any such action again.

I agreed to think seriously—but pointed out that I had already given the matter my most serious thought. The result was my decision to engage in this nonviolent direct action.

Picketing of YMCA Wins Community Support

Picketing of two YMCA buildings by CORE has gained considerable community support in Huntington, West Virginia and has resulted in appointment of a special committee to consider a local policy change regarding Y membership. The committtee was appointed by L. T. Tippett, local president of the Y, with the authorization of the board of directors.

Tippett had told Mrs. A. Page Simuel, secretary of Huntington CORE, "Your picket demonstrations are ill-timed and ill-advised." Mrs. Simuel replied: "I have to agree they are ill-timed, but from a different standpoint: they are perhaps 20 years late."

Picketing will continue at least until the next meeting of the board of directors, when the special committee will report back. In the course of its deliberations, the committee will meet with the CORE group, and hear its plea for admission of Negroes.

"The action you helped us begin here (CORE had dispatched Field Secretary Joseph Perkins, Jr. to the scene) is continuing and interest has mushroomed enough to convince us that the town will be 75% CORE sympathizers," reports Mrs. Page. "Rev. Herbert Stevens, a white minister, recently addressed the Douglas high school assembly on the subject. He has promised to give us a list of white persons interested in joining CORE. Rev. Mitchell has promised to devote a part of his Sunday morning TV program to the Y discrimination issue. Three additional ministers and two more members of my Board (the Barnett Child Care Board) have joined CORE. Negro high school team members and Negro employees of the International Nickel Co. are planning to join our picket lines. We are truly encouraged by this show of community support."

Nehru Gets CORE Citation

On the 91st anniversary of Gandhi's birth, CORE Field Secretary Richard Haley and Gordon Carey present a citation to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, who was in New York for the United Nations general assembly sessions. At right is Roger Baldwin, civil liberties leader and member of CORE's national advisory committee. Nehru stated: "I'm all for racial equality and am glad to know that something is being done by nonviolent methods here to achieve it."

St. Louis Cafeterias Open to All

CORE test teams were served on October 25 at 11 midtown and downtown cafeterias which previously barred Negroes.

The policy change in cafeterias, which followed four months of negotiations between CORE and the St. Louis Restaurant Association, marked a second milestone in the CORE campaign to open all St. Louis eating facilities to everybody. The first milestone, seven years ago, was opening of the final downtown lunch counter. The lunch counter campaign, lasting 4 years, was marked by use of the then-unprominent sit-in technique, picketing and other forms of nonviolent action.

Cafeterias where the CORE teams were served included Pope's, where three high school students were recently arrested for sitting-in; The Maryland, whose manager Minke Fandos heads the Restaurant Association; The Forum, where nine years ago Marvin Rich—now CORE Community Relations Director — was beaten by segregationists; Thompson's and Mrs. Hulling's. Negotiations to open other St. Louis restaurants are continuing.

On the CORE negotiating team were Charles Oldham, national chairman; Walter Hayes, regional representative; Eugene Tournour and William Clay, the Negro alderman who was arrested last year for seeking service at a Howard Johnson restaurant. The negotiations were supported by Civic Progress Inc., League of Women Voters, Metropolitan Church Federation, Rabbinical Assn., Catholic Interracial Council, NAACP and many other community groups.

IN BRIEF

Six-man CORE test teams were served at Kress's in New Bern, North Carolina on successive days in early October. The policy change ended a sit-in campaign which started on February 23 with the arrest of 29 students. It also completes integration of all Kress lunch counters in the state.

WIN ADMISSION FOR SIT-INNER

John Dixon, expelled last spring from Alabama State College for his role in the sit-ins, will enter San Jose (California) State College next semester—thanks to a protest campaign initiated by San Jose CORE.

When Dr. John Wahlquist, president of the California college, took the position: "By gentlemen's agreement we do not take students who do not have honorable discharges" CORE Chairman, Aileen Hutchinson asserted: "Everybody who believes in racial equality and the right of peaceful protest should write to President Wahlquist in San Jose and to Governor Brown in Sacramento."

Stanley Mosk, California attorney general has launched an investigation of the "gentlemen's agreement." Dr. Wahlquist said the agreement had been reached by the heads of 14 state colleges who agreed to a policy of refusing students expelled because of the sit-ins.

San Jose CORE raised the money to bring Dixon to San Jose and to give him scholarship assistance.

NEGRO GETS APARTMENT — AFTER THREE YEARS

"I've been trying to get a decent apartment for three years and all I got was a runaround," commented Wesley Tann, Negro graduate student, after signing a lease for the 4-room apartment which CORE helped him to secure in New York. "I turned to CORE and in five days I got the kind of apartment I want."

When Tann first inspected the apartment, the superintendant promised to phone him the following day. The call never came and the apartment continued to be advertised in the New York Times. A white friend inquired about it, confirming that it was still vacant. But when CORE sent a Negro couple to test, they were told the apartment was occupied.

Next, Marjorie Leeds, a white member of Brooklyn CORE approached the rental agent, Arthur Brown, who confirmed that it was vacant. Ten minutes later, Tann arrived accompanied by Mrs. Edith Diamond of the CORE group and Darwin Bolden, CORE field secretary. Within a few minutes Tann had secured the apartment.

CORE Joins New Rochelle School Struggle

by Darwin Bolden

The struggle for school integration in New Rochelle, N. Y., spotlighted by the recent filing of criminal charges against Negro parents who sat-in at one of the schools, has brought to national attention the fact that school segregation is not limited to the southern states.

As in many northern cities, school segregation in New Rochelle stems from housing segregation. The Lincoln Elementary School is 93% Negro because it is located in a section which is almost all Negro and because the Board of Education rigidly enforces a school zoning policy which automatically segregates.

The New Rochelle struggle against such segregation started several years ago and has at times involved over 200 Negro parents with children at Lincoln school. Anti-segregationists have continuously opposed plans to replace the antiquated school edifice with a new one which would be built on the same site and would, hence, be segregated.

This school year, nine Negro families decided to take direct action and refused to send their children to Lincoln. Each day, they would seek to enroll the children at a different school, but without success. Finally, while sitting-in at one of the schools, they were served with summonses by police and enjoined from any further sit-ins. Criminal charges were brought against them.

Assisting Paul Zuber, the Negro parents' attorney, in fighting these charges, became one of my objectives when CORE joined the struggle. My legal training and contacts will prove helpful, I hope, in this regard. Recently attorney Zuber filed a federal court suit to enjoin the school board from using its zoning policy to perpetuate segregation. It is the first such suit to be filed in the north.

As CORE field secretary, I am working on an action plan aimed at mobilizing more Negro parents, increasing general community support and getting some write-in support from nearby New York City as well as from other parts of the country.

I urge COREIator readers to join the letter-writing campaign. Your letters should be addressed to Mayor Stanley Church, City Hall, New Rochelle, N. Y. Tell him you favor an open enrollment policy and a change of site for the proposed new elementary school building—into an area where it will not be automatically segregated. Residents of New York City can point to the partial de-zoning policy adopted by the Board of Education this year as a measure against school segregation. A parents' protest group, with which I have worked in conjunction with New York CORE, helped to bring about this change of policy in the nation's biggest city.

In New Rochelle, in conjunction with the school board's most recent meeting, November 2, CORE helped to organize a mass protest meeting and picket demonstration. A sit-in in the office of the superintendent of education is planned for the near future. We hope to help continue a program of action until school integration becomes a reality in New Rochelle.

Real Follow-Through Program

Although the campaign to integrate lunch counters in Lexington, Kentucky, took 17 months, the local CORE group did not relax its efforts after victory was finally won on August 22.

Instead, Lexington CORE went to work on opening additional eating facilities, negotiating for fair employment, standing-in and picketing at a local movie and parking-in at a discriminatory drive-in.

Since the lunch counter policy change August 22, which involved four variety stores and a drugstore, six additional eating places have opened their facilities to all, reports Julia Lewis, Lexington CORE chairman.

On employment, four Negroes have been hired for the first time as cashiers at supermarkets and at a drugstore. "We also have an agreement for hiring a Negro butcher and a part-time manager, but have not yet found applicants," Julia Lewis says.

Regarding the campaign at the Strand Theatre, recently during the showing of "Ben Hur," 19 visiting Asian and African journalists refused to cross the picket line.

The discriminatory drive-in, where a CORE car parks-in, nightly, is Jerry's, located near the University of Kentucky campus.

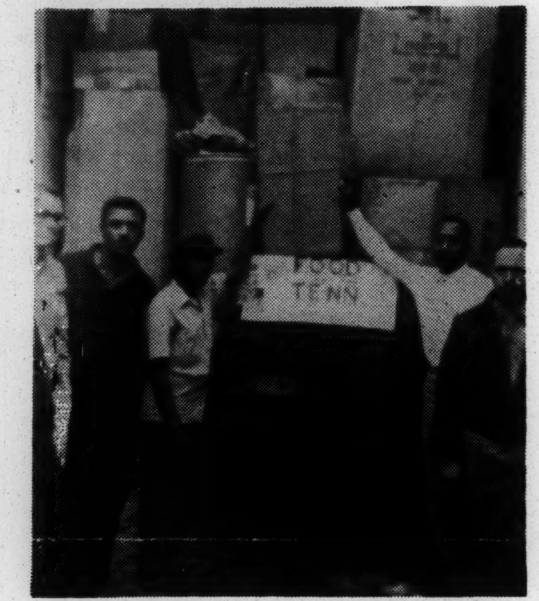
ARREST IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Eleven members of the CORE group at Morris College in Sumter, South Carolina, were arrestetd on October 13 for protest action against lunch counter discrimination.

Five of them were arrested during their third daily sit-in at the Kress lunch counter. They have been given $100 fines or 30-day jail sentences. Their convictions on "breach of the peace" charges are being appealed by their attorney, Ernest Finney, Jr. The five are Marvin McAllister, Frances Dubose, Mae Frances Moultrie, Roger Robinson and James Levy.

The six others were arrested while picketing Kress's and the Cut Rate Drug Store. Some of the placards said: "There's No Color Line in Heaven." The charge in this case too is "breach of the peace." November 22 has been set as the trial date.

FOOD FOR TENNESSEE



Charles Oldham (at right—national chairman of CORE) and other members of St. Louis CORE complete loading of 14,000 pounds of food and clothing for victims of segregationist economic reprisals against leaders of a Negro registration drive in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee. A major portion of the shipment originated in Los Angeles where the local CORE group did the collecting. St. Louis CORE made additional collections which were added to the Los Angeles shipment for the final lap of the journey. CORE groups in New York, Chicago and other cities have sent their own shipments.

CORE-LATOR

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

MARCH, 1961 No. 87

JAIL-INS

The first anniversary of the sit-in movement was marked by a wave of jail-ins which started in Rock Hill and spread to Atlanta and Lynchburg, involving almost 100 students who refused to either pay fines or accept bail.

It started on Feb. 2 in Rock Hill, South Carolina, when Thomas Gaither, CORE field secretary and eight members of Friendship College CORE elected to serve 30 days on the road gang rather than pay $100 fines. Incidentally, while countless students have been imprisoned since the start of the nonviolent campaign against lunch counter discrimnation, this was the first instance of sit-inners being committed to a road gang. The nine, in addition to Gaither, are James Wells, Clarence Graham, Willie McCleod, Mac Workman, Willy Massey, John Gaines, David Williamson and Robert McCullough. (See Above Photo)

The way these students feel about it was aptly expressed in a letter which Clarence Graham wrote from jail to his father and mother. "I want you to know that this is something that I really and truly want to do," the letter said. "Try to understand that what I'm doing is right. It isn't like going to jail for a crime like stealing or killing, but we are going for the betterment of all Negroes."

The way their supporters feel about it was indicated by the mass pilgrimages to the jail which took place on the two Sundays following the sentencing. On Feb. 5 a caravan of 60 cars and a bus brought more than 300 Negro and white visitors to the York County road gang camp. And the following Sunday, Lincoln's Birthday, over 1000 southern students converged on Rock Hill in support of the jailed students, whose ranks had increased to 13. A motorcade, a mass meeting and Rock Hill's first kneel-ins at churches featured the occasion. The kneel-inners were admitted to three churches and barred at two others.

(Continued on page 2)

THIS CAKE . . .

. . . with one big candle and the inscription "SIT-IN ANNIVERSARY" is being carried by James Farmer, CORE national director, in front of the Woolworth store nearest the CORE office. Alongside Farmer are other national staff members—from left to right—James Robinson, Richard Haley, Marvin Rich and Gordon Carey. With the sit-in movement entering its second year, CORE at its recent national council meeting in Lexington, Ky., adopted a strong policy statement urging no let-up in the lunch counter campaign. The statement points out that "scores of students are in jail as a result of demonstrating against segregated facilities." Your support is still needed. Therefore,

1. If you are in a locality where lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes, participate in your local sit-ins, boycotts, etc.
2. If you are in a locality where policy has changed, help make integration successful by patronizing the lunch counters and by commending the local managers.
3. If you are outside the south, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution, and continue the boycott of the national variety chains. CORE, NAACP and other groups continue to picket the variety stores in major cities.

JAIL-INS

(Continued from page 1)

In New York, national CORE picketed the head office of McCrory's, whose Rock Hill store was the scene of the arrests. Heading the line were two pickets in striped prison uniforms carrying imitation rockbreakers. McCrory's and Woolworth's in Rock Hill as well as a number of other luncheonettes have discontinued their eating facilities as a result of the demonstrations and are presently being picketed.

Inside the jail, eight were locked in solitary on Feb. 14 because they refused to stop singing hyms at the morning religious services which they had initiated. One line that particularly irritated prison officials was "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave." The following day, they were let-out and permitted to resume their hymn-singing. Two days later they were put back in solitary for several days for an alleged slowdown protesting the transfer of one of their group to another, unnamed prison. By the time this CORElator is printed, the 30-day sentences will have been completed. The students have expressed their gratitude for the many letters of support which they received while in jail.

IN BRIEF

East St. Louis (Ill.) CORE picketed City Hall for a week recently as part of the group's campaign for admission to local bowling alleys. Prior to the picketing three operators of discriminatory bowling alleys had been arrested upon complaints of CORE members, under a state law originally passed in 1880.

* * *

A dozen Miami (Fla.) CORE members were refused service at test sit-ins of three Royal Castle hamburger stands. The policy of the Royal Castle chain permits Negroes to buy food to take out, only. A. D. Moore, Miami CORE chairman, reports that 20 local restaurants have been integrated since August 1.

* * *

A boycott of Rollerland Skating Rink is being urged in leaflets and letters being circulated by Columbus (Ohio) CORE. At present the skating rink, although it depends largely on Negro patronage, admits Negroes only three evenings a week.

A BACHELOR'S STORY

by Alan Gartner

This is a story of a Negro bachelor unable to find—not a wife—but an apartment. It ended happily, however, thanks to the bachelor's perseverance, Boston CORE and the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. The Commission has ordered the owner of Glenmeadow, a garden-type apartment development, to rent an apartment to Maurice Fowler and to reimburse him for excess expenses incurred since he was rejected because of color.

The story opens last July when Fowler, a contract negotiator for the U.S. Air Force, sought an apartment at Glenmeadow. He was told that none were available to him because he is a bachelor. On the same day having anticipated the possibility of discrimination, CORE sent a white tester to Glenmeadow, who also presented himself as a bachelor. He was offered an apartment. Thereupon, Fowler filed a complaint with MCAD. Following additional tests, CORE met first with the rental agents for the property and then with the owner himself. From the former we received the assurance of no future discrimination; from the latter, a statement that he did not discriminate, and that he would make known this fact to his employes and prospective tenants. The ease of getting this promise was a measure of its worth. When we failed to receive from the owner a promised notification of steps taken to assure non-discrimination, we contacted him and were told he had been informed by his lawyer that such steps were not required by law.

Next came another series of tests and further fruitless negotiations. We then visited nearly all the tenants, first to inform them of Fowler's case and secondly to seek their support for a non-discriminatory rental policy.

An interesting point at this stage was the question of our right to enter the buildings and visit the tenants. The owner contended that since the buildings are his private property, he has the right to refuse admission at his discretion. We asserted, and were able to convince the police, that the tenants had the implicit right to be visited by anyone, and that it was their prerogative to admit us or not at their respective doorways. We held that the grounds and hallways are for public passage.

We were able to get support for non-discrimination from about three-quarters of the tenants. However, the owner remained adamant. Our next step was to inform the general public of the situation at Glenmeadow through picketing and local newspaper publicity.

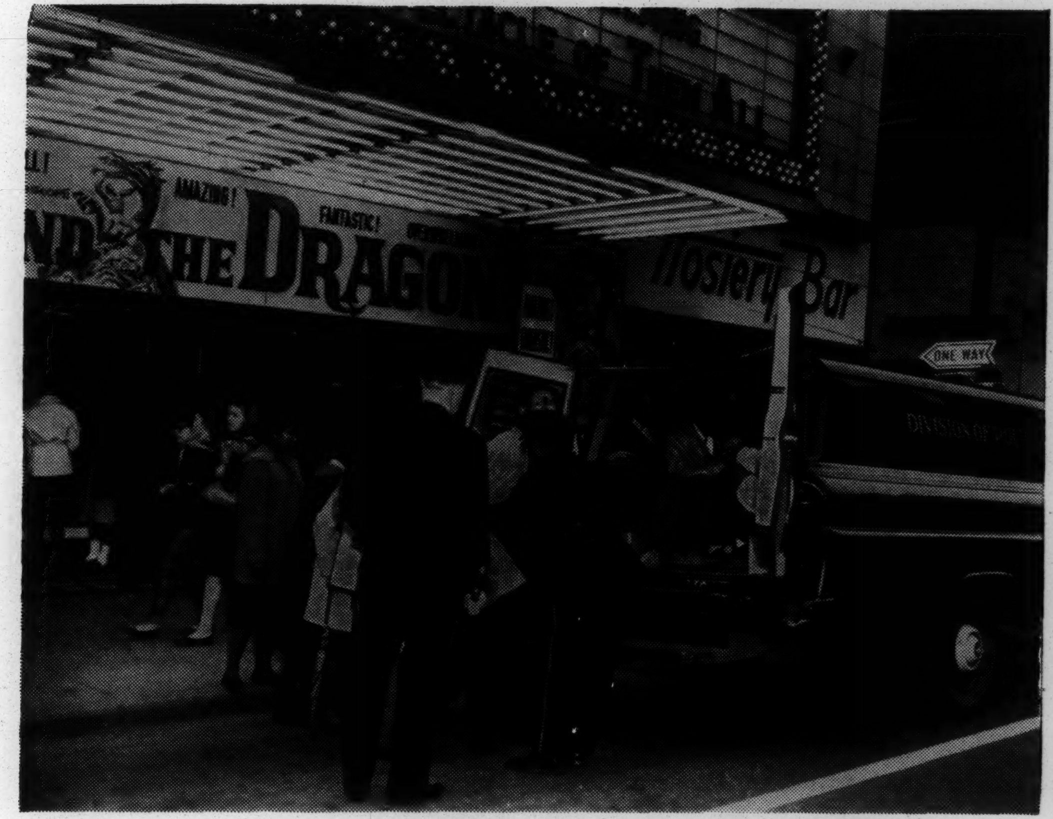
During the late summer and early fall we were able to ascertain that there were at least eleven bachelors living at Glenmeadow, despite the owner's statement to Fowler that bachelors were unacceptable. When presented with this evidence the owner contended that his restriction was in regard to "single" bachelors, that is bachelors living alone. Those living in pairs were acceptable. We then inquired whether Fowler and a roommate would be acceptable but after some deliberation the answer was "no." The owner simply did not like Fowler, personally, and thought him an "agitator"—this despite his own admission that he had never met Fowler. We later discovered that there were two "single" bachelors at Glenmeadow, thus discrediting the owner's revised excuse.

In October we began picketing. Following standard procedure, the MCAD investigated Fowler's complaint and sought conciliation. Failing this, a preliminary hearing was held. The owner and his lawyers were able to delay, and unsuccessfully sought by court restraining order to prevent the next step, a formal hearing.

The formal hearing was held January 9. Most of the evidence, in addition to Fowler's, was presented by members of Boston CORE. The commission ruled that Fowler be offered an apartment at Glenmeadow, that the owner pay him the difference between his present rent and that at Glenmeadow for a period of five months, his furniture moving and storage expenses, and the cost of gaining release from his present lease; and that the owner publish as a part of all his advertising and post on the premises a statement of his compliance with the law regarding non-discriminatory housing.

The owner will probably appeal the MCAD decision, specifically to challenge an amendment to the Massachusetts law encompassing housing built with private funds. Regardless of the appeal's outcome, and our legal advisors are confident of its failure, the Glenmeadow case has offered Boston CORE the opportunity to develop a variety of techniques which may well prove useful to CORE groups working on housing in other cities. It also can be considered a major stride toward non-discriminatory housing in suburban Boston.

STAND-INS AT MOVIES



The stand-in technique at movie booths has been used recently by CORE groups in Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky and in Miami, Florida.

Over Lincoln's Birthday weekend delegates to CORE's national council meeting in Lexington joined the local group in a stand-in which closed down the Strand Theater, an affiliate of the Schine chain. The following night a second stand-in was conducted and again the theater closed.

In the course of the next stand-in, a few nights later, management had six of the stand-inners arrested and filed suit for an injunction naming them, an additional CORE member, and the CORE group, itself. The arrest case was dismissed and the injunction suit is still pending.

"Following the trial, we were back at the Strand," reports Jane Stone of the local CORE group. Schine's district manager together with the managers of the Strand and the Ben Ali were out front. They had learned from us, and were using their bodies nonviolently to block our attempts to block their ticket windows. We conducted our stand-in, nevertheless, that night and the following night, and we plan to continue."

In Louisville on February 23, 14 CORE members were arrested while standing-in at the Mary Anderson theater. The following day, CORE and NAACP Youth Council members extended the stand-ins to most of the major movie theaters on Fourth Street.

"Clerks remained in all the theater box offices, but the windows of the box offices were closed," reported the Louisville Courier-Journal. The stand-inners were arrested (see photo above) bringing to 79 the total arrests during the Feb. 22-24 community-wide protest against segregated public places in Louisville.

In Miami, CORE has been standing-in as well as negotiating at four major theaters. "We expect significant developments at these theaters very soon," predicted A. D. Moore, chairman of the group.

Picket Demonstrations

Mass picket demonstrations in front of the Paramount Theaters in New York and Boston on Lincoln's Birthday were initiated by CORE groups in both cities. Placards urged Paramount, one of the largest chains, to end discrimination in its southern theaters.

CRACK COLOR LINE

The segregationist front of restaurants in Columbia, Missouri, was cracked as a result of an unusual twist in CORE technique.

Managers of 15 restaurants which had been tested were invited by Columbia CORE to a meeting, chaired by a neutral moderator, Rev. James Martin, to discuss a month-long "controlled opening" program. This would consist of a single test team of from two to four persons eating at each restaurant not more than three meals a week.

Of the 15 restaurants, representatives of 7 promised to attend and 2 others expressed interest. Subsequently, however, the cooperative managers must have gotten together and changed their minds, possibly under pressure, for when the meeting was held, only one attended.

Following the meeting, CORE sent registered letters to the 9 managers who had at least expressed interest, notifying them that the "controlled opening" program would start on a certain date.

"The purpose of such a controlled opening will be to give customers, waiters and waitresses, and managers an opportunity to experience giving service on a non-discriminatory basis," the letter said. "Managements will have the opportunity to check customer reaction and over a period of time their business receipts."

Two days before the teams' first visitations to the nine restaurants, CORE inserted a large ad in the local paper outlining the group's general program and appealing "to the citizens of Columbia" to "refuse to trade with merchants who discriminate."

Then CORE attempted check-up tests to determinate whether there had been any policy change at two restaurants which had been the initial targets of the Columbia campaign. At Clark's Luncheonette, where five were arrested for sitting-in in December, the CORE party was stopped by a hired doorman who turned out to be a former police chief at Centralia. At Ernie's members of the team were barred by the manager who thereupon locked the door and acted as doorman, himself, as customers arrived.

Finally came the first visitation to the nine restaurants—and the crack in the color line for Columbia restaurants.

"Barnes Sundries, Gem Drugs and The Shack have decided to open altogether and now," reports John Schopp of Columbia CORE, who is assistant professor of astronomy at the University of Missouri. "The team members were courteously treated

(Continued on page 4)

COMMUNITY-WIDE PROTESTS, MASS ARRESTS IN 3 CITIES

Community-wide, nonviolent, anti-segregation demonstrations, marked by arrests totaling 220, have occurred recently in Sumter, South Carolina; Louisville, Kentucky and Atlanta, Ga.

Sumter

The Sumter demonstration took the form of sit-ins at two drugstores and at the white library, followed by an attempted protest march which was broken up by police. One of the marchers, Mae Frances Moultrie—a CORE member—was knocked down face-forward by policemen injuring her chest, legs and head. She was taken to Community Hospital. (See photo at left.)

The arrests—on "breach of the peace" charges—totaled 64. At Alderman's Drug Store police entered immediately after the sit-inners and made the arrests. At the Carnegie Public Library, the director summoned police as soon as a first group of Negroes seated themselves at a reading table. They were arrested. A second and larger group then arrived and were also arrested. Arrest of the marchers was made by city police, sheriff's deputies and highway patrolmen as the protesting group started out from Morris College for the downtown area. The Sumter demonstration was conducted by the Morris College CORE group and was coordinated by CORE Field Secretary James T. McCain.

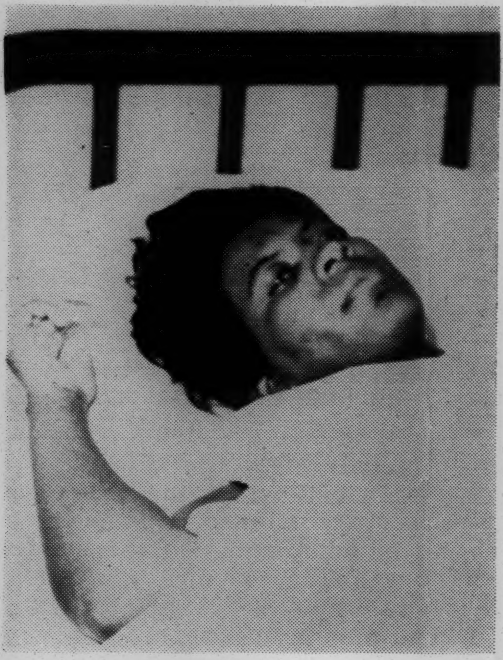
Louisville

In Louisville the big demonstration involved stand-ins at the major movies on Fourth Street and mass picketing of Kaufman's and Stewart's, two big department stores whose eating facilities have been targets of a months-long CORE campaign. Involved in the demonstration along with CORE was the NAACP Youth Council. The protest action lasted three days, was marked by 79 arrests and ended with a truce negotiated between demonstration leaders and Mayor Hoblitzell.

Under the truce's terms, protest demonstrations will cease while an emergency committee of civic leaders, appointed by the mayor, negotiates with merchants in an attempt to reach a solution. CORE's representative on the group which met with the mayor is Rev. Philip Smith, pastor of the First Unitarian Church.

Atlanta

In Atlanta 75 lunch counter sit-inners were arrested—the largest number since the October demonstrations which involved Martin Luther King.



CRACK COLOR LINE

(Continued from page 3)

and the managers said there would be no need to carry through the control program. Of course, we will check. The Red Sandwich Shop served CORE members courteously, but the establishment will soon be under new ownership and therefore will require retesting."

At three restaurants, Eat Mor, White House and Ed's, the teams found the doors locked. The managements knew the hour of the scheduled visitation since it had been announced in the 9 CORE registered letters. Regarding the remaining two restaurants, one is in the process of deciding whether or not to open to all and the team report on the other was not available at press time.

Win Sit-in Case

Asserting that a peaceful sit-in does not constitute criminal trespess under Missouri law, Judge Carl Wheaton dismissed the case against two University of Missouri faculty members and three students arrested Dec. 10 for sitting-in at Clark's Luncheonette. Attorney for the five was Charles Oldham, who is CORE's national chairman.

The five, all members of Columbia CORE, are John Schopp, Edward Tomich, Julia Skinner, Carolyn Gnojewski and Malvin West.

WIN BEACH CLUB CASE

Michael A. Crisovan, operator of the Newport Beach Club on Lake Portage has paid a $100 fine and agreed to cease discriminating against Negro bathers in the future. He had pleaded guilty to discriminating against Sharon Williams, a member of Ann Arbor (Mich.) CORE last August.

Twenty CORE members conducted a successful walk-in at the beach on July 31. However, a week later the group returned and was refused admission. They stood in line at the entrance until Crisovan closed the beach. It remained closed for the balance of the summer.

"Getting a favorable decision in this case is important because it will discourage other beach owners in the area from discriminating," commented Jack Ladinsky, chairman of Ann Arbor CORE. He said the group had received a number of reports of discrimination at other beaches.

LATE FLASH

LOUISVILLE DEPARTMENT STORES TO INTEGRATE

With this issue already on the presses, word reaches CORE that Stewart's and Kaufman's, Louisville's two leading department stores will integrate their eating facilities starting April 1. This was an outcome of a day-long meeting between local civil rights leaders, representatives of the two managements and the mayor.

The policy change is the result of a months-long campaign of stand-ins by Louisville CORE at the two stores' restaurants. The NAACP Youth Council joined the campaign and on Feb. 24 there were mass picket demonstrations at Stewart's and Kaufman's coupled with stand-ins at major movie theaters. 79 demonstrators were arrested and a truce was thereupon negotiated in the mayor's office.

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

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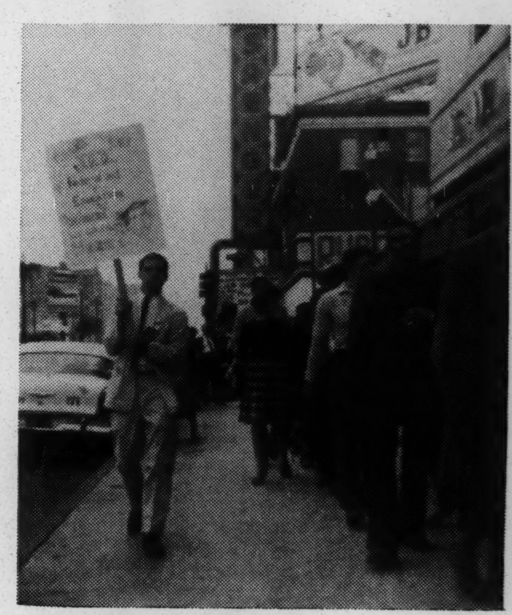
Nonviolence on a New Orleans Picket Line

by Connie Bradford

(Two days after this was written the author—a white girl—was arrested on the same picket line for "obstructing traffic." She is out on $1000 bail)

On Saturday, April 15, about noon, I was picketing close to the outside edge of the sidewalk in front of McCrory's on Canal Street when a white lady, about 50 years of age, stopped and asked me if I was a member of "that nigger" organization (i.e. CORE). I answered, "Yes ma'am" and continued walking. She followed close beside and at times behind me for about three lengths of the store, shouting questions and accusations at me. I remember her asking me if I knew what I was doing, and if I knew what Japan, China, Russia, and Cuba were doing.

My refusal to answer must have annoyed her, because she began shoving and pushing me. She tried to knock my sign down, but I lifted it up again and tried to keep walking. Then she pushed me against a parked car, kicked me, and hit me around the shoulders and body with her purse and her hands. This time I relinquished my placard. She put it on the roof of the car and before I could regain my balance, she began pushing and hitting me again. All the time she was screaming insults at me.



LATE FLASH

SIX REMAIN JAILED IN NEW ORLEANS

With this issue already at the printers, word reached us that six New Orleans CORE members were arrested for picketing McCrory's and Woolworth's on Canal Street and are jailed-in, having refused bail. They are charged with "obstructing traffic."

Four of them—Julia Aaron, Dave Dennis, Doris Castle and Jerome Smith — were arrested April 17. The other two—Geraldine Conrad and Alice Thompson were arrested two days later.

When she realized she was not making much headway, she took the sign from atop the car and, rushing into the street, she threw it in front of a moving car. The car stopped and the bewildered driver got out. During this time the lady had quickly and prudently removed herself from the scene. I had regained my balance but I was a little dazed and could not decide on a course of action, but my picket mate, Pat Smith, told me to take her sign while she recovered mine. She did so, and we continued picketing. Soon the crowd that had formed to watch the incident dispersed and the traffic cleared.

No one in the crowd had offered assistance to the lady or to us, probably because the action had taken place so quickly. The incident must not have taken over three or four minutes.

I had first picketed only a week before and, although I had been hit

(*Continued on page 2*)

HELP MAKE KRESGE's 100%

Kresge's is the variety chain which has come closest to 100% desegregation of its southern lunch counters. In only 3 southern communities do Kresge lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes. If Kresge's becomes 100% desegregated, it wlil be much easier to persuade the other variety chains to follow suit. You can help by writing Harry B. Cunningham, President, S. S. Kresge Co., 2727 Second Avenue, Detroit 32, Michigan. At the same time, the campaign at other variety chain stores must continue. Therefore,

1. If you are in a locality where counters still refuse to serve Negroes, participate in your local sit-ins, boycotts, etc.
2. If you are in a locality where policy has changed, help make integration successful by patronizing the lunch counters and by commending the local managers.
3. If you are outside the south, participate in a picket line or leaflet distribution, and continue the boycott of the national variety chains. CORE, NAACP and other groups continue to picket the variety stores in major cities.

NEW ROCHELLE SCHOOL MARCH

Immediate school desegregation is the aim of a march through the town of New Rochelle, N. Y. on Saturday, May 13. Participants will come not only from New Rochelle but from the entire New York metropolitan area. FOR SPECIFIC DETAILS AS TO TIME, MEETING PLACE, ETC., CALL THE CORE OFFICE—CO 7-0035.

Sponsoring the demonstration is the Northern School Integration Committee for a March on New Rochelle, which includes CORE groups in the New York and northern New Jersey area as well as other organizations. Chairman of the committee is Darwin Bolden, whose article on the New Rochelle school struggle appeared in last November's COREIator. The New Rochelle situation has become symbolic of the struggle for school desegregation outside of the south.

Stand-In at Kentucky Theater

This is one of the stand-ins conducted nightly by Lexington CORE at the Kentucky Theater. On April 4, 22 stand-inners were arrested. Half of them, including three children of Rev. Lamont Jones, spent the night in jail. The case has not yet been tried.

Two previous cases in which CORE stand-inners were arrested at the Strand, a Schine theater, ended with the charges being dismissed. In support of Lexington CORE's campaign to end discrimination at the Strand and the Ben Ali, another Schine theater, more than 80 persons have picketed two Schine theaters in Rochester, N. Y. The demonstrations were organized by Genevieve Hughes, CORE field secretary and Lawrence Caroline of the University of Rochester NAACP. Other supporting demonstrations at Schine theaters in other communities are planned.

On April 4 in Miami, 35 Negroes and whites joined a revolving stand-in line at the Olympia Theater. The stand-ins at the Olympia will continue, said Larry Lovett, secretary of Miami CORE and one of the participants.

NONVIOLENCE ON PICKET LINE *(Continued from page 1)*

on one occasion and had taken many insults and accusations, I had not yet had a chance to apply the technique of nonviolence.I had heard much about it and I thought that it would be very difficult to be nonviolent in such a situation. However, all I had time to think about was keeping on my feet and keeping my arms down. I had no time to strike back, either in anger or in self-defense. I was helped by the knowledge that my picket mate Pat was with me and would come to my assistance, in a nonviolent way, if necessary. I hope that the people in the crowd were affected in some way by the sight of a nonviolent CORE member being roughed-up by a screaming, nearly hysterical woman of the type familiarized to the entire country by the TV coverage of the school desegregation crisis here. Fortunately, her blows were mostly ineffectual and I was able to continue picketing that afternoon.

Least understandable part of the episode was the behavior of the police. A policeman and a policewoman were stationed across the street, apparently to direct traffic. It is difficult to believe that they did not notice the activity on the opposite sidewalk. However, whether they saw the incident or not, they failed to investigate, even after they had been informed of it about fifteen minutes later by Bob Heller, another CORE member. Later in the day, I was routinely questioned by a policeman about picketing. This was not a result of the incident; the police department questions all pickets nearly every day. This policeman asked me if I was aware of the regulations concerning picketing—do not stop walking, do not speak to anyone, and do not molest anyone. He then stated the ironic remark that if we obeyed these regulations, "the police department would be right with us all the way."

McCRORY STOCKHOLDERS HEAR PROTEST

The annual stockholders meeting of McCrory Corp. in Wilmington, Delaware, heard a protest charging that the company lags behind all other major variety chains in desegregating its southern lunch counters.

Representing CORE, Jim Peck, a minority stockholder, pointed out that while Kresge's, for example, has desegregated its southern stores in all but 3 communities, McCrory's has desegregated only 54% of its 232 southern stores. Figures were cited to show that Woolworth's, the biggest variety chain, Grant's and Kress's are also far ahead of McCrory's in lunch counter desegregation.

Peck also pointed out that McCrory's is the only chain whose head office has consistently refused to enter into negotiations with CORE. He also recalled that it was at McCrory's in Rock Hill where nine CORE sit-inners who recently served 30 days on a South Carolina road gang were arrested and that McCrory's manager in New Orleans testified in court against arrested sit-inners while Woolworth's did not. This marked the first protest against lunch counter segregation to be made at a 1961 stockholders meeting and the first to involve McCrory's. In 1960 the issue was raised by CORE representatives at stockholders meetings of Woolworth's, Kress's and Grant's.

HIT COP'S CONSCIENCE

In Wellston, a St. Louis suburb, the policeman assigned to watch pickets in front of Kresge's had the habit of dropping into the store occasionally for a free cup of coffee.

One day when Vera Williams, one of the pickets, saw him heading for the door, she decided to appeal to his conscience. She told him how the southern students need his support and how nine of them recently spent 30 days on a South Carolina road gang.

The policeman decided she was right. He turned back despite the lure of free refreshments. Incidentally, that particular picket line was so effective that it stopped almost all of the Negro trade and at least 60% of the white trade.

RESTAURANT AGREES TO HALT JOB DISCRIMINATION

The Horn & Hardart Co., whose downtown Philadelphia restaurant was picketed by the local CORE group has agreed to cease job discrimination. CORE will send Negroes to apply for employment.

The policy change was announced by the company after the mayor's commission on race relations issued a report stating that H & H had in fact discriminated in employment.

Prior to issuance of the report, the fact was brought to the public by CORE pickets. They carried signs saying: "Not a Bite While All Waitresses are White," "White Cashiers Only: Is This The North?" and "Help Win Equal Job Opportunities."

Their leaflet said: "While serving everyone, they refuse to allow everyone to serve. We have tried to talk with them. They will not sit down and discuss their policy. There is not a single Negro cashier in the entire restaurant chain and very little possibility that there will be one unless we do something."

IN BRIEF

The Reed College Sit-In Scholarship Committee announces that a scholarship for a sit-in leader is available for next school year. Interested applicants should write Mary E. Coe, Reed College, Portland 2, Oregon, as soon as possible.

* * *

Had the National Civil War Centennial Commission persisted in holding its April 11-12 meeting at the segregated Francis Marion Hotel in Charleston, South Carolina, CORE would have picketed. Plans for the demonstration had just gotten under way when, following widespread protests including two from President Kennedy, the meeting place was changed to the nonsegregated Charleston Navy Base.

* * *

CORE groups throughout the country have been urged by James Farmer, national director, to contribute to Operation Freedom for crop and mortgage loans in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee. New York CORE has sent $1800; St. Louis CORE, $1500 and Los Angeles CORE, $2000. The address of Operation Freedom is 1111 Dayton St., Cincinnati 14, Ohio.

JAIL-INNERS RESUME STRUGGLE

by James Farmer

When eight members of Friendship Junior College CORE completed their 30-day road gang sentences in early March, they pledged to continue the struggle until Rock Hill lunch counters desegregate. The dedication behind their pledge was deeply impressed upon me when I journeyed to Rock Hill together with Thomas Gaither, our field secretary who along with the 8 students had chosen to serve 30 days on the road gang rather than pay a fine.

It was only nine days after termination of the road gang sentences. With callouses from the hard labor still on their hands, John Gaines and Robert McCullough picked up placards and led a picket line at a local drug store whose lunch counter is segregated. As they walked peacefully back and forth, a gang of white hoodlums assembled. As if upon a signal, police walked across the street and started looking into store windows.

As the pickets reversed their line of march in an attempt to turn their backs on the mob, one of the hoodlums struck Gaines on back of the head, knocking him unconscious. As he lay on the sidewalk, others in the mob rushed over and began beating his prostrate body. McCullough sought to shield Gaines from the blows and was also beaten.

Still unconscious, Gaines was taken to the emergency ward of York County Hospital. Within a matter of minutes, news of the assault reached Gaither and he informed me. Together, we went to the Friendship campus where a couple dozen students had gathered in indignation. Among them were Gaines and McCullough with their wounds bandaged. Gaines looked far worse than he does in this photo, which was taken of him and me somewhat later. His face was a mass of bandages covering cuts above and below his swollen lips. His nose, also bandaged, was misshapen from the blows. A reddened cotton wad stopped the flow of blood from one nostril. On the back of his head was a large bump raised by the initial blow which had knocked him out.

Gaither and I announced that we were returning immediately to the drug store to reestablish the picket line. The first two students who volunteered to accompany us were Gaines and McCullough. At such evidence of dedication and courage, a hush fell over the assembled students. Before long, we had more volunteers than could possibly be used for one picket line. Besides, there were few placards left, most of them having been destroyed by the hoodlums.

There were eight of us in the group which resumed picketing. Two additional ex-jail-inners — Clarence Graham and James Wells—were on the line. The hoodlums gathered again. All were in their 20s—of the leather-jacketed, ducktailed haircut type. After several trips into the drug store, they gathered outside, not far from our picket line and stared with apparent incredulity and indecision. It seemed to me that a flicker of humanity could be seen in their narrowed eyes, their snickering lips. Directly behind me was the man whom they had beaten, holding his placard highest of all. They did not shout the usual taunts and insults. Instead, they conversed in whispers.

We picketed, without incident, for 35 minutes and elected to leave only when police, reversing their previous tactics, dispersed the hoodlums first.

The following day another of the ex-jail-inners — Willy Massey — was arrested for picketing along with four girl-students: Macie Giles, Patsy Sampson, Thelma Davis and Jacqueline Horry.

Committment of such depth as that shown by these Rock Hill students cannot fail to ultimately win. The struggle in Rock Hill as in all South Carolina has not been easy and will not be concluded as soon as men of good will might hope. But one need only to have seen John Gaines, his eyes bloodshot with pain, walking the picket line, to know that there will be no surrender until human decency penetrates even South Carolina.

FREEDOM RIDE

The Freedom Ride, first interracial trip since 1947 to challenge bus segregation in the south starts from Washington, D. C. on May 2 and ends on May 17, anniversary of the Supreme Court's key anti-segregation decision, in New Orleans.

The 15 Negro and white participants will refuse to accept segregation, not only aboard the buses but also at terminal restaurants, waiting rooms, rest stops, etc. In the event of arrest, they will remain in jail rather than accept bail or pay fines.

The team of 15 is headed by James Farmer, CORE national director. As constituted as this CORElator goes to press, it includes: Julia Aaron, Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Bergman, Albert Bigelow, Edward Blankenheim, Rev. B. Elton Cox, Genevieve Hughes, John Lewis, John Moody, Jim Peck, Joseph Perkins, Charles Person, Rev. J. Metz Rollins and Jerome Smith. Ten of the group are from the south. Some are students.

Peck was a participant in the interracial bus trip 14 years ago, which was called the Journey of Reconciliation and was sponsored jointly by CORE and FOR.

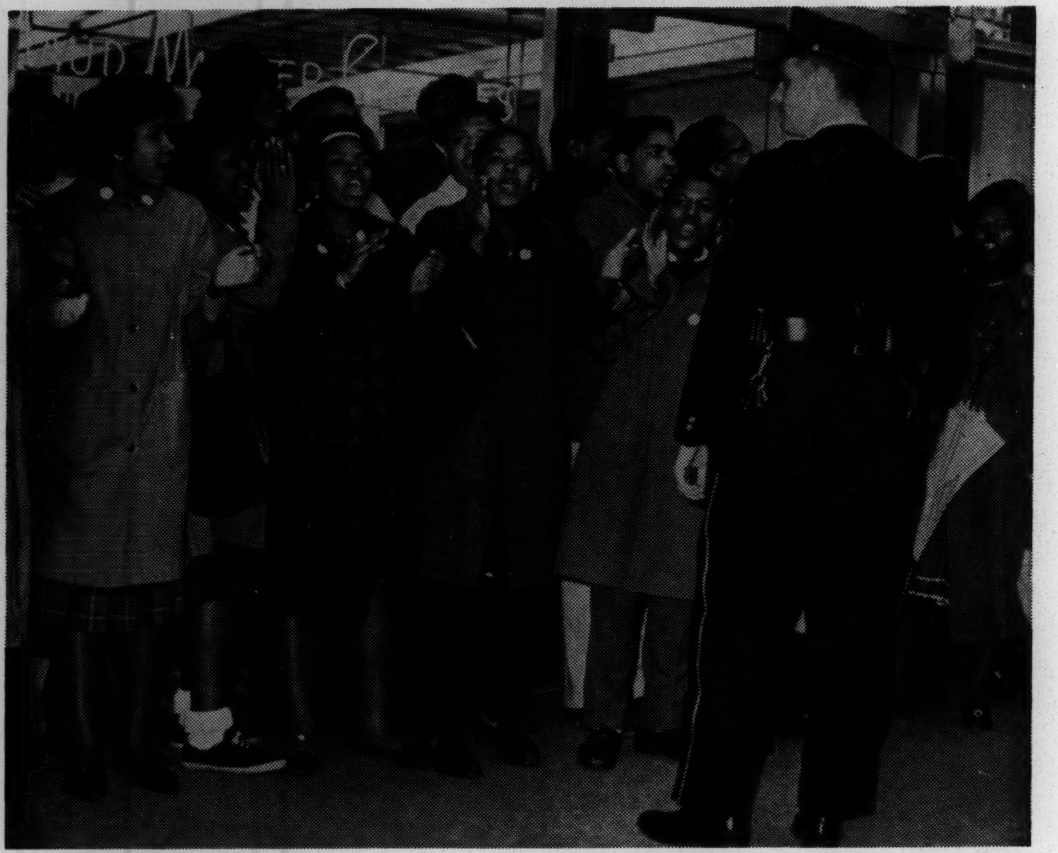
The purpose of the Freedom Ride, like that of its predecessor, is to encourage more people to travel desegregated and thus to make bus desegregation a reality rather than merely an accepted legal doctrine. The Freedom Ride differs from the 1947 Journey in three respects. It penetrates the deep south rather than just the upper south, it involves all facilities of bus travel rather than just bus seating and its participants are committed to a policy of remaining jailed-in in cases of arrest. A number of substitutes are standing-by to replace arrested team members and continue the ride in their places.

Little Freedom Ride

A little "Freedom Ride" from East St. Louis, Illinois into the southern section of Missouri was being sponsored by St. Louis and Columbia CORE. There were 16 Negro and white participants, of whom 15 were arrested in Cyrus' restaurant in Sikeston. They were charged with "peace disturbance." Charles R. Oldham, CORE national chairman, represented the members.

"Jailed-In," Thomas Gaither's first-hand, photo-illustrated account of 30 days on a South Carolina road gang, is available from the CORE office at 25c a copy—reductions on quantity orders.

"Go Down Justice — Way Down in Louisville . . ."



. . . sing these arrested students to the familiar tune of "Let My People Go!" They are some of the 177 arrested on picket lines and revolving stand-in lines in front of Louisville's movie theaters March 14. On that day police arrested every demonstrator in sight. Arrests of pickets totaled 439 by April 21.

Despite the mass arrests, Louisville CORE together with the local NAACP and Nonpartisan Registration Committee, continued their action campaign and the color line was cracked. Eight local movie theaters have desegregated as this CORElator goes to press.

Meanwhile, Louisville CORE continues its campaign to desegregate restaurants, with several sit-ins having taken place. 26 additional establishments have begun serving Negroes for the first time. This was announced by Beverly Neal, chairman of the group. On April 1 the city's two leading department stores, Stewart's and Kaufman's, integrated their eating facilities in accordance with an agreement negotiated following mass protest demonstrations in February. Miss Neal also announced that many other restaurant owners have agreed to negotiate.

In early April, an interracial group of 40 from Louisville and Lexington attended a CORE-sponsored workshop with special sessions on the sit-in, stand-in and other nonviolent action techniques. James Farmer, CORE national director, and Joseph Perkins, CORE field secretary, led the workshop.

STUDENT JAILED-IN LAST YEAR GETS 120 DAYS MORE

Patricia Stephens, a Tallahassee local CORE leader who a year ago served 49 days in jail along with four others as part of the first jail-in since the sit-ins started, has been sentenced to 120 days more.

Ben Cowins, a student, was arrested with her and received the same sentence. The case is being appealed. The arrests took place while the two were sitting-in at a Neisner lunch counter. On the same day CORE had conducted sit-ins at both McCrory's and Sears.

Meanwhile two white students, Jefferson Poland and Derek Lawler, who lost their appeal in last year's case, were jailed for a week prior to paying their fines. Poland, a former vice chairman of Tallahassee CORE, was expelled from the local white university, after applying for admission to the local Negro university.

Imprisoned also for a brief period in connection with that case was Henry Steele, son of Rev. C. K. Steele, the Tallahassee integrationist leader who initiated a bus boycott simultaneously with Montgomery's, in 1956.

CORE-LATOR

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A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

MAY, 1961, SPECIAL FREEDOM RIDE EDITION No. 89

FREEDOM RIDE

by Jim Peck

(The New York Post concluded its editorial "Battle of Alabama" on May 16 with: "The country has been properly reverential about the valor exhibited by Commander Shepard in his conquest of space. But the best in the democratic character is also exhibited by such men as Jim Peck, who are seeking to lead us beyond the boundaries of bigotry and know-nothingism, and who have stoically taken so many beatings in their quest for a new world. A bus ride across Alabama under the banner of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) may be as daring an exploit as any ride in a space ship. We need more such starry-eyed men on earth.")

Seating on both local and express buses, even in the deep south, has become largely integrated but terminal facilities and rest stops have not—even in Virginia's larger cities where the "white" and "colored" signs have been removed.

This is the main conclusion reached by testers on the Freedom Ride, May 4-17, 1961. The integration of seating is a sharp contrast to the situation prevailing at the time of the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation when CORE testers were virtually the only passengers to ride non-jimcrow. The same rigid segregation which prevailed in seating at that time now prevails at the terminal facilities and rest stops.

(Continued on page 2)

MORE FREEDOM RIDES!

This is a call for more Freedom Rides. Already, new ones are under way as this COREIator goes to press. An interracial group of 7 led by William Coffin, Jr., chaplain of Yale University, was arrested May 25 in the Trailways restaurant in Montgomery following a bus trip from Atlanta.

"The time to act is now," said James Farmer, CORE national director, in a phone conversation following his arrest May 24 for trying to eat at the Jackson terminal. "Just as the Greensboro sit-in of February 1, 1960, set off a wave of sit-ins, so has CORE's Freedom Ride of May 4-17, 1961 set off a wave of Freedom Rides. Just as the sit-ins succeeded in desegregating lunch counters throughout the south, so will the Freedom Rides succeed in desegregating all phases of interstate bus travel throughout the south."

To facilitate Freedom Rides in the immediate future, CORE has posted its field secretary James McCain and Walter Bergman, one of the original riders, in New Orleans to train applicants in nonviolence. Richard Haley, another CORE field secretary, has been posted in Jackson and Thomas Gaither, a third field secretary, in Montgomery.

Persons interested in participating in a Freedom Ride now or at any time throughout the summer should immediately write CORE for an application blank, fill it out and return it to the office.

FREEDOM RIDERS

The original CORE Freedom Riders were: Julia Aaron, Mr. & Mrs. Walter Bergman, Albert Bigelow, Edward Blankenheim, Doris Castle, B. Elton Cox, Dave Dennis, James Farmer, Herman Harris, Genevieve Hughes, Jean Lewis, Jimmie McDonald, Ivor Moore, Mae Frances Moultrie, Jim Peck, Joseph Perkins, Charles Person, Isaac Reynolds, Jerome Smith, Henry Thomas and Jean Thompson. Joining the Freedom Ride in Birmingham was a contingent of some 20 students from the Nashville Nonviolent Movement led by Diane Nash.

FREEDOM RIDE

(Continued from page 1)

Virginia

It is disheartening that in a city such as Richmond, which is not far from the nation's capital and where the “white and “colored” signs have been removed, Negroes stick to the formerly separate and grossly unequal colored waiting rooms and restaurants. This is true both in the Greyhound and Trailways terminals.

The first “white’ ’and “colored” signs encountered were only 50 miles south of Washington—atop the rest room doors at the Greyhound stop in Fredericksburg. Charles Person went into the “white” rest room and I went into the “colored” rest room without incident.

In Farmville, center of Prince Edward county, where school closing has left Negro children schoolless for the past two years, the “white” and “colored” signs were painted over but still visible. The Freedom Riders were served without incident.

While there were no color signs in the Lynchburg Trailways terminal, there was a divider in the middle of the counter making persons on one side virtually invisible to those on the other.

Danville, Virginia was the first place where testers met with refusal of service. At the “colored” counter, Ed Blankenheim sat for 10 minutes until his bus was ready for departure. Genevieve Hughes and I, aboard a later bus, were at first refused service at that same counter but we—and Walter Bergman—finally got refreshments following a brief discussion with the manager.

North Carolina

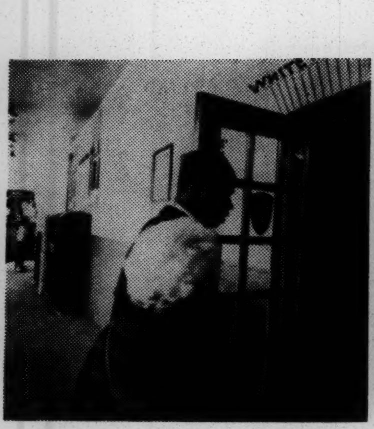
Greensboro, though reputed for its liberalism, was the first city where the color signs started to become the rule. First greeting to arriving bus passengers are large signs all around the building with arrows pointing to the “colored waiting room.” On the other hand, the “colored” lunch stand, which is no bigger than a good-sized closet and equally gloomy, had been shut down permanently a few weeks before our arrival. A Negro in the “colored” waiting room told one of the testers he was amazed recently when upon going to the “colored” lunch stand, he was advised to walk around to the formerly “white” restaurant.

In Salisbury the color signs were on every facility. However, two Negro women, after watching our testers, sat down to eat at the “white” counter.

Charlotte was the scene of the trip's first arrest—and the birth of a new “in,” the shoe-in. Charles Person climbed onto the shoeshine chair and, after being refused service, remained seated until a cop with handcuffs arrived. Person then left, since no shoe-in policy had yet been planned by the group. It was then hastily decided that Joe Perkins should get into the shoeshine chair and remain until arrested. The trip's first arrest came within minutes. Attorney Thomas Wyche won an aquittal on the basis of the Supreme Court decision against segregation in terminals.

South Carolina

Violence against the Freedom Riders erupted for the first time in Rock Hill, where the press had headlined our arrival and where hoodlums recently had attacked lunch counter pickets. In fact several of the hoodlums waiting at the Greyhound station were recognized as the same individuals who had led mob violence in the past. As the Greyhound contingent of Freedom Riders arrived, some 20 of these ruffians were on hand. When John Lewis approached the entrance of the “white”waiting room, he was assaulted by two of them. Three started slugging Albert Bigelow who was next in line. Both Lewis and Bigelow maintained nonviolent attitudes. Genevieve Hughes was pushed to the ground. At that point, the police who had been standing-by but taking their time in performance of their duty, arrived. The police captain asked Lewis and Bigelow whether they wanted to press charges against any of their assailants. They declined. Thereupon, the Freedom Riders entered the “white” waiting room unmolested.



When the Trailways group arrived at that terminal a few hours later, some of the hoodlums were waiting in cars. However, they did not attack but only drove after us a few blocks toward Friendship Junior College. The Trailways terminal building was completely locked-up and its eating facilities had been closed since Friendship students had conducted sit-ins there.

When we left next day, the Trailways “white” waiting room was open and a test team sat there unmolested. The same was true at the Greyhound station. The hoodlums did not stage a repeat performance.

Two Arrests

The Trailways group left Rock Hill about lunch time. At what was supposed to be the lunch stop in Chester, “closed” signs had been hastily put on the doors.

The lunch stop turned out to be Winnsboro, which we discovered to be as ultra-segregationist as Alabama. Here occurred the Freedom Ride's first arrest of lunch counter sit-inners. It all happened like a film which is being reeled too fast. Henry Thomas and I entered the “white” side and sat at the counter. The woman who owns the restaurant dashed back and called the police. Within two minutes a police officer who was a stereotype of the role stepped over and told Thomas: “Come with me, boy!” I stepped over to ask about my teammate and cite the Supreme Court decision and was promptly arrested also. We were driven away in a police car before the bus had left the station. Aboard the bus there was no outspoken reaction. We were jailed for several hours before being told what the charges were against us. The officer who booked us was over-anxious to fill this in but the cop who drove kept insisting: “Don't write anything down before we talk with the chief.” The charge against Thomas turned out to be “trespass” and that against me, “interfering with arrest.” However, after about eight hours in jail, we were released and the charges dropped.

At Sumter, both on arrival and on departure for Augusta, the “white” waiting room was tested without incident. There is no restaurant in the Sumter terminal.

Georgia

In Augusta, Georgia, at both the Trailways and Greyhound terminals, Freedom Riders used all facilities without incident. It marked the first time that Negroes had ever eaten at the terminal restaurants. In fact, only a few months ago a Negro serviceman had been arrested for trying to eat at one of them. Yet our eating there drew little attention. Neither racist hoodlums nor mere curiosity seekers were on hand. To make sure that the policy change was not solely for our arrival and departure, a test team made up of Herman Harris and Walter Bergman went back to both terminal restaurants during the evening of the overnight stop and were served courteously.

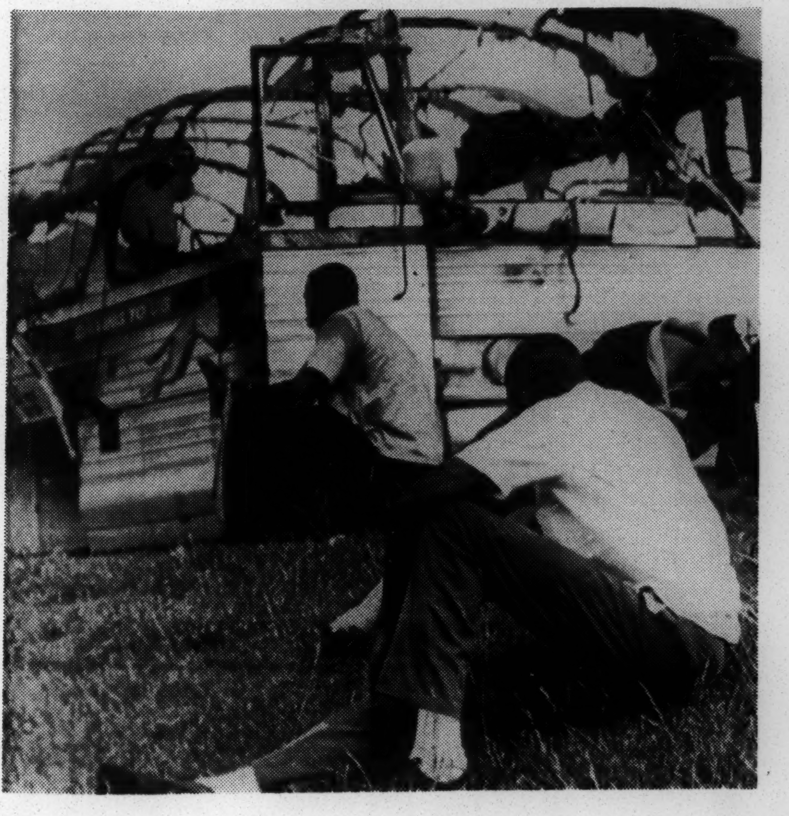
In Athens, scene of last fall's mob action against admission of two Negro college students, Freedom Riders were served without question at the rest stop. Again, there were no gapers. The scene of the momentarily integrated lunch counter could have been somewhere up north rather than deep in Georgia. In Atlanta, the Greyhound restaurant was closed for repairs but the Freedom Riders ate at the Trailways restaurant without incident. We also used the waiting rooms and rest rooms at both terminals. (Photos at left show testing of waiting room in Augusta and restaurant in Atlanta.)

Alabama

Next lap of the trip was Atlanta to Birmingham. When I phoned Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth to give him the arrival time of the Freedom Riders, I learned that white supremacists were expected to mobilize at the terminals. However, there was no inkling that a similar mob was waiting in Anniston. Freedom Riders first learned of this when their Greyhound bus stopped just outside of Anniston and their driver conferred briefly with the driver of another Greyhound bus going the other way.

When the Greyhound bus pulled into Anniston, it was immediately surrounded by an angry mob armed with iron bars. They set upon the vehicle, breaking windows and denting the sides. They punctured the tires. Finally, police arrived and the bus managed to depart. But the mob pursued it in cars. One car got ahead of the bus and prevented it from gathering speed. About six miles out, one of the tires went flat and the bus was forced to pull over to a gas station. Within minutes, the pursuing mob was again hitting the bus with iron bars. The rear window of the bus was broken and a bomb was thrown in. At once the vehicle was filled with thick smoke. The passengers, including the Freedom Riders, ducked toward the floor in order to breathe. A few climbed out of a window. Some tried to get out the door, but it was being held shut from the outside. However, the passengers finally succeeded in opening the door. All the passengers managed to escape before the bus burst into flames and was totally destroyed. As the Freedom Riders emerged, some of them were beaten. Henry Thomas was clubbed on the head. But at this point, the police arrived. A couple of them fired shots into the air. The mob dispersed and the injured were treated at the hospital. The Freedom Riders finally reached Birmingham in cars dispatched by Rev. Shuttlesworth.

Bus Bombed and Burned



Hoodlums Board Second Bus

When the Trailways bus carrying the rest of the Freedom Riders arrived in Anniston an hour later, the other passengers heard at the rest stop what had happened to the Greyhound bus and discontinued their trip. As the bus was about to depart, eight hoodlums climbed aboard and stood by the driver as he announced that he would refuse to proceed unless the Negro Freedom Riders moved to the rear of the bus. As the Negroes remained seated, the hoodlums cursed and started to move them, bodily, to the rear, kicking and slugging them at the same time. Walter Bergman and I who were seated toward the rear, moved up to try to halt the onslaught and we, too, were pushed, slugged and kicked. Finally, all the Freedom Riders were forced to the back of the bus. The hoodlums—together with a pregnant woman whom they had brought aboard—sat in the very front. The seats in between remained empty. At that point the driver agreed to proceed to Birmingham. For the entire 2-hour ride, the hoodlums craned their necks to stare at us with looks of hatred.

Violence in Birmingham

Upon arrival in Birmingham, a mob was gathered outside the bus station. Charles Person and I entered the "white" waiting room. We were grabbed bodily and pushed toward the street exit. As soon as we reached the alleyway leading to the exit and were out of sight of persons in the waiting room, six of the mob assaulted me with fists and lead pipe. Five others attacked Person.

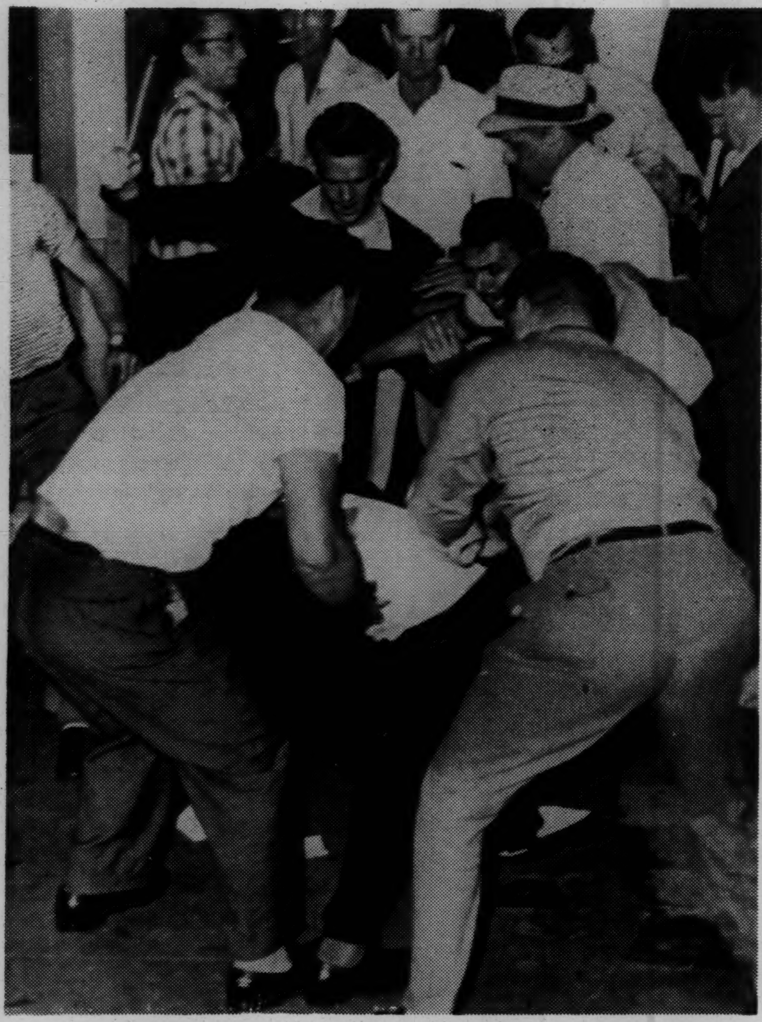
Next, they attacked Tom Langston of the Birmingham Post-Herald and smashed his camera. Langston had been sufficiently quick-witted to remove his film and the photo of my beating, clearly showing the angry faces of the assailants, appeared in next morning's Post-Herald. (*see next page*).

Then, Clancy Lake, a radio newsman, was attacked as he sat in his car broadcasting an account of the onslaught. An ambulance took me to a hospital where 53 stitches were sewed into my head and face. Not a single uniformed policeman was on hand at the Birmingham terminal at the time. Police Chief Eugene "Bull" Connor later explained that since it was Mothers' Day, many were off duty.

Proceeding From Birmingham

Next day we went to the Greyhound terminal to board a bus for Montgomery. After receiving protests over the mob violence, Attorney General Robert Kennedy had promised to do all possible to safeguard the Freedom Riders.

(Continued on page 4)



FREEDOM RIDE

(Continued from page 3)

However, the bus for Montgomery never left. Drivers of both Greyhound and Trailways refused to drive the Freedom Riders. After waiting more than an hour on the platform as the mob started to gather again, we went into the "white"waiting room.

Since it became clear that we would not get out of Birmingham by bus in time to make the mass meeting scheduled in Montgomery that evening, we decided to fly to New Orleans in order to make sure of being at the mass rally there marking the conclusion of the Freedom Ride on May 17, anniversary of the Supreme Court's key anti-segregation decision.

In cars supplied by Rev. Shuttlesworth, we rode from the bus terminal to the airport and got reservations on an Eastern Air Lines plane leaving about an hour later. No sooner had we boarded the plane than an announcement came over the loudspeaker that a bomb threat had been received and all passengers would have to debark while luggage was inspected. Time dragged on and eventually the flight was cancelled. The mob started to gather in the airport. The Freedom Riders then got reservations aboard a Capital Airlines plane which was the next flight to New Orleans. That flight was cancelled also, though no public announcement was made of a bomb scare. We finally took off on an Eastern Air Lines plane at 11 p.m., after six tense hours in the airport. The only factor which deterred the ever-growing mob from staging a new assault, was that police were on hand. By about 10 p.m., police cleared them out of the airport and set up a roadblock nearby. The Freedom Riders reached New Orleans, the last stop on their trip, shortly after midnight. They were met by at least a dozen reporters and cameramen. The story of the Freedom Ride had become national and international news. Alabama-style terrorism was now in the world spotlight.

Nashville Students Take-up Ride

The original Freedom Ride ended with a mass rally in New Orleans on May 17, but members of a Nashville student group, the Nashville Nonviolent Movement, decided to travel by bus over the yet-untested portion of the route, from Birmingham to New Orleans.

Upon arrival in Birmingham, 12 of them were arrested, held in "protective custody" and then taken by police to the Tennessee border. They returned to Birmingham and went to the Greyhound station. At first no driver would take them, as had been the case with the original Freedom Riders, but finally they boarded a bus for Montgomery under guard of the state highway patrol, a helicopter and officials of the U.S. Justice Department.

Montgomery Mobism

At Montgomery, they were awaited by a mob far bigger than the one which set upon the original Freedom Riders in Birmingham. Like in Birmingham, no uniformed police were at the bus sation and the riders were ruthlessly beaten with all types of weapons as they debarked. Police did appear soon after the original assault, but the mob onslaught erupted twice more until, finally, tear gas bombs were hurled. Throughout the night there were bomb-threats, car-burnings and threatened house burnings. Fifteen hundred persons attending a mass meeting addressed by Martin Luther King and James Farmer spent the entire night in the First Baptist Church, because to venture into the streets would have been unsafe. Over 600 federal marshals were dispatched to Montgomery and, finally, Governor Patterson called out the National Guard.

The Nashville students met and decided to continue the ride to New Orleans. With them were three of the original Freedom Riders—Farmer, Lewis and Thomas—and five members of New Orleans CORE who had journeyed from that city to Montgomery to join.

The total number which boarded two Trailways buses from Montgomery to Jackson was 27. Prior to departure, several of the group ate at the terminal restaurant without incident. Both buses were escorted by large contingents of national guardsmen and highway patrolmen.

Mississippi

A threat to dynamite the first bus as it crossed the Mississippi line, failed to materialize. The buses drove to Jackson without making any rest stops. City police had cleared the terminal of spectators and had stationed 50 officers there. In front of the station were three of the police dogs which recently have become a hallmark of Mississippi in dealing with anti-segregationists.

All 12 from the first bus were arrested upon attempting to use the "white" rest room in the terminal. The 15 from the second bus, including Farmer, were arrested while lining-up to eat at the terminal's cafeteria.

CORE National Chairman Charles Oldham flew to Jackson to assist defense attorney Jack Young. However, the Freedom Riders were convicted on May 26 on charges of "failing to move on." They received a 60 day suspended jail term and a $200 fine. To work out the fine—at $3 a day—would require 67 days in jail. Twenty-two, including James Farmer, have chosen to remain in jail.

CORE-LATOR

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A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

JUNE 1961 No. 90

2 ACTION INSTITUTES

NORTH—Housing is the main area of racial discrimination in the north. Therefore, CORE this summer is conducting a special Action Institute on nonviolent techniques as applied to the housing issue. Since Boston CORE has experienced several years of successful housing action, Boston has been selected as the site. The date—*July 29 to August 6*. The cost, including room and board, is $75. Some scholarships are available.

SOUTH—CORE's regular summer Action Institute will be held this year in northern Virginia from *August 13 to September 3*. It will include training both in the theory and practice of nonviolence to combat racial discrimination. Experts in this field will lead the discussions and the action projects. The cost, including room and board is $150. Some scholarships are available.

PERSONS INTERESTED IN ENROLLING IN EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE ACTION INSTITUTES SHOULD PLACE THEIR RESERVATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL CORE OFFICE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

FREEDOM RIDES ROLL ON

In the last COREIator, James Farmer, CORE national director, issued a plea from jail in Mississippi for more Freedom Rides. His plea has been answered and continues to be answered.

The total number of Freedom Riders who have converged on Jackson, Mississippi and have been jailed there now totals 160. But there are also Freedom Rides through other sections of the south.

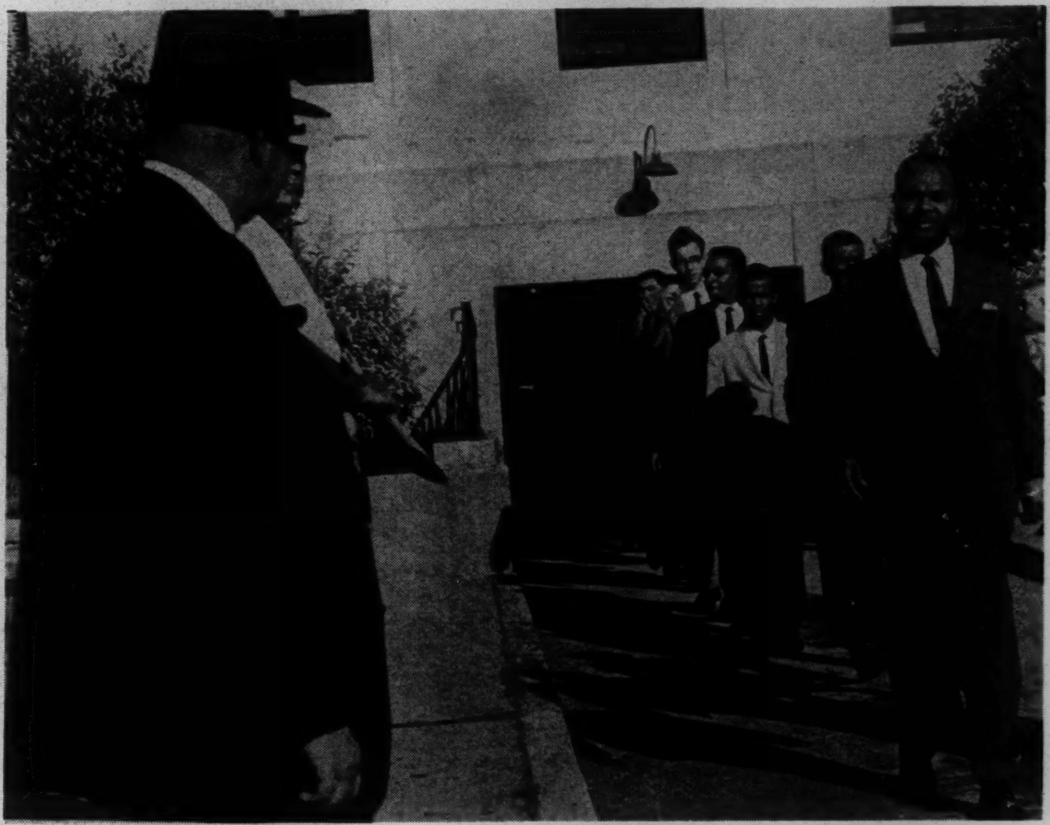
CORE organized an interfaith, interracial group including four rabbis, seven Negro ministers and seven white ministers who rode from Washington to Tallahassee. Ten of the group, together with three members of Tallahassee CORE, were arrested for "unlawful assembly" at the Tallahassee airport restaurant (operated by Union News Co.), when they attempted to get food prior to their flight home. The arrest came after they had sat-in without eating for an entire day. They were convicted and sentenced to $500 fines or 60 days in jail. The case is being appealed. Following negotiations with CORE in New York, Unions News announced it would serve everybody, whereupon city offi-

(*Continued on page 2*)

JAILED FREEDOM RIDERS VISITED

by Charles Oldham

(Editor's Note—Charles Oldham, CORE national chairman, was one of the attorneys at the first trial of Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi. As this COREIator goes to press, 160 Freedom Riders have been arrested in Jackson. Most of them have chosen to remain jailed-in rather than pay fines. Two of them, Price Chatham and Newell Weber have been on a hunger strike since their arrest June 2 and June 6, respectively.)



This photo shows James Farmer, CORE national director, heading a group of Freedom Riders being transferred from the Hinds County Jail to the penal farm. Following an incident of violence by guards there, the Riders were returned to the county jail and finally transferred to the Mississippi State Prison in Parchman, where they are lodged in the maximum security section.

The maximum security section consists of a flat one-story building surrounded by a high wire fence topped with rolls of barbed wire. Entrance is gained by passing through the chain link fence at a gate operated by a guard in one of the four towers. The building has three sets of locked doors which must be opened before you can get to the cell block.

After being ushered into the cell block, I found that the Freedom Riders had brought integration to Mississippi—not in interstate travel where segregation is illegal—but to the penitentiary where the State of Mississippi has complete control. White and Negro prisoners are housed in the same cell block.

The Freedom Riders are subjected to the same rules as maximum security felons. They are rarely permitted out of their cells. They are not permitted

(*Continued on page 2*)

FREEDOM RIDES ROLL ON

(*Continued from page 1*)

cials in Tallahassee closed down the airport restaurant.

A group of professional people and UAW members journeyed from Washington to St. Petersburg. Three of them were arrested while seeking service at a rest stop in Ocala. Their case has been postponed until July 5.

As this CORElator goes to press, a group of 20 were arrested in the Jackson railroad station's "white" waiting room after coming all the way from California. Another group is on its way to Jackson from Washington State.

A Freedom Ride of Episcopalian ministers as far ahead as September—from New Orleans to Detroit—has been announced in conjunction with that religious group's forthcoming convention which is being held in the Michigan city.

CORE continues to coordinate mobilization for the Freedom Rides with the Nashville Nonviolent Committee, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN TAKING A FREEDOM RIDE THIS SUMMER, APPLY TO THE CORE NATIONAL OFFICE NOW.

FARMER'S STATEMENT FROM JAIL

James Farmer, CORE national director, who has been in jail since May 24, gave Charles Oldham the following statement when the latter visited him:

"Everyone has the right to travel in interstate commerce without being subjected to discrimination because of race—yet in Mississippi we were arrested, convicted and sentenced to a maximum of four months and $200 fine or a total of six months and seven days for walking into a waiting room designated by Mississippi for persons of the other race.

"Under Mississippi law it is illegal to put individuals convicted of a misdemeanor in the state penitentiary, yet here we are in the maximum security prison normally reserved for hardened criminals. Not only is Mississippi willing to ignore the United States Constitution, but it is also willing to ignore its own laws.

"The time has come for action by the federal government to protect citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights. The officers of Mississippi by their refusal to abide by their own twisted laws have again indicated the lengths to which they will go to practice and enforce segregation and second class citizenship on Negro citizens."

Francis Randall, Columbia University history instructor; Herbert Callendar, U.A.W. member, and Rev. Arthur Hardge integrate the Greyhound restaurant in St. Petersburg, Florida.

(*Continued from page 1*)

any printed material. They may write two letters a week and receive two letters a week. Cigarets are not allowed. There is nothing to do but sit and think or sleep.

Despite this, their spirits are high. They are convinced that their example and their willingness to protest the illegal action of Mississippi is worthwhile and is a significant step in the fight to eliminate discrimination.

I also visited some of the female Freedom Riders who are in the Hinds County Jail in Jackson. Fourteen whites occupy a cell about 13 by 15 feet. The bath facilities are in the same area taking up about 3 by 5 feet. These prisoners do not have beds. They sleep on the concrete floor. The shower floor is at the same level as the cell floor where they sleep. When they bathe, one of the women sits at the shower entrance and tries to block the water from flooding the cell floor. They have set aside certain periods of the day for worship, singing, discussion, rest, taking showers and washing clothes.

The Negro females are in a similar set-up except that they are located in two cells and are not so overcrowded. The female prisoners can write and receive letters. Some of the white males are still at Jackson City Jail, where conditions are fair as compared to other similar institutions. They are permitted reading material and cigarets and can write and receive letters.

EASTLAND "HONORS" CORE EDITOR

Jim Peck, editor of the CORElator and a victim of mob violence in Birmingham was "honored" May 25 by Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who is chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee. Speaking on the Senate floor that day, he singled out Peck as "a Communist agitator and organizer of the most dangerous kind" who is "disloyal to his country." (The same charge was repeated three weeks later by Alabama's Attorney General, MacDonald Gallion, on the Dave Garroway program over which Peck had appeared a couple of weeks earlier.)

Countering Eastland's outburst, the New York Post commented editorially: "Surely Eastland should have learned the distinction between a pacifist and a Communist, no matter how much he dislikes both. But he is unable or unwilling to learn. He took the Senate floor for a raucous attack on Jim Peck, the Freedom Rider who was so savagely assaulted by an Alabama mob. Peck's pacifist convictions are long a matter of record: he has suffered imprisonment for them on other occasions. Does Eastland really not grasp the distinction? Is he a fool or a faker?"

MY WALK WITH HARRY TRUMAN

by Jim Peck

I decided to approach former President Harry Truman during his early-morning walk on June 5 to take issue with a statement he had made on his walk a couple of days earlier that "Northerners who go south as Freedom Riders are meddlesome intruders (who) . . . should stay at home and attend to their own business."

When I introduced myself as "a Freedom Rider from the north," Truman interrupted with: "Better stay up north, then."

I went on to express the view that "ending racial segregation in the U.S. is the business of *all* conscientious citizens, north, south, east and west." I added that: "Racial segregation—more than any other single factor—besmirches the U.S. in the world's eyes and aids the Communist propaganda machine."

Truman then interrupted again with: "That's just what *you're* doing: helping the Communists!" I tried to get in a final sentence, but Truman cut it short with: "I'm not going to say any more."

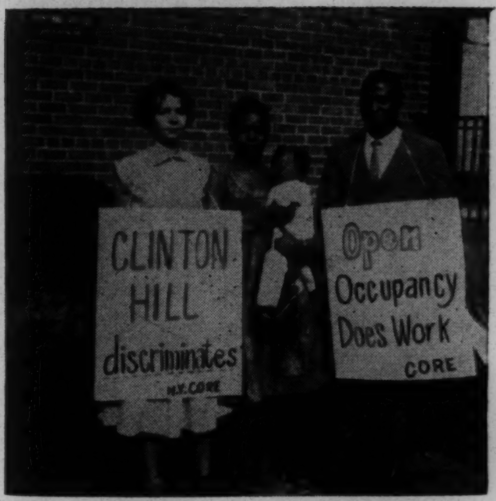
However, I continued to walk with him—along with eight reporters—and after they had asked him some questions on other matters, I addressed him again to express regret that he would not discuss the CORE Freedom Rides in a more serious manner in view of the fact that many prominent Americans view them favorably. "Just trouble-making," was his final comment on the Freedom Rides.

Reporters told me it was the first time that Truman on his walks had been confronted with a key social issue of this kind. The confrontation, which received considerable publicity, was worthwhile, I feel. Truman's unintelligent responses and his rudeness of attitude certainly lent no dignity to his position. The nature of his remarks recalled to me his comment a year ago on the sit-ins. Asked his opinion of them, he stated that if he had a business and an unwelcome customer refused to leave the premises, he would kick them out. Shortly thereafter, he tried unsuccessfully to smear the sit-in movement as Communist.

CORE PAYS SHUTTLESWORTH'S LEGAL COSTS

CORE Community Relations Director Marvin Rich presents $1,000 check to Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth as first installment on legal expenses. The Birmingham integration leader is involved in four separate legal actions growing out of his courageous support of CORE's Freedom Riders.

FREEDOM HOUSERS



"Be a Freedom Houser!" was the slogan on a leaflet which Brooklyn and New York CORE distributed at Clinton Hill. The Clarence Funnye's and their 3½-month old son, shown in the above photo, are real Freedom Housers. Refused the right even to inspect an apartment at Clinton Hill, which white CORE testers had inspected, they returned to picket. Picketing with them is Genevieve Hughes, CORE field secretary and one of the original Freedom Riders.

AMUSEMENT PARK COMPLETES INTEGRATION AFTER 9 YEARS

On May 17, 1952 when 15 white and Negro members of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations, a CORE affiliate, arrived at Coney Island Amusement Park, city, county and private police were mobilized to prevent them from gaining admittance.

Thus was set the pattern of intimidation which marked the three seasons during which CORE waged its nonviolent campaign. On April 30, 1955 the Park—with the exception of the swimming pool and dance pavillion—opened its gates to Negroes for the first time.

CCHR went out of existence soon thereafter, but in 1960, a new CORE group was formed in Cincinnati and a nonviolent campaign to complete desegregation of the Park began this spring. The local NAACP joined CORE in seeking to open the swimming pool and the dance pavillion.

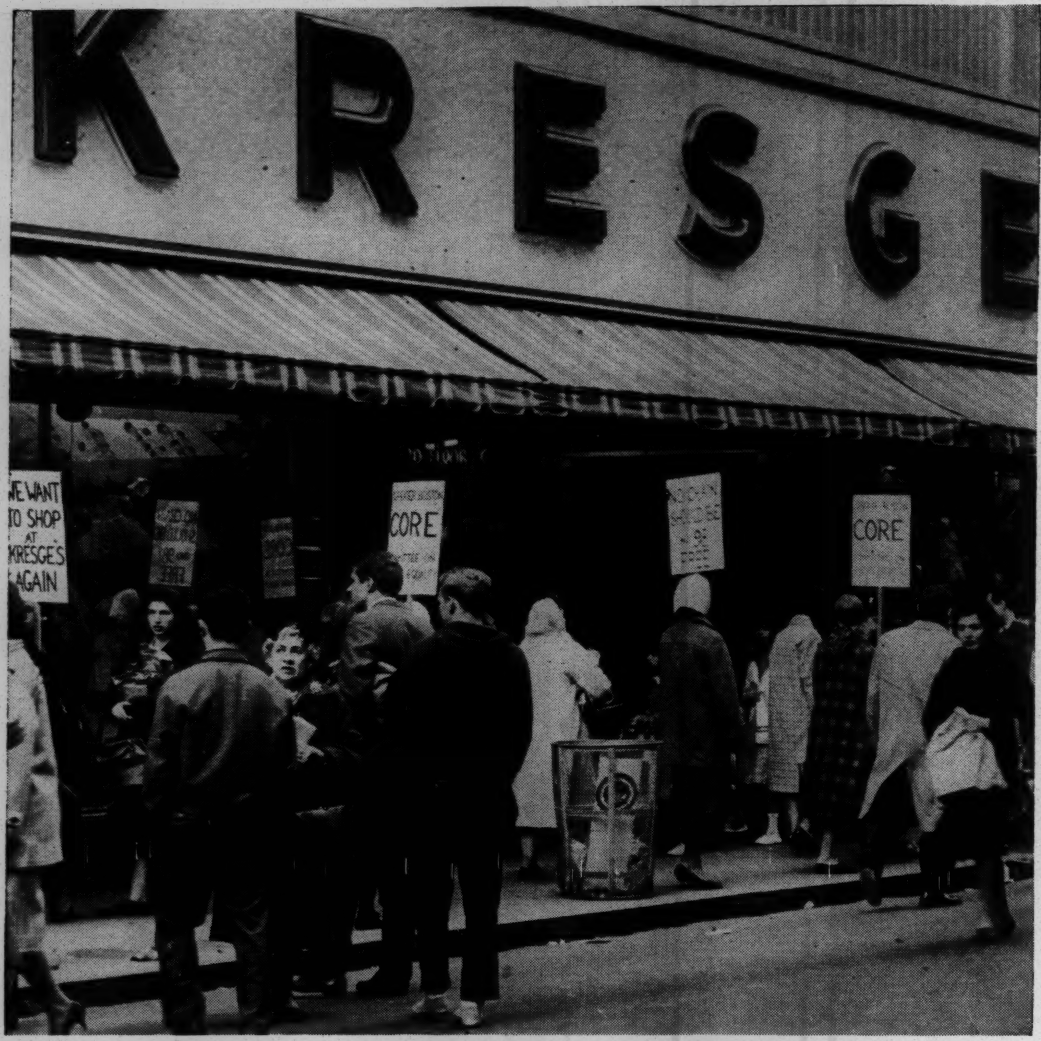
During the last week in May, 26 were arrested for seeking admission to the pool. After negotiations with Eugene Martin of CORE and with NAACP officials, Edward Schott, Coney Island president, announced that "any person whose motives are only to use the facilities we provide and who is prepared to conduct himself properly will be admitted to any part of the park."

Stockholders Hear Pleas for Speedier Change

The stockholders meeting of S. S. Kresge Co. in Detroit on May 12 and that of F. W. Woolworth Co. in Watertown, N. Y. on May 17 heard appeals for quicker desegregation of southern lunch counters.

Raising the issue at the Kresge meeting was Rudy Lombard, chairman of New Orleans CORE, who held a proxy. Lombard urged that Kresge's, the variety chain which has come closest to 100% desegregation of its southern lunch counters, complete the job. He pointed out that in only three southern communities do Kresge lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes, but that the company remains adamant in negotiating a policy change in these localities.

While Lombard addressed the stockholders meeting, some 200 members of Detroit and Ann Arbor CORE picketed outside the building. Picket lines were also established on that day at Kresge stores in other major cities. A demonstration in Boston is shown in this photo.


KRESGE
WE WANT TO SHOP AT KRESGE'S AGAIN
CORE
CORE

Five days later in Watertown, N. Y., Susan Bodan, a minority stockholder, raised the issue at the Woolworth meeting. She also represented Jim Peck, who was unable to attend because of being on a Freedom Ride, and two other minority stockholders.

Robert C. Kirkwood, company president, in his report, gave as one of the reasons why business in 1960 had been "somewhat disappointing," "the interruption of normal shopping patterns in some communities as a result of local actions taken in the interest of desegregating eating facilities in certain southern communities."

When Mrs. Bodan took the floor, she contrasted this situation with the "business-as-usual or improved business reported in stores where the ban against Negroes at lunch counters has been lifted." She also pointed out that Woolworth's, along with McCrory's, is lagging behind the other variety chains in southern lunch counter desegregation. (CORE's protest at the McCrory stockholders meeting was reported in the April CORElator.)

Rev. Thomas Carlisle of the Stone Street Presbyterian Church, which owns 250 shares of Woolworth, then took the floor to indorse what Mrs. Bodan had said and to voice his own views in favor of lunch counter desegregation.

STAND-INS WIN MOVIE DESEGREGATION

A 7-month-long campaign of CORE stand-ins at ticket windows has resulted in a signed agreement for desegregation of three movie theaters in Lexington, Kentucky as of June 20. A limited period of planned tests preceded the full integration. The theaters are the Strand and Ben-Ali of the Schine chain and the Kentucky. owned by N. Switow & Sons of Louisville.

Julia Lewis, chairman of Lexington CORE, headed the local negotiating committee. James Farmer, CORE national director and Genevieve Hughes, CORE field secretary, also participated in the negotiations. Miss Hughes had helped to organize a mass demonstration at two Schine theaters in Rochester. Similar sympathy demonstrations had been planned in other upstate New York communities where there are Schine theaters.

Under the agreement, the operators have abandoned their attempt to get an injunction against CORE and will urge dismissal of charges against 22 stand-inners arrested on April 4 at the Kentucky Theater. Half of those arrested on that occasion, including three children of Rev. Lamont Jones, spent the night in jail.

Two previous cases in which CORE stand-inners were arrested at the Strand Theater, ended with the charges being dismissed. The first case occurred several nights after Lincoln's Birthday weekend when delegates to CORE's national council meeting in Lexington joined the local stand-inners, and closed down the theater.

Soon after the Lexington agreement was signed, it was extended to cover the Schine theater in Richmond, Kentucky, where another CORE group had been active. Schine theaters in other communities where there is protest action are expected to follow suit.

* * *

By a vote of the CORE national action committee and upon recommendation of Charles Oldham, CORE national chairman, the national CORE conference and convention, set for early July, has been postponed until early September.

CORE-LATOR

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

AUGUST, 1961 No. 91

JAILED IN MISSISSIPPI

by James Farmer

(Editors Note—James Farmer, CORE National Director, served 40 days of a 67-day sentence. This was the maximum he could serve and yet appeal his conviction.)

Jail at best is neither a romantic nor a pleasant place. Mississippi jails are no exception. The first 27 Freedom Riders to arrive in Jackson saw the inside of two different jails and two different prisons—The Jackson City Jail, the Hinds County Jail, The Hinds County Prison Farm and the State Penitentiary at Parchman. Jails are no new experience for most of the Riders, but Riders were definitely a new experience for Mississippi jails. For the first time, penal authorities in the citadel of segregation had a glimpse of the New Negro and the Emancipated white. I do not think they can ever be quite the same again after this experience.

Nor will the other prisoners, black and white, be the same again, after having seen in the flesh men and women who do not believe segregation to be in the very nature of things, and who are willing to defy it.

Jail and prison authorities frequently said, and really seemed to believe, that other Negro prisoners like things the way they are and have no sympathy with us, and that it was for our own protection that we were isolated from them. However, the Negro trustees went out of their way whenever the guards were not present to show their sympathy by word and deed. "Keep up the good work," one said. "I admire you guys and what you are doing," said another. "I wish I could do the same thing, but I have to do what these people tell me to do." They smuggled newspapers in to us, delivered notes and messages between our cell block and that of the girl Freedom Riders, and passed on rumors which they had heard in jail or in the community.

One night at the county jail, a voice called up from the cell block beneath us, where other Negro prisoners were housed. "Upstairs!" the anonymous prisoner shouted. We replied, "downstairs!" "Upstairs," replied the voice; "Sing your freedom song." The Freedom Riders then sang. We sang old folk songs and gospel songs to which new words had been written, telling of the Freedom Ride and its purpose. We sang new words to old labor songs, too. One stanza rang out: "They say in Hinds County no neutrals have they met. You either follow Freedom Ride or you 'tom' for Ross Barnett." After the impromptu concert, the downstairs prisoners, whom the jailors had said were our enemies, shouted back: "That sounds good, Freedom Riders; you are our friends." They then sang for us. The girl Freedom Riders, in another wing of the jail, joined in the Freedom Ride songs, and for the first time in history, the Hinds County jail rocked with unrestrained singing of songs about Freedom and Brotherhood.

Then an interesting incident occurred. In a burst of profanity, a white prisoner who was not a Freedom Rider, shouted to the Negro prisoners to shut-up. The girl Freedom Riders immediately met the challenge by singing "We Shall Overcome Someday." Another white prisoner, with an unmistakable Mississippi accent, then shouted his approval of the songs and the singing, and volunteered: "I am for integration 100%. Sing some more songs, Freedom Riders." The first white prisoner then offered to shut his mouth for him. "Sticks and Stones May Break My Bones, But Words Will Never Hurt Me," came the reply. The first prisoner then offered to back up the words. Our new-found white Mississippi friend then asked his antagonist if he had ever heard of Booker T. Washington. Receiving a negative reply, of course, he said: "That's what I thought. Well, Booker T. Washington was my uncle, so if you still want to back those words up, come on down here as soon as the jailer opens the cell gates in the morning." When the cell gates were opened no

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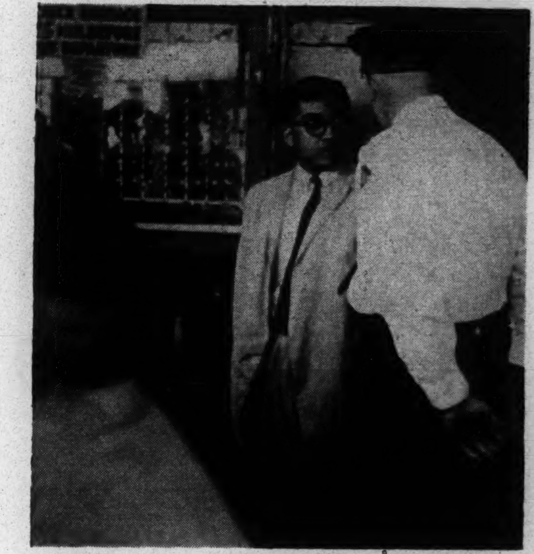
NOT ARRESTED



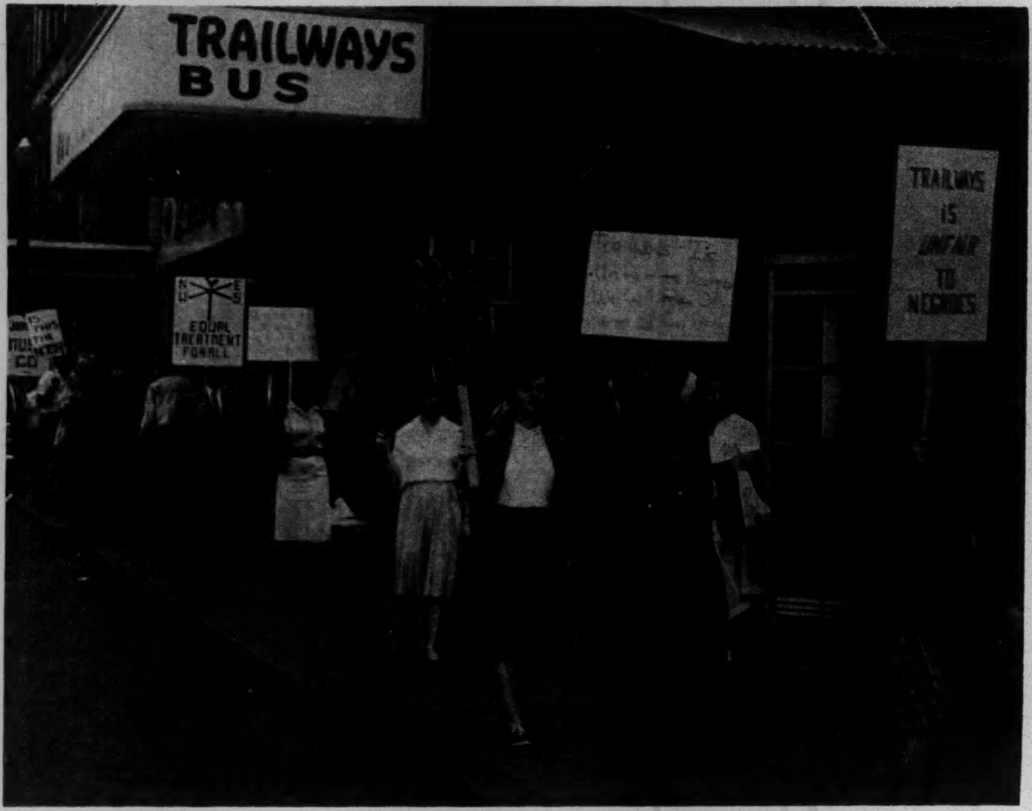
Jackson police debate in bus terminal whether or not to arrest Widjonarko Tjokroadisumarto, Indonesian student whose father was formerly ambassador to Pakistan. They finally decided not to. For one thing, they were unable to determine whether to classify this Freedom Rider as "white" or "colored."

SERVED

First and only Freedom Riders yet to be served at the Jackson bus station were Norma Wagner, a blind woman from Rochester and Earl Bohannon, Jr., a Chicago student.

CORE'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE-CONVENTION, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR EARLY SUMMER, WILL TAKE PLACE ON LABOR DAY WEEKEND, SEPTEMBER 1 - 4, AT ALL SOULS UNITARIAN CHURCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C. DELEGATES WILL STAY AT THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT. FOR DETAILED INFORMATION CONTACT THE CORE OFFICE.

Picket For Fair Employment



These CORE pickets at the Trailways station in Boston are trying to get New England Trailways to hire Negroes as bus drivers and in other non-menial jobs. A Negro porter there who recently applied for a better job was promptly fired.

First Victory in D.C.

Washington CORE won an initial success in its fair employment campaign when the William Hahn shoestore chain started hiring Negroes. Already two Negro salesmen have been hired and more have gotten jobs in other departments, reports Julius Hobson, Washington CORE chairman.

Surveys in Philadelphia and Berkeley

Philadelphia CORE has recently completed a survey of employment in banks and insurance companies and Berkeley (Calif.) CORE of employment in retail and department stores. Action will follow in both communities.

JAILED IN MISSISSIPPI *(Continued from page 1)*

violence occurred, much to our relief.

One evening at the county jail, after the rumor of our imminent transfer to the state penitentiary had reached us, the jailer came quietly to our Freedom Riders cell block. He called me, and we stood there with the bars between us, chatting. He did most of the talking. He told me about his family, his wife and four or five children—the good records they had made in schools, including Ole Miss. He told me of his son's prowess in sports and of their marriages and his grandchildren. He told me, too, of his dislike of violence, and of his children's upbringing in that regard. I asked him how, on his meager income, he had been able to send his children through Ole Miss. Then came the inevitable story of "Aunt Lucy." His wife had been able to work also, throughout the years because they had Aunt Lucy who lived in the home and was a part of the family, took care of the children; in fact raised them and even slept in their rooms. The old man's eyes filled with tears as he told me of Aunt Lucy's death two years earlier, and proudly asserted that his entire family came back to town on the anniversary of her funeral to place a $15 wreath on Aunt Lucy's grave. The jailer stood there talking for more than an hour, in the first conversation we had had with him. This, I am sure, was his way of saying goodby, and of telling us that he respects the Freedom Riders, and that whatever unpleasantness we might meet at the state penitentiary would be something of which he did not approve.

So Mississippians, born of segregation, are human too. Our job, in addition to stopping their practice of segregation, is somehow to reach their humanity and bring it to the fore. This, also, the Freedom Riders attempt to do.

BLIND FREEDOM RIDER ARRESTED FOR LEAFLETING

Even in Jackson, Mississippi, police declined to arrest Norma Wagner, a blind Freedom Rider from Rochester. In fact, she and Earl Bohannon Jr., Chicago student, were the first and only Freedom Riders yet to be served at the Jackson bus station. (See photo on page 1.)

However, upon reaching New Orleans, the blind woman was arrested along with five New Orleans CORE members for the "crime" of distributing leaflets announcing a Freedom Ride rally. The case has been twice postponed.

The day before, three CORE members waiting for a bus on Jefferson Davis Parkway were arrested on charges of "vagrancy" and "no visible means of support." The case was dismissed. A few days later three CORE members were arrested in a private home. Jerome Smith, chairman of New Orleans CORE viewed the arrests as stepped-up police harrassment.

IN BRIEF

"Is it Right to honor a man who is dedicated to the subversion of democracy?" asked a leaflet distributed recently by Chicago CORE pickets as Governor Faubus of Arkansas addressed the National Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs.

* * *

The prospect of a new "in," a tooth-in, faded in Alton, Illinois, when a Negro patient was treated by a local dentist. "We plan to make similar tests with other dentists and hope we have as much success," commented W. H. Coleman, chairman of Alton CORE.

* * *

An arrest case arising from New Orleans' first sit-in — September 17 a year ago at McCrory's — is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. So announced Lolis Elie, CORE attorney, after the State Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the four New Orleans CORE participants.

* * *

After negotiating unsuccessfully at the Put-Put Miniature Golf Course, St. Louis County CORE planned a picket line. But when members of the group arrived with picket signs, they were admitted and have been ever since.

FREEDOM HOUSERS WIN

The Clarence Funnye's, whose photo picketing Clinton Hill appeared in the last COREIator, moved into that Brooklyn private housing project on August 1. The same day two neighbors introduced themselves to the new Negro family and welcomed them.

Their victory followed a 6-hour sit-in at the rental office by Gladys Harrington, regional CORE representative and three members of Brooklyn and New York CORE. Guards at the project refused to let the sit-inners use the rental office's rest room facilities. Round-the-clock picketing on the July 4 weekend bolstered the sit-in.

After six hours, Assistant Chief Police Inspector William Kimmins arrived—not to make an arrest—but to announce he had arranged a conference between CORE and city officials. As an outcome of this conference, the Clinton Hill management, which originally had refused to let the Funnye's even inspect an apartment, announced that the family would be accepted as tenants.

STAND-IN AT POOL

The Crystal Pool in Oak Park, a Detroit suburb, closed for a day as a result of a stand-in by 50 members of Detroit Youth CORE and Detroit Youth League. Negroes were told that the pool is a "club" which admits only members.

Management then obtained a temporary injunction identifying only four of the stand-inners by name and the rest as John and Mary Doe's.

Picketing of the pool continues along the public highway immediately adjoining it.

Test Restaurants, Bowling Alleys

In another Detroit suburb, Dearborn, Detroit and Ann Arbor CORE, together with the Young Democrats tested 21 restaurants and two bowling alleys. They were refused service at only one restaurant and one bowling alley. Teams of negotiators returned to these two establishments later and succeeded in reversing their policy.

When Mayor Orville Hubbard first heard about the testing, he commented: "It sounds like some freedom clowns trying to make some trouble," but added: "Let them come, just so they don't drive too fast and do obey all traffic laws."

THE HOUSING INSTITUTE

LET'S
BIGOTRY
IN
BOSTON
HOUSING
SEGREGATION
HURTS US
ALL
CORE
WE WANT
DEMOCRACY
ALL

by Marvin Rich

Ruth Beckford, Lois Bertholf and Robert Martin are distributing leaflets in Boston's predominantly Negro section, Roxbury, during CORE's recent Action Institute on Housing. The leaflets, urging more Negroes to apply for housing outside of ghetto areas, met with an enthusiastic response.

Pointed out in the leaflets is the fact that Massachusetts has one of the nation's most effective laws against discrimination. However, one important conclusion which emerged from the Institute is that the law is no substitute for direct action.

In its evaluation report, the Institute said: "The relationship between the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and Boston CORE has in effect stymied Boston CORE's direct action efforts."

Negroes who had finally secured the homes of their choice told a session of the Institute of having spent from six months to a year in doing so.

An outstanding recommendation of the evaluation report was "more opportunities to involve ourselves in action situations in order to evolve new techniques." One such technique suggested was "Freedom Rides" of home seekers and testers from downtown Boston to suburban areas where new homes are available but where many Negroes are reluctant to venture individually.

More than 50 tests, including many suburban home developments, were made by Institute participants. White teams followed Negro teams to determine whether real estate agents would tell the same stories to each.

In more than half the tests discrimination was revealed at this level. In a few instances, Calvin Phelps and Joseph Washington were told that there were "no vacancies" despite visibly posted "for rent" signs. A white team including Lois Bertholf and William Fischer were shown quantities of listings whereas a Negro team including Bill Larkins and Josievet Moss were told "We have nothing available for you. One real estate agent volunteered: "We are really looking out for you by trying to save you from embarrassing situations." Testers found in general that agents, as well as builders and developers, although cognizant of the law, do not feel compelled to cease discriminating.

Two interracial teams, one headed by Dick Mann of Boston CORE and the other by Anna Holden of Ann Arbor CORE, negotiated with the two most flagrantly discriminating real estate operators. One openly admitted his practices and asserted that nothing could be done about it. When Institute participants established a picket line, he promptly closed his office for the day. The other operator, following negotiations, agreed in the future to show his listings to all persons regardless of color.

The 19 Institute participants came from 12 CORE groups.

FREEDOM RIDE NEWS

FOUR MONTHS JAIL FOR JACKSON PICKETING

Although almost 30 years have elapsed since the right to picket was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, it is no more recognized in Jackson, Mississippi than is the more recently upheld right of interstate passengers to use unsegregated transportation facilities.

For daring to picket a meeting of four southern governors in Jackson, Richard Haley, CORE field secretary and Helen O'Neal, who quit Jackson State College to join the picketing, received the same maximum sentence given the Freedom Riders — four months in jail and $200 fines.

The two were arrested 15 minutes after they started carrying their placards in front of the Heidelberg Hotel, where the southern governors were considering ways of recreating a "solid south." The pickets' four placards said: "Governors, Don't Forget Freedom," "Let's Join the U. S.," "Lead Us to the Future, Not the Past" and "The States Rights We Lost: Fair Play for All Men."

Prior to the picketing, Haley had distributed a statement suggesting for the governor's meeting an agenda calling for recognition of Negro voting rights, fair employment practices, school desegregation and removal of "white" and "colored" signs.

Police Captain Ray used the same procedure as in arresting Freedom Riders. He approached Haley and ordered him to "move on." Haley responded that he was moving. Ray then elaborated: "Move on up the street' and asked: "are you going to obey the order?" When Haley declined, Ray arrested him on a "breach of the peace" charge.

Ray then went through the same motions with Helen O'Neal.

In the course of Haley's trial, attorney William Kunstler objected to the prosecutor's failure to use the customary "mister" in addressing the CORE field secretary. Although the judge declined to so order, the prosecutor volunteered to ask Haley if he would prefer being addressed as "mister." The latter replied: "it would be a welcome change." So for the 2-hour trial, a Negro was called "mister" by a southern prosecutor.

* * *

A day long fast and vigil at the Statue of Liberty to protest jailing of Freedom Riders in Mississippi was conducted on August 12 by New York CORE. The following day a similar vigil was initiated by Baltimore CORE at Washington Monument in Baltimore.

TRIAL DATES SET FOR 189

Trial dates starting on August 22 and ending on January 18 have been set for 189 Freedom Riders out on appeal. The trials will be held at the rate of two a day.

In an obvious move of harrassments, Hinds County Court had ordered all 189 to return to Jackson on August 14 for setting trial dates or forfeit $500 bail apiece. New trials are necessary for appealing because the original trials were unrecorded.

Within a period of less than two weeks, CORE faced the voluminous work and expense of rounding up the 189 Riders from various parts of the country and arranging their transportation to Jackson.

The first four will await trial in Jackson. Others will have to return a third time for their trials. Their attorneys are Carl Rachlin, William Kunstler and Jack Young.

MINISTERS LOCKED OUT

Manager of Tallahassee airport restaurant shuts door on ministers. Ten of them at the conclusion of their interfaith, interracial Freedom Ride in June were arrested for "unlawful assembly," convicted and sentenced to $500 fines or 60 days in jail. The case is on appeal.

In a drive to stop racial designations in classified ads, Cincinnati CORE together with the local NAACP has been picketing the Cincinnati Post, Enquirer and Times Star.

LITTLE ROCK LEAVES IT TO JACKSON

Little Rock, Arkansas, which Governor Faubus made infamous on the school issue, has shunned a similar role on the Freedom Rides—leaving that role to Jackson, Mississippi.

At first, it had appeared otherwise. The first Freedom Riders to pass through Little Rock in early July were greeted at the bus station by several hundred jeering whites. Upon entering the "white" waiting room, four riders were ordered by police to "move on," just like in Jackson. Also like in Jackson, they were arrested upon refusal to do so.

However, they received only suspended sentences and proceeded the following day on their Ride, which was from St. Louis to New Orleans. Before reaching Little Rock, they had used the terminal facilities at Newport, Arkansas without incident.

A second group of Freedom Riders, including two rabbis, arrived in Little Rock two weeks later and ate undeterred at the bus terminal. On their return trip to New York, they also tested the Little Rock airport.

Four Held in Shreveport

A Freedom Ride from Shreveport, Louisiana to Jackson, Mississippi ended before it started when four riders were arrested at the Shreveport bus station's lunch counter. They are still in jail pending trial as this issue goes to press.

In addition, two observers were arrested while sitting in a car outside the terminal. They were released on $150 bond.

Sikeston Charges Dropped

Fifteen Freedom Riders arrested in April for seeking service at Cyrus's restaurant in Sikeston, Missouri, were freed when upon recommendation of the city attorney, Judge E. R. Schrader dismissed the charges. He ruled there was insufficient evidence of "disturbing the peace." The 15 were represented by Charles Oldham, national CORE chairman.

They were participating in the little Freedom Ride, a pilot project preceding the May 4 Ride and sponsored by St. Louis and Columbia CORE. They were traveling from East St. Louis, Illinois, into the "cotton counties" of southern Missouri.

* * *

Over 2,000 persons participated in a rally followed by a march to the federal building in Los Angeles August 5 protesting the jailing of Freedom Riders in Mississippi. CORE demonstrations were held also in St. Louis, Mo., and Columbus, Ohio.

CORE-LATOR

Published by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

OCTOBER, 1961 No. 92

MISSISSIPPI TRIES TO BANKRUPT CORE

In the process of appeal trials, Mississippi has adopted a policy of trying to bankrupt CORE. Each Freedom Rider appealing is being forced to return to Jackson twice: once for setting a trial date and secondly for actual trial. (New ones are required because the original trials were unrecorded.) This means two round trips to Jackson, some from as far away as the west coast. Multiply this by 295 and one can estimate the amount of this expense alone.

Secondly, in the new trials Judge Russell Moore has been tripling the original $500 bail in addition to imposing maximum sentences of four months and $200 fines on those Freedom Riders who had been given lesser terms at their original trials.

As a result of Mississippi's policy, CORE evolved a plan under which Freedom Riders willing to do so, would drop their appeals and surrender to serve the remainder of their original sentences. However, after two Riders—Doris Castle and Jerome Smith—returned to jail under this plan, Judge Moore outlawed it, citing a decision of the State Supreme Court in 1914.

The appeal trials started on August 22 with Carl Rachlin, William Kunstler and Jack Young as attorneys. The first case, that of Henry Thomas, a CORE field secretary, was the most extensive. Defense attorneys protested the systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries. The all-white jury deliberated 45 minutes before rendering a guilty verdict.

"Turn him loose . . . and blood will flow and there will be violence," said Prosecutor Jack Travis in his final argument.

Kunstler countered with: "What Travis is telling you is that if any person, including yourselves, fails to move on regardless of whether he has committed an offense, blood will flow in the streets."

All the Riders have been arrested at the Jackson bus, train or plane terminals simply for refusing to obey Police Captain Ray's order to move on.

The conviction of Thomas and those of the other Freedom Riders tried since, comes as no surprise. It had been realized in advance that appeals to a higher court would be necessary to gain legal recognition of the fact that the Jackson arrests are illegal.

Episcopal Freedom Riders Leave Jail

Rev. Robert Pierson, son-in-law of Governor Rockefeller of New York, reads a statement in front of Jackson city jail following his release on bond, September 19. Surrounding him are some of the 14 other Episcopal clergymen arrested along with him at the bus station restaurant. They were part of a group of 28 journeying from New Orleans to their church convention in Detroit. Their Freedom Ride, described as a Prayer Pilgrimage, was organized independently from CORE. However, CORE served in an advisory capacity and its attorney, Carl Rachlin, defended the clergymen in court. Like most of the Freedom Riders, they were given the maximum sentence—four months in jail and $200 fines. They were jailed four days before being released on bond. Two of their group, Rev. James Jones and Rev. Robert Taylor chose to remain jailed-in.

ICC RULING

On September 22 the Interstate Commerce Commission issued regulations prohibiting interstate carriers from segregating and from using terminal facilities which segregate. These regulations must be posted aboard buses and in bus terminals as of November 1.

"These regulations, while helpful, can prove truly effective only if they are translated into action by interstate passengers' traveling unsegregated and insisting on their right to do so," commented Jim Farmer, CORE national director.

FREEDOM WALK

A new technique for protesting areawide discrimination has been used successfully by four CORE groups: St. Louis, St. Louis County, East St. Louis and Alton.

They organized a 30-mile Freedom Walk on August 26 from Alton, Illinois into St. Louis. Over 150 persons participated including teachers, ministers and students. Preceding the walkers was a 4-man interracial team which tested restaurants. Those where Negroes were barred will be visited by CORE negotiators with action to follow if equal service is not forthcoming.

Four large placards carried by the walkers said "Freedom Walk . . . Alton to St. Louis," "End Racial Discrimination," "Liberty and Justice for All" and "Discrimination Retards Democracy." Leaflets distributed along the way explained: "The purpose of the walk is to protest racial discrimination which exists along our route. We ask that people try to overcome their hatreds so that all men can live together in a new world of brotherhood and freedom."

Not all the persons encountered along the route heeded this advice. The most extreme hostility was expressed by crowds in the business district of Granite City. "You could hear curses almost all the time—not loud, but you could hear them," reported one of the walkers. Several of the walkers were spat upon, kicked or shoved off the sidewalk. The walkers adhered to a discipline of nonviolence.

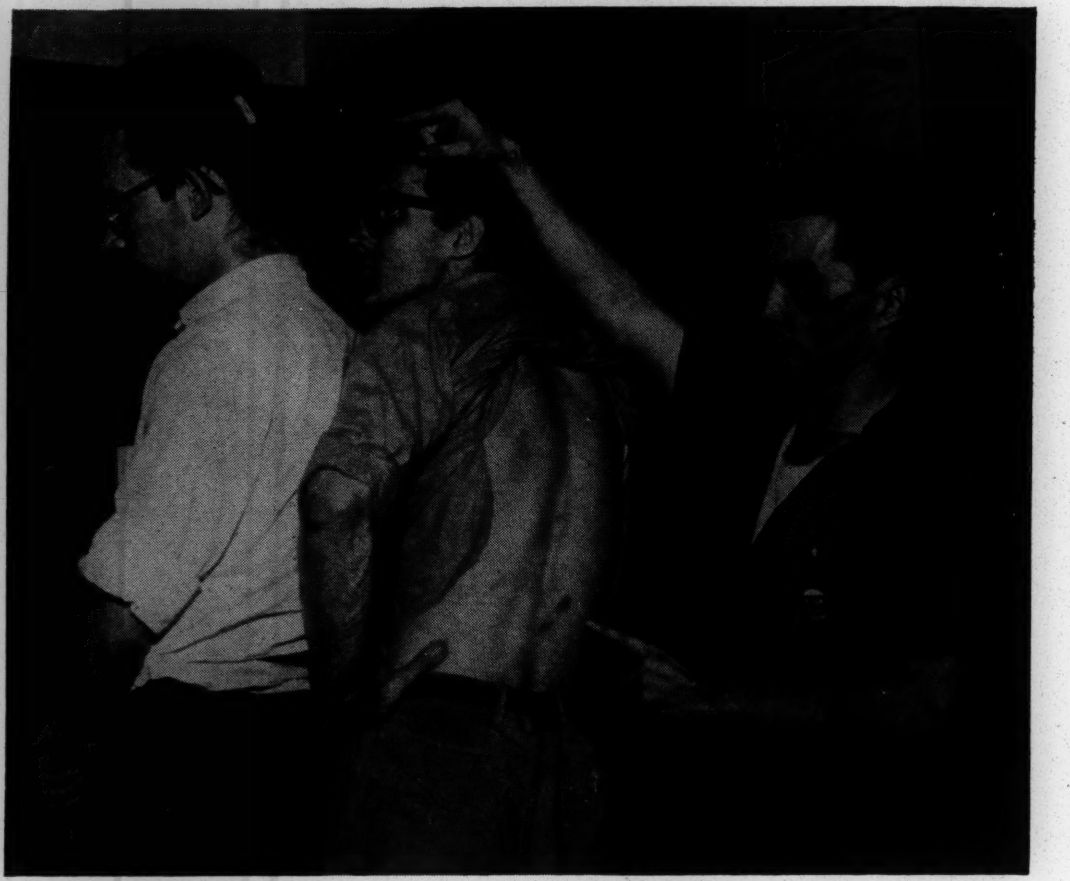
At Wood River a group of teenagers tried to block the walk but were dispersed by police. On the way through Hartford and Madison, police averted incidents involving drunks who emerged from taverns as the walkers passed.

As the walkers neared St. Louis, hostility declined. Loud applause and cheers greeted them as they passed through Brooklyn, the Negro section of East St. Louis. The group reached the public library in St. Louis at 8:15 p.m., 11¾ hours after their departure from Alton. Although they were tired, they sang some freedom songs before dispersing. As Dr. Alfred Kuenzli, one of the coordinators, told the press: "We felt we had done something of importance."

* * *

Despite a downpour of rain, 30 members of Baltimore CORE turned out to picket Gwynn Oak Amusement Park September 3. It was the seventh annual protest against the Park's "All Nation's Day" in which Negroes are refused admittance.

BEATEN BY NEW ORLEANS POLICE . . .



. . . are these three Freedom Riders (left to right) George Blevins, Frank Nelson and John Dolan.

In protest 15 members of New Orleans CORE picketed the police station. They were likewise arrested. The group also conducted a sit-in inside the police station. Blevins, Nelson and Dolan were arrested at the home of Patricia Smith, where they had been invited for dinner. Police entered the home—without a warrant—and started asking the three whites where they were from, why they were in New Orleans, what they were doing in a Negro neighborhood, etc.

Finally, the three were placed under arrest, taken to the second precinct and booked for vagrancy. From there, they were transported to jail in a police wagon. As the wagon approached the jail, another prisoner who had baited the Freedom Riders along the way, got up and started swinging his fists at them. When he heard police start to unlock the door, he yelled for help.

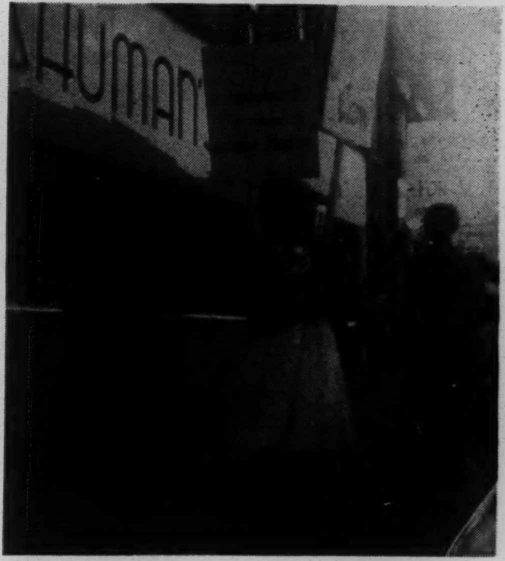
"What followed was something of a surprise to me," wrote Blevins in an affidavit submitted to the U.S. Attorney General (Nelson and Dolan also submitted affidavits). "The first thing I noticed was a policeman's fist coming toward me. The blow caught me on the side of the head before it occurred to me to duck. I was kicked and knocked to the back of the wagon and shoved out. I saw a uniformed policeman holding Nelson by his shirt collar, beating him over the head with a blackjack and yelling: 'Look out, he's trying to escape.' Since Frank was on his knees, it seemed funny to me that anyone could think he was trying to escape.

"Someone behind me yelled: 'Get up against the wall,' so I did. Another policeman shouted that someone had tried to take his gun. As I stood with my hands against the wall, a policeman struck me repeatedly over the head and shoulders with a blackjack. This continued for perhaps a minute. Then they moved the three of us inside the building and placed us in a cell."

The affidavit concludes: "At no time during the entire proceedings did I strike anyone or attempt any sort of action which would be contrary to the principles of nonviolence I had accepted upon joining CORE. Nor did I see Frank Nelson or John Dolan respond with violence at any time."

THE ACTION INSTITUTE

by Gordon Carey



I was told by several Alexandria residents that CORE's 1961 Interracial Action Institute had brought to that Virginia city its first picket line. Alexandria was chosen as the site for the Institute because of its liberal yet southern exposure. Only 12 miles from the nation's capital, Alexandria has not yet decided whether it is to become part of metropolitan Washington or remain a small colonial city of the old south.

It was in this setting that on August 13, 40 young Negroes and whites from both north and south met for three weeks to explore the theory and practice of nonviolence. Our first task was to become familiar with the local pattern of segregation. We needed a project which would provide training for the Institute's participants and at the same time be meaningful to the Negro community. We talked with local civil rights leaders. We tested and re-tested dozens of restaurants, movie theaters, bowling alleys and other places of public accommodation. We entered into negotiations with managements of several establishments. It finally became clear that our main project would be desegregation of some of the independent downtown restaurants. The drug and variety chain lunch counters, the Hot Shoppe and Howard Johnson's had already desegregated.

Eviction Threatened

Less than a week after the Institute started, an unexpected readblock was thrown in our path. The Institute's headquarters was the Mount Vernon Unitarian Church, located on a hilltop estate just outside the city limits. It was the only place we could find in northern Virginia which would house an interracial group such as ours. One day, about noon, two men from the Fairfax county zoning commission arrived at the church unannounced. I proceeded to the Commonwealth attorney's office and was told that I would be arrested next morning if CORE's "school" were still in operation. The county claimed that we were running a school without a license and that we were violating certain zoning regulations.

I returned to the church and prepared for possible arrest. Other Institute members did likewise since they had been threatened with arrest if they continued the Institute without me. No arrest was ever made, however. The county had shifted to the position that the church was the guilty party. Church trustees were then threatened with arrest. Their reply, as expressed by their board chairman, Joseph Remington, to the county zoning administrator was: "We will not ask them (the Institute members) to leave. We are advised by our attorney that the county doesn't have a case." The county's campaign of intimidation continued until a few days before the Institute's conclusion.

Following the publicity about our threatened eviction, thousands of nails were strewn, one night, on the mile-long driveway to the church. Picking up all these nails constituted an unscheduled project for the Institute. Another outcome of the publicity was that Negroes in the community became increasingly interested in the Institute's program. Attendance at meetings of the newly-formed Northern Virginia CORE group rose sharply. The group was organized by Genevieve Hughes, CORE field secretary, with the aid of Institute participants.

Restaurants Picketed

The Institute selected five Alexandria restaurants as targets for desegregation. Following fruitless negotiations with the managements, picket lines were established. Several Alexandria residents joined the picketing. One day, a white girl volunteered to carry a sign. She had picketed Woolworth's in support of the southern sit-ins while at college and now, wanted to take action in her own hometown.

On one Sunday, we conducted a successful wade-in at a previously all-white beach. On another Sunday, we visited local churches to speak about our program. On a third Sunday we put on the entire morning program at the Unitarian Church. At one point we initiated a 24-hour vigil at the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington to urge that its new regulations barring segregation in interstate travel be truly meaningful.

Sit-Inners Arrested

A few days before the Institute ended, we decided on a small sit-in at the 403 Restaurant, one of the five which we had been picketing. Rudolph Lombard of New Orleans was chosen leader of the group. The five others were Robert Balogh, Betty Jean Daniels, Sidney Goldfarb, William Greene and Inge Powell. Less than five minutes after taking seats, they were arrested.

That afternoon, four girls from the local CORE group decided on a second sit-in. They were arrested as promptly as the first group. Two of them were released because they are minors — high school students. The other two—Sharon Dunlop and Mildred Winfrey were jailed along with the six arrested in the morning. All eight refused bond and trial was set for the following day.

Sentences of 6-months in jail and $250 fines were imposed by Judge James Colasanto with the prison sentences reduced to 30 days in the event of good behavior. The severity of the sentence outraged liberals in the community. The case is being appealed by attorneys, A. Melvin Miller and Otto Tucker, and the eight sit-inners are out on bond.

CORE Group Carries On

The Institute is over but the newly-formed Northern Virginia CORE group is carrying on. Garnell Rosemond, from Cincinnati, and Bill Greene from Los Angeles, decided to remain in Alexandria for an indefinite period to help this effort. The 403 Restaurant, where the two sit-ins occurred, is still being picketed.

The picket line *(shown in the above photo)* is in front of Shuman's, which although its patronage is 40% Negro serves Negroes only to carry food out. The resulting boycott, spurred by Rev. William Thomas, temporary chairman of Northern Virginia CORE, is becoming increasingly effective. For ten days the owner would not even permit admittance to the few Negroes who crossed the picket line, apparently fearing that they planned to sit-in.

ONE DEPOT RESTAURANT

(from the Los Angeles CORE publication)

On the evening of August 9, 11 Freedom Riders from the Los Angeles area boarded a train for Houston, Texas. Their purpose was to test the restaurant facilities at Houston's Union Station. On August 11, the 11 Riders, accompanied by seven members of Houston's Progressive Youth Association were under arrest for "unlawful assembly."

The temporary redirection of the Ride from Jackson to Houston was necessitated by the recalcitrance of the racist-minded restaurant owner, J. D. Burleson.

On August 3, Pat Baskerville and Frank Johnson, upon release from Jackson, were returning to their homes in Tucson. In Houston, they were joined by a friend, and the three decided to test the facilities at Union Station. They were arrested. In support of them, PYA staged a sit-in at the station's restaurant. Twenty of their members were arrested.

Thereupon, officers of PYA and their attorneys began negotiations with the mayor. They informed him that Houston might become another Jackson if arrests continued. Conscious of his city's reputation, the mayor issued an order that no future arrests be made. Since then, city authorities have refused to accept any complaints against unsegregated use of transportation facilities. The Southern Pacific depot, Houston's other railroad station has become desegregated, PYA reports.

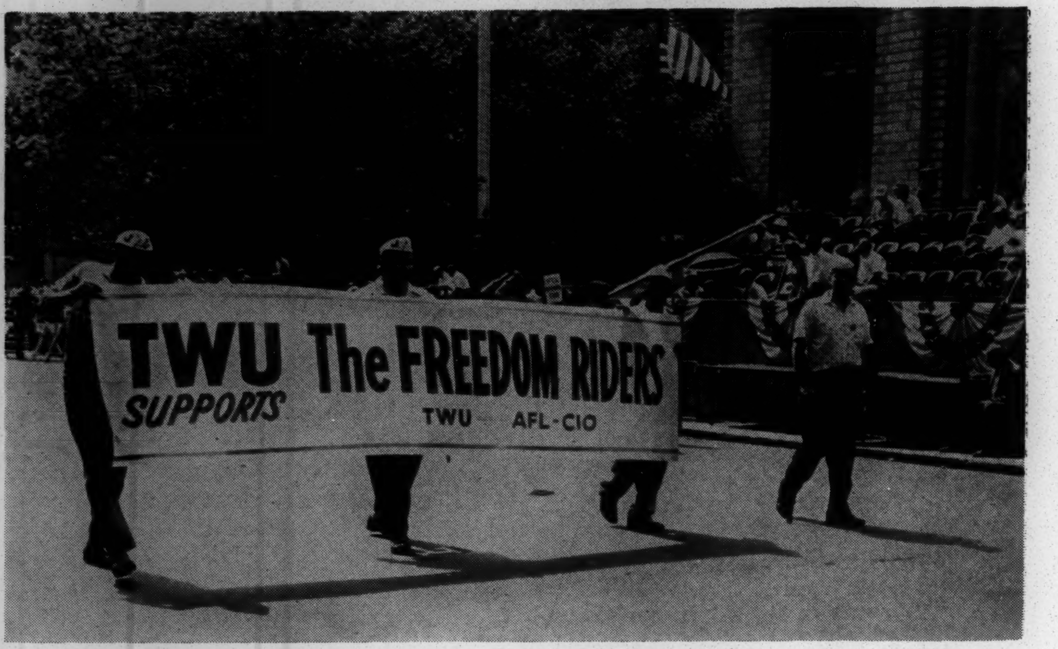
However, J. D. Burleson, who operates the Union Station Restaurant, flatly refuses to comply with the mayor's order and threatens to use higher authorities to prosecute violators of his segregation policies.

FREEDOM RIDER IN CRITICAL CONDITION

Walter Bergman, who was beaten by white hoodlums aboard a Trailways bus in Anniston, Alabama on the initial Freedom Ride, is in critical condition at Grace Hospital, Detroit—partly as a result of head injuries from that beating.

Following an appendicitis operation, Bergman suffered a stroke, which doctors traced to a "pre-existent condition of brain damage." This, they attribute to the Anniston assault and police were notified. Mrs. Bergman, who witnessed the bus incident, said that her husband had complained of periodic dizziness since that time.

LABOR BACKS FREEDOM RIDES


TWU SUPPORTS The FREEDOM RIDERS
TWU AFL-CIO

New York's big Labor Day parade this year, was dotted with a number of placards supporting the Freedom Rides. The ones in this photo are carried by members of the Transport Workers Union. Freedom Ride signs were in evidence also in the Detroit parade.

BIAS ALONG U.S. #40

Restaurant discrimination along that stretch of U.S. #40 which is on the main autoroute between New York and the nation's capital has become so embarrassing that President Kennedy and the State Department, following five incidents involving African diplomats, have interceded.

Wally Nelson, former CORE field secretary, his wife Juanita, Rose Robinson and Kay Fields met the situation head-on when they sought service September 6 at the Bar-H Chuckhouse, near North East, Maryland. They were arrested and all but Kay Fields, who paid a $50 fine, were jailed two weeks in Elkton pending trial in circuit court. During the entire two-week period, the three refused to eat and practiced total noncooperation.

As an outcome of the local interest aroused by this case, and by the continued restaurant discrimination along U. S. #40, Laverne McCummings, chairman of Philadelphia CORE, journeyed to Elkton to organize a CORE group there.

* * *

Albert Barough, a Freedom Rider, was killed in a TWA plane crash on his way home from the National Student Association Convention in Madison, Wisconsin.

HIRE FIRST NEGRO BUS DRIVERS

The first Negroes to drive buses in Lexington, Kentucky are now on the job as a result of a month-long campaign by the local CORE group. They are Frank Johnson and William Emerson. Additional Negro drivers are expected to be hired by the Lexington Transit Co. in the near future.

In late July, Clayton Jones, chairman of the CORE group's employment committee, wrote the company's general manager, Mr. LaTonye. Having received no reply, the committee visited LaTonye who told them that Jones' letter had been forwarded to the head office in St. Louis.

A few days later, Mr. Kelsner arrived from the St. Louis office and conferred with Julia Lewis, local CORE chairman, and Rev. W. A. Jones. Mr. Kelsner said he saw no reason why Lexington should not have Negro bus drivers.

So, a week later CORE met with a group of 55 Negroes who, through the various churches, had expressed interest in the jobs. After reviewing the company requirements, five filled out applications. Johnson was hired on August 23 and Emerson, 12 days thereafter.

Second Victory In D.C.

Washington CORE won a second step in its fair employment campaign when Warner Theaters agreed to a nondiscriminatory hiring policy. The first such success was with the William Hahn shoestore chain.

CORE-LATOR

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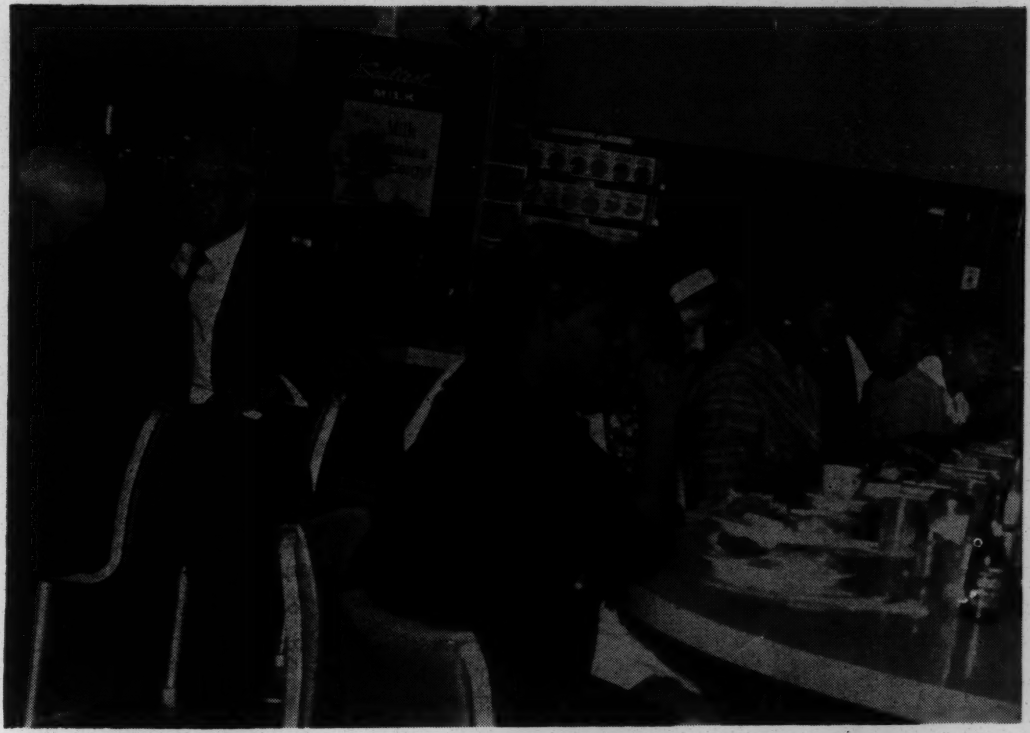
TEST COMPLIANCE WITH ICC



Since November 1 when the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling against bus and terminal segregation became effective, CORE teams such as this one have been testing compliance throughout the south.

"In every southern state except Louisiana and Mississippi there has been substantial compliance with the ICC rulings," James Farmer, CORE National Director, summed-up at a Freedom Ride victory rally in New Orleans.

However, he pointed out that "the situation is still spotty with some terminal facilities closed down, others failing to post the required ICC anti-segregation notices, coffee at 21c a cup in one terminal and police aided by dogs enforcing segregation at some small towns."

Surprisingly, Alabama is not in the ranks of the generally-non-complying states. At the Trailways terminal in Birmingham, where Freedom Riders were mobbed on May 14, CORE test teams were served peacefully. They were also served at Anniston, scene of the Freedom Ride bus bombing last May. At the Greyhound terminal in Birmingham, Negroes were served, though the manager and a waitress who served them were arrested. Terminal lunch counters in Montgomery, scene of mob violence against the second group of Freedom Riders, started serving Negroes several months ago.

Jackson, Mississippi, remains the chief holdout. On November 1, two CORE testers, Levert Taylor and Glenda Jackson, were arrested there in the

(Continued on Page 2)

Victory on U.S. #40

Three days before a scheduled CORE Freedom Motorcade for which over 1400 riders had volunteered, the majority of restaurant owners on U.S. #40 between the Delaware Memorial Bridge and Baltimore agreed to desegregate. Specifically, the policy change affects 35 restaurants in Maryland and 12 in Delaware.

It fulfills the conditions specified by CORE as a prerequisite for postponing the Motorcade. The decision to do so was announced by CORE National Director James Farmer, Eastern Regional Representative Julius Hobson and New York Chairman Gladys Harrington. A deadline of December 15—Bill of Rights Day—was set by CORE for a policy change by other U.S. #40 restaurant owners.

That section of highway had been the scene of repeated discrimination against African diplomats traveling between the United Nations and the U.S. capital. The situation had become so embarrassing, internationally, that President Kennedy and the State Department interceded. Nevertheless, most of the restaurants continued to discriminate. As a result, CORE initiated the Freedom Motorcade.

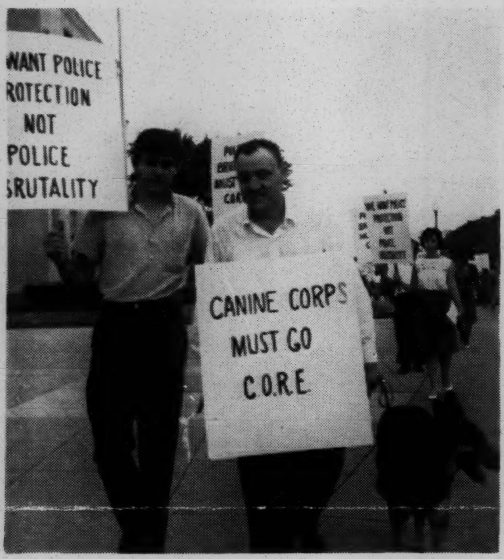
Action in Baltimore

Following postponement of the Motorcade on U.S. #40, over 300 of the prospective participants decided on a day-long challenge of restaurant segregation in Baltimore.

Twenty-two sit-inners were arrested at Hooper's and Dickman's restaurants. Mass picketing followed the arrests. At 47 other eating places, interracial groups of five or six sought service and, when refused, picketed for the rest of the day. At only three establishments were Negroes served without difficulty.

A training period in which CORE participated, preceded the action. The city-wide challenge demonstrated that, except for lunch counters, the jim-crow pattern still prevails in Baltimore restaurants. CORE will take mass direct action against this pattern.

CORE DOG PICKETS POLICE DOGS



Celia, seeing-eye dog for Ed Lewinson, a blind New York CORE member, heads picket line protesting police misuse of German shepherd dogs in a Negro neighborhood of the nation's capital. Negroes have been injured or nearly-injured in recent months when these dogs have gotten out-of-hand while patroling, reports Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington CORE and initiator of the picketing. It took place in front of 6th precinct headquarters at the conclusion of CORE's 1961 conference-convention. About 75 delegates participated.

One of the delegates, Flora Harris, of Rochester CORE, reported similar abuse of police dogs in the Negro section of that upstate New York community. She recalled that there too, CORE has conducted protest demonstrations on this issue because Negroes had been needlessly endangered. She said local police apparently had been inadequately trained to handle these dogs.

While use of German shepherd dogs against Negroes has become a hallmark of Mississippi, that deep south state is not the only place where this abuse prevails.

TEST COMPLIANCE WITH ICC

(Continued from Page 1)

white waiting room. Ten days later three testers—Alice Thompson, Patricia Smith and Frank Nelson—were arrested in Poplarville and held in the same county jail from which Mack Parker was dragged by a mob and lynched in 1959. There was some fear of a lynching in Poplarville again. Local people were incensed that Nelson, a white man, was a Freedom Rider. All five were convicted on charges of "breach of the peace."

In Louisiana about half the terminals tested were in violation of the ICC. "I want one of those nigger boys to get off: I'm gonna do him in," was the comment of one policeman as testers arrived in Kratz Spring. In Crowley, state and local police with sawed-off shotguns and tear gas met the bus and barred CORE testers from entering the waiting room. In Shreveport on the eve of November 1, four crosses were burned, one outside the home of CORE Regional Representative David Dennis. Next day, the manager of the Trailways station was arrested for posting the ICC regulations.

In South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, CORE testers found general compliance with the ICC although some smaller communities continue to ignore the new regulations.

IN BRIEF

Walter Bergman, a Freedom Rider, reported by the last CORElator in critical condition, has improved. He had suffered a stroke as a belated outcome of head injuries inflicted by white hoodlums aboard a Trailways bus in Anniston, Alabama, on May 14.

* * *

Kansas City's Hotel Continental, which gained nationwide notoriety when Jazz Trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie was barred from its swimming pool, was a target of Kansas City CORE. The discriminatory pool is owned by the Kansas City Athletic Club.

* * *

Protesting discriminatory stadium seating in Houston, Texas, thirty members of Boston CORE and NAACP picketed the Houston Oilers during their football game with the Boston Patriots. Bill Sullivan, president of the Boston team, told local CORE Chairman Allan Gartner he was "completely in sympathy" with the demonstration.

* * *

A CORE Freedom Day program in two southwest Illinois counties resulted in test teams eating without difficulty at 61 out of 66 restaurants and bowling at two alleys. Follow-up action will be taken against the five restaurants which discriminated. The program, in which 50 persons participated, was conducted by Alton and East St. Louis CORE groups with the cooperation of local NAACP branches.

NEGROES BARRED FROM TOWN'S PARK

Negroes cannot enter the public park next to Eastern State Teachers College in Richmond, Kentucky, a town of 12,000, because of a will written by a woman who died some decades ago.

In accordance with the will of Mrs. David Irvin, a trachoma hospital which had occupied the park site until 1951 was maintained on a lilywhite basis. Local officials hold that even though the land has been a public park for the past 10 years, the whites-only provision of Mrs. Irvin's will should prevail.

However, this position may well be reversed when the case of Mrs. Esther Walker is decided, finally. Mrs. Walker led members of Richmond CORE who sought to picnic in the park. She was arrested immediately and the picnic was postponed pending a court ruling.

Meanwhile, the group pursues its campaign to desegregate local lunch counters. Already Newberry's variety store and Luigi's pizzeria have changed policy. But the going is not easy in Richmond, according to local CORE chairman Beatrice Hugely.

For example, last spring when the then-CORE chairman James Flynn sought to see Vice President Johnson, who was speaking at the college, and to protest prevailing segregation practices in Richmond, Flynn was arrested and jailed on a trumped-up speeding charge. After the vice president's departure, Flynn was released and told to get out of town.

RENTAL OFFICE SIT-IN

Following this 25-hour sit-in at the rental office of the Ira Management Corporation, Mrs. Margaret Chapman (at extreme left) secured a Brooklyn apartment which she had previously been refused because of her color. Mrs. Chapman, a medical secretary, is a widowed mother of three children.

Next to her is Mrs. Rioghan Kirchner, chairman of Brooklyn CORE's housing committee. Entering the door, with a bag of food for the long sit-in, is Arnold Goldwag, who, on behalf of his "sister," was shown the 3-room apartment which Mrs. Chapman had tried, unsuccessfully, to rent.

To Goldwag's right is his "sister"—who in reality is Mrs. Sonya Zelwain—and her son, Eric. To their right is Dr. Robert Palmer, chairman of Brooklyn CORE.

Testing in Other Cities

In Los Angeles, California, and in Rochester, N. Y., CORE groups conducted tests which have revealed widespread housing discrimination. In Philadelphia—Pennsylvania's fair housing law went into effect this fall—Leverne McCummings announced that CORE had distributed 25,000 leaflets urging Negroes to seek homes in unsegregated neighborhoods.

The results of the Los Angeles CORE survey covering both apartments and houses were presented by Henry Hodge to the Interim Committee on Government Efficiency and Economy. He testified that in most cases, Negroes were told either that no vacancies existed or that no homes were immediately available. In contrast, whites were encouraged by real estate agents to buy or rent. One Negro couple was told: "We can't rent to you because of the possibility of your having children."

The Rochester CORE survey, directed by Dr. William Needler and Mrs. Richard Reinitz, covered 18 suburban homes. At 7 of them, there was clear evidence of discrimination, the test teams reported. Two cases were doubtful. At one home the price quoted the Negro testers was $10,000 more than that quoted the white testers. The cases of discrimination were referred to both the State Commission Against Discrimination and the Real Estate Board of Rochester.

ARREST 16 CORE MEMBERS FOR "BOMBING THEMSELVES"

The following, really, occurred in Shreveport, Louisiana.

On October 19 during a CORE dinner meeting at St. Rest Baptist Church, two fire bombs were hurled-in causing severe damage to the building. Six days later, 16 CORE members were arrested on suspicion of having committed the act.

Police Chief Harvey Teasley's fantastic explanation: "I received information that the bombing of the church was an inside job by members of that organization seeking publicity and sympathy."

Public Safety Commissioner J. Earl Downs explained to New York Post reporter, Ted Poston: "You all write your own news up there and we'll write ours down here. I ain't going to tell you nothing about it. Goodbye."

The real story of the arrests is that Shreveport CORE had led an 80% effective boycott of the Louisiana State Fair's segregated "Negro Day." It was during an evaluation session of the boycott at St. Mary's Baptist Church that the arrests were made.

After being held two days without charges, 10 of those arrested were released. The other six, inluding CORE Regional Representative David Dennis and Shreveport CORE Chairman Levert Taylor, were charged with "vagrancy and loitering." They were released on $605 bond each provided by national CORE.

Recalling that he had wired the U.S. Department of Justice the day after the fire-bombing, CORE National Director James Farmer said: "Prompt action on the part of the FBI might have averted the arrest of the 16 CORE members on these spurious charges." A description of the Ford pick-up truck from which the bombs were thrown and its license number had been turned over by CORE to Shreveport police as well as to the U.S. Department of Justice.

A MASS SIT-OUT ON HOUSING

by Richard Haley

Editor's Note: Since the story was written, the New Haven group has repeated this type of action, has picketed City Hall and is continuing its campaign for fair housing.

STAND UP
FOR
SIT DOWNS

On the evening of October 6 a long snake of two hundred Negroes and whites curled its way across Dixwell Avenue in New Haven, Connecticut. The line halted in front of the housing project. One by one they sat down on the sidewalk, near the curb. The much-publicized sit-out had begun.

There's quite a story behind it. Some of the Negroes in New Haven have been concerned about housing patterns in general, and the new urban redevelopment program in particular. In the latter the Negro plays a conspicuous part by his absence. It's the familiar story of the northern city: Negroes would not be excluded from new housing; they just wouldn't be able to afford it.

Overtures were made toward the city administration—NAACP proposed a municipal fair housing practices code; it is still "under consideration." The effective date of a new amendment to the state code was hailed with great enthusiasm. City government promised a closer look at the problem. But, after litigation covering eighteen months, local courts upheld a contractor who refused to sell the house he built to a Negro buyer.

Blyden Jackson and Jim Gibbs were the nucleus of a group that became convinced they should try direct action. Direct action, they felt, would show City Council the need of immediate steps to open occupancy, and rally support from both the uninformed and the apathetic parts of the city. Blyden voluntarily withdrew his candidacy for City Council because it seemed to be more hindrance than help in his campaign to improve the lot of New Haven Negroes. Their persistence attracted a number of like minds, action minds. Walter Henderson, Carleton Moss, Mike Ackerman, Paul and Libby Palmer—these names I remember, but there were others who worked just as hard.

The "Negro business section" was plastered with handbills; Friday afternoon a soundtruck cruised the area announcing the evening rally. CORE did not divulge the exact time or place of the sit-out beforehand. The handbills promised "all would be revealed" to people attending the rally at 5 P.M. at Goin Park.

At the park we were given a royal setup by the park district management. There was a platform with the red, white and blue trim; a good sound system, and enough searchlights for an air raid drill. Charlie Valentine of the Negro American Labor Council kicked-off, simply articulating the frustration that is part of the Negro's daily life.

Jim Gibbs pointed out that local school desegregation is "artificial" as long as housing remains segregated. Blyden then invited the crowd to join New Haven CORE in the 2-block walk to the Dixwell Avenue project, and to sit with us in silent protest against the silence of City Council on our housing woes. Guided by CORE members (each of whom wore an identifying armband), the audience moved out of the park toward Dixwell Avenue.

Police were on hand to handle traffic — another co-operative element from city government. News photographers and reporters were on hand also. In fact, the local press has maintained a lively interest in the organization from its beginning.

Perhaps the most touching demonstration of interest came from Mrs. Lula Robinson. She sat beside me at the curb and we began to talk. "My mother told me when I was just a little thing," she began, "that I was in a low place an' would see a hard life, all for being Negro. It's been that, but I'm glad to live to see this." Mrs. Robinson, 71 years old, was the oldest demonstrator in the line.

Cameras clicked, cars sped by, slowed down, picked up speed again. Buses stopped and passengers stepped down; they paused, looked. As many stood across the street, ogling, as were in the sit-out line. After about 25 minutes the demonstrators arose and began to scatter. The sit-out was over.

CORE-LATOR

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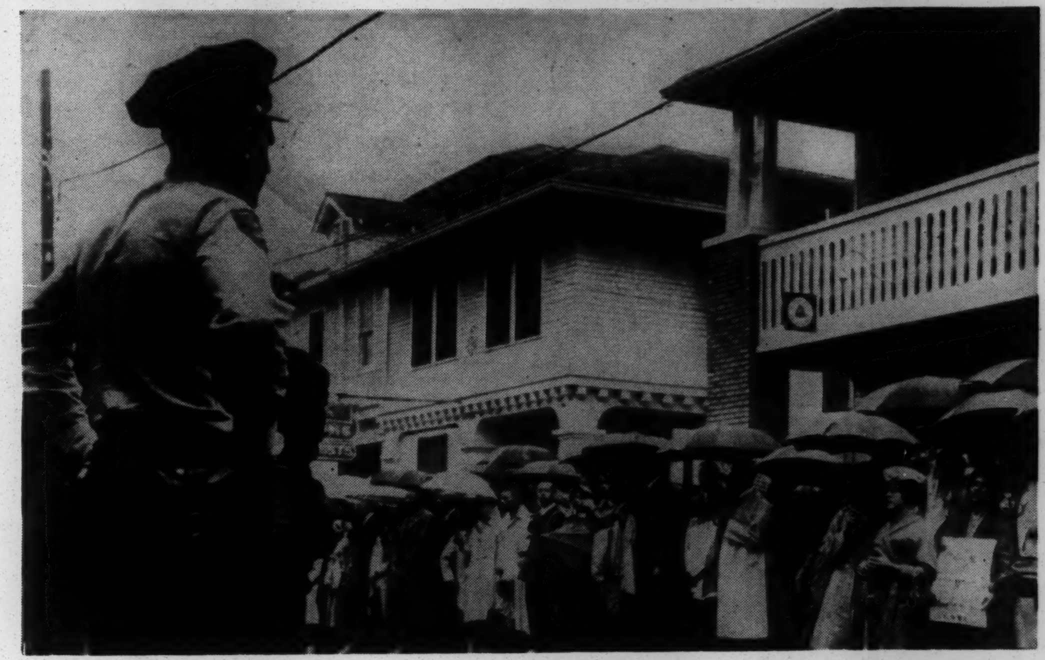
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 BROTHERHOOD MONTH, 1962 No. 94

Before the Tear Gas Onslaught...



. . . these demonstrators assembled at the parish courthouse in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, December 15 to protest the arrest of 23 CORE pickets. Their number totaled 4,000, most of them students from Southern University. At left is a policeman with a tear gas grenade hooked to his gun belt. Soon after this photo was taken, police hurled more than a dozen of these grenades at the nonviolent demonstrators. It took three successive tear gas charges and several attacks by police-guided dogs to break up the demonstration.

Seventy participants were arrested including Ronnie Moore, chairman of Baton Rouge CORE and Jerome Smith, chairman of New Orleans CORE. Dave Dennis, CORE field secretary, had been arrested along with the original 23 the day before and Rev. B. Elton Cox, another CORE field secretary, was picked up the evening of the 15th for "conspiracy." Bond ranged for $1,500 to $6,000 apiece. They remained jailed-in for up to three weeks.

Temporary restraining orders prohibiting any further CORE demonstrations in Baton Rouge were promptly signed in both federal and state courts. The all-white State Board of Education which administers all-Negro Southern University ordered expulsion of any student arrested or jailed.

Barred temporarily from action in Baton Rouge, CORE carried its protest to the state's biggest city, New Orleans. On December 18, New Orleans CORE organized a mass march on the State Office Building in sympathy with the 96 jailed in Baton Rouge. All 292 marchers, including Oretha Castle, acting chairman of New Orleans CORE, were arrested for "marching without a license." Most of those arrested were Southern University students who had

(Continued on page 2)

HELP FINISH THE JOB ON U.S. #40

Over 800 persons from the entire eastern seaboard participated in CORE's December 16 Freedom Motorcade on U.S. #40 between the Delaware Memorial Bridge and Baltimore. They found that 11 more restaurants had desegregated—in addition to the 42 under the agreement which averted CORE's originally scheduled Motorcade.

At the 38 restaurants which still discriminate, car after car stopped and its occupants remained on the premises until the owner read them the trespass act in the presence of police. A token number of participants—14—remained until arrested and their cases are being appealed. Some of the restaurants were picketed.

The "Victory on U.S. #40," reported in the last COREIator, remains to be completed. So, before driving from New York to Washington, or vice-versa, GET CORE'S FREE LIST OF THE FAIR AND UNFAIR RESTAURANTS ALONG ROUTE #40. And when you hit the stretch between the Delaware Memorial Bridge and Baltimore:

1. *Patronize* the 53 restaurants which now serve everyone.
2. *Boycott* the 38 restaurants which still discriminate.
3. *Challenge Jimcrow* in at least one of these restaurants if you are traveling in an interracial or all-Negro group:
    a. Attempt to enter and sit down.
    b. If refused admission, wait outside the door.
    c. Stay on premises until the owner reads the trespass law in the presence of police.
    d. Then, leave under protest—unless you are thoroughly prepared to face arrest.
    e. Remain courteous and nonviolent throughout.
    f. Report the outcome to CORE—especially if you ARE served.

Polio Victim Ousted

Simeon Gentry, a polio victim, was one of eight Lexington, Kentucky CORE members carried out of the Phoenix Hotel's coffee shop where they were sitting-in. Also ejected was Dr. David Bronson, an Episcopal clergyman. CORE sit-ins and picketing started last fall after Negro professional basketball players belonging to the Boston Celtics and The St. Louis Hawks were refused service at the Phoenix coffee shop.

"FREEDOM RIDE" BOOK

Just off the press is "Freedom Ride," a book written by Jim Peck, CORElator editor, and published by Simon & Schuster. Lillian Smith wrote the introduction and James Baldwin, a brief foreward. The book is a human interest story—not just of the 1961 Freedom Rides but of CORE's original "freedom ride" in 1947, CORE's pioneering in nonviolence, the Montgomery bus boycott and the student sit-in movement (described by some of the students who led it).

In buying the book you also will be helping CORE financially, since Jim Peck is donating all his royalties to CORE. *An order blank is enclosed in this mailing.*

BATON ROUGE

(Continued from page 1)

journeyed from Baton Rouge. They are thus subject to the University's new expulsion edict.

Ironically, the crackdown in Baton Rouge came less than a week after the Supreme Court voided the convictions of Baton Rouge sit-inners arrested in March 1960. In a decision which CORE National Director James Farmer termed "of historic importance," the high court ruled that peacefully seeking service at a lunch counter cannot be construed as "disorderly conduct." This same legal issue is involved in hundreds of other southern cases including those of the more than 300 Freedom Riders arrested in Jackson, Mississippi.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court decision failed to impress either the city officials or the merchants of Baton Rouge. It was Baton Rouge CORE's demand upon local merchants for a fair serving and employment policy which led to the crackdown on CORE and its activities

Following tests which showed that Baton Rouge lunch counters still refuse to serve Negroes, CORE sent registered letters to 12 local stores requesting negotiations. All refused. Instead, they held a closed meeting with the district attorney and parish attorney. The White Citizens Councils and Crusaders Inc. issued inflamatory segregationist statements.

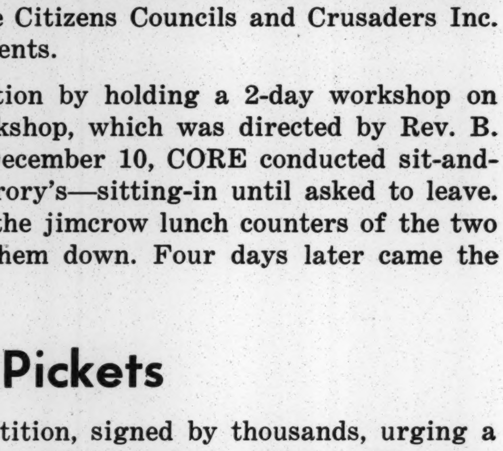
Meanwhile, CORE prepared for action by holding a 2-day workshop on nonviolence. Over 170 attended the workshop, which was directed by Rev. B. Elton Cox and Dave Dennis. Then, on December 10, CORE conducted sit-and-run demonstrations at Kress's and McCrory's—sitting-in until asked to leave. The next day CORE members sat-in at the jimcrow lunch counters of the two stores for several hours, thus closing them down. Four days later came the picketing and the first 23 arrests.

Housing Pickets

In Denver, Colorado, CORE members picketed Rae Bronstine after she refused to rent an apartment to William Roberts, a Negro doing research work at Colorado General Hospital. After Roberts was rejected, Mr. and Mrs. William Shockey, who are white, applied and were told they could have the apartment. In additon to bringing the case to CORE, Roberts has filed a complaint with the State Anti-Discrimination Commission.

CORElator readers who noticed in the last issue the photo and story of Brooklyn (N.Y.) CORE's successful rental office sit-in, will be pleased to know that the group has won a second time. On this occasion, the sit-in and picket line—involving 30 CORE members—lasted eight hours and involved the Lefrak Organization, one of New York's major builders. It resulted in Rose Beverly's taking title to an apartment in the company's Brooklyn College Park development. She had been turned away previously because she is a Negro.

Meanwhile, New Haven CORE has presented the City Council with a petition, signed by thousands, urging a city fair housing ordinance. The state law banning housing discrimination has been weakened in the courts and the CORE group wants supplemental action. Chairman Blyden Jackson said, "CORE will begin immediately, by all methods at our disposal, to bring to the eyes of the community all those who deny equal opportunities to minority groups." Previously the group protested housing conditions by a mass sit-in on New Haven sidewalks.



FIRST CITY-WIDE ALABAMA SIT-INS

The first city-wide lunch counter sit-in campaign in Alabama started January 2 in Huntsville. Some 75 students from Alabama A & M College and from local high schools were involved. They had been organized by Field Secretary Henry Thomas into a new branch of CORE. As the sit-ins started, Thomas was joined by Field Secretary Richard Haley.

The first two arrests occured on January 6. Two days later 20 more students were arrested while sitting-in at Walgreen's and Liggett's. The charge was "trespassing." Meanwhile 50 other students sitting-in at Woolworth's Murphy's, Sears and Grant's were not arrested.

None of the sit-inners have yet been served. However, they have not been molested and there has been no violence. The campaign continues as this COREIator goes to press.

In Brief

Four of the "Rock Hill (South Carolina) Nine" who were jailed-in for 30 days on the road gang last February, spent this Christmas in jail. Along with an additional Friendship Junior College student, they were arrested as they started to sit-in at the Tollison-Neal drugstore.

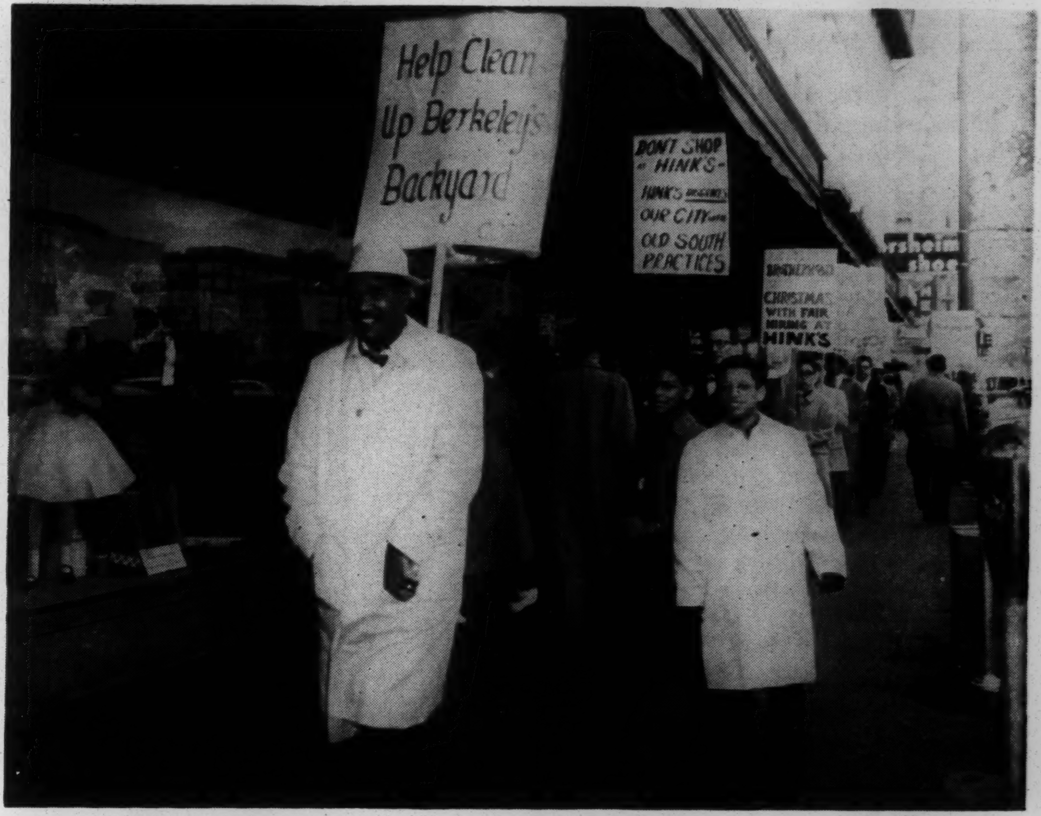
* * *

Protesting discriminatory stadium seating in Houston, Texas, members of CORE groups in the New York area mass-picketed the Houston Oilers-New York Titans professional football game December 10. Boston CORE had similarly picketed the team's game with the Boston Patriots.

* * *

Following a 6-month waiting period, Philadelphia CORE has resumed picketing Horn & Hardart restaurants urging a fair employment policy. The chain hired only three Negro cashiers out of a total of 700. The Philadelphia Human Relations Commission has recently criticized the company hiring policies. Management has refused to negotiate.

WIN JOBS AT DEPARTMENT STORE



Hink's, the largest department store in Berkeley, California, hired its first two Negro sales clerks, only a few days after this CORE picket demonstration. Management also assured Berkeley CORE Chairman Tony Salotto that Negroes will be hired for other jobs as openings become available. Initial negotiations between CORE and the 57-year-old department store started last April.

A Job Well Done

by Genevieve Hughes

When I visited Seattle, Washington, recently as CORE field secretary, I was deeply impressed by the effective job the local CORE group had done in bringing a fair employment policy to the Safeway stores.

The campaign included several unique features, including a new "in," the pushcart-in. This technique consists of having a sizeable CORE group enter a store patronized largely by whites, take pushcarts and wheel them around the aisles, thus tying-up operations.

In seeking applicants for the Safeway jobs, the CORE group was unusually thorough. CORE first obtained 57 potential applicants from which it chose 15 most qualified. These 15 were then trained to take the tests which Safeway gives.

The effectiveness of such thoroughness was demonstrated when Safeway hired 5 of CORE's applicants out of a total of 15 new employes taken-on at that particular time. Subsequently, the company attempted to get rid of one of these five on trumped-up charges, but CORE came to his defense and he is still on the job.

I was also impressed by the high quality of the CORE group's literature in connection with this campaign and with its effective coordination with other organizations such as the NAACP and the Ministerial Alliance. Seattle CORE's Safeway campaign is an outstanding example of effective CORE action outside of the south.

BAIL MONEY NEEDED NOW!

Sizeable loans and, or, contributions are urgently needed by CORE for bail in the Jackson, Mississippi, Freedom Ride appeal cases. If you can help, please contact Marvin Rich at the CORE national office immediately.

There are 109 appeal cases yet to be tried, which means that a total of $109,000 is needed for bail alone.

Jailed in Georgia

by Richard Haley

(Editor's Note: Richard Haley, CORE field secretary, was arrested in Albany, Georgia on the same day as W. G. Anderson, head of the Albany Movement, Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy. The number of protest marchers arrested in Albany in mid-December totaled almost 1,000. They were finally released following an agreement with city officials that the local train and bus stations would desegregate in compliance with ICC regulations and that negotiations would take place regarding further desegregation in Albany. Setting off the mass protests was the arrest of eight Freedom Riders at the railway station.)

I was one of 266 protest marchers arrested in Albany, Georgia, on December 16. The police gave little indication of personal feelings. Chief Pritchett directed the line of march toward the jail while admonishing white bystanders to keep moving. The bullpen where some of us were lodged is a miniature monstrosity: miniature as an accommodation for over fifty people; monstrosity, because of its three triple-deck bunks that left only a few narrow aisles of floorspace. Stray rays of light filtered down through the holes of the top bunks. There were no mattresses. Sanitary facilities are inadequate and in filthy condition.

We were quickly and fortunately removed to Mitchell County jail at Camilla, Georgia. There we lived for sixty hours in a large cell measuring about 40x15. It contained three tables, some benches and ten double-deck bunks—of course no mattresses, pillows or linen. Ventilation was adequate, toilet and washing facilities were not. There was a broom, which we used frequently. At our request we were given supplies for mopping the floor.

We arrived about 6 p.m., and were fed nothing that day. Sunday we had two meals, solely starches. On our second Monday meal we finally received a vegetable—lima beans—and a small piece of fat pork.

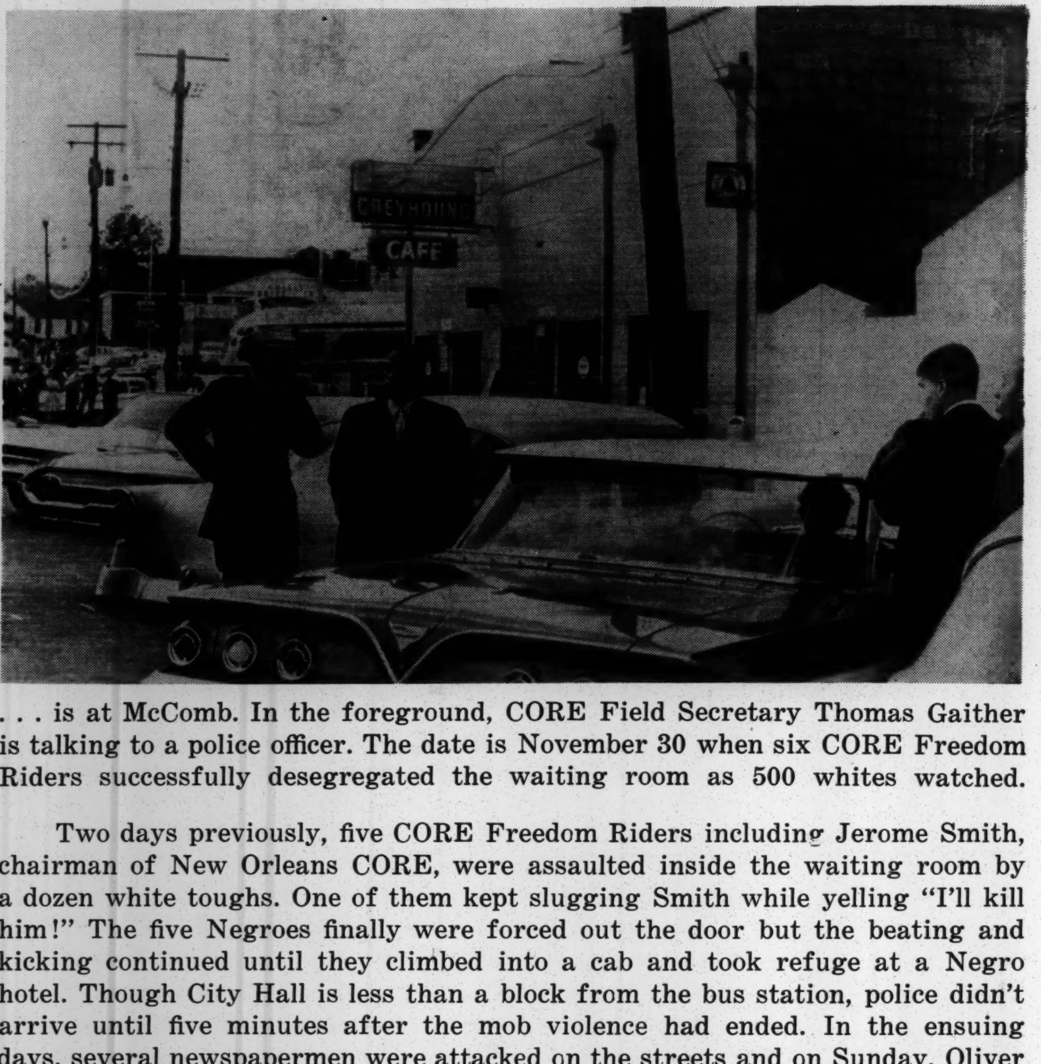
As we got off the bus to enter this jail, the sheriff warned us we could expect harsh treatment if we did not follow his orders. The "orders" were: "Don't sing or make any other loud disturbances." We didn't carry on the were granted permission to hold a full-scale religious service on Sunday.

After the first few of us were inside the jail, we noticed one young fellow in tears. He said he had accidentally bumped against a guard, and was immediately and sharply struck.

The strongest single impression I got from the jail was its similarity to a slave ship loaded with human cargo. familiar freedom-song sessions, but I have seen pictures and read descriptions of how Negro captives were squeezed, stacked and piled into every square inch of the allotted ship space. Saturday night I looked at my cellmates. Together with the bunks we were using tables, benches and cement floor to bed our 88 black bodies. It was as if the clock had turned back two hundred years.

Four downtown Washington, D.C. department stores were picketed by 150 CORE members before Christmas in protest over their discriminatory hiring policy.

This Mississippi Bus Station . . .



. . . is at McComb. In the foreground, CORE Field Secretary Thomas Gaither is talking to a police officer. The date is November 30 when six CORE Freedom Riders successfully desegregated the waiting room as 500 whites watched.

Two days previously, five CORE Freedom Riders including Jerome Smith, chairman of New Orleans CORE, were assaulted inside the waiting room by a dozen white toughs. One of them kept slugging Smith while yelling "I'll kill him!" The five Negroes finally were forced out the door but the beating and kicking continued until they climbed into a cab and took refuge at a Negro hotel. Though City Hall is less than a block from the bus station, police didn't arrive until five minutes after the mob violence had ended. In the ensuing days, several newspapermen were attacked on the streets and on Sunday, Oliver Emmerich, editor of the local newspaper, was slugged on his way to church by a white laborer who accused him of letting out-of-town reporters use his office's facilities.

Desegregation of the bus station, ordered by a federal court, in compliance with the new ICC regulations, was then suspended by a federal court injunction, prohibiting CORE members and supporters from using the bus station. In an attempt to vacate the injunction, CORE is now appealing to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court.

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98 JUNE, 1962 No. 96

MRS. FDR'S COMMITTEE HEARS ABOUT "SOUTHERN JUSTICE"

by Marvin Rich

On May 25-26, a committee of prominent citizens, headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, heard first-hand evidence on how justice is abused by many southern law enforcement officials in the civil rights struggle.

Southern Negro students and Freedom Riders told their respective stories which illustrate lack of police protection, police violence against peaceful demonstrators, individual and mass arrests on fantastic charges, excessive bail and long incarceration, sometimes including brutality, while awaiting trial.

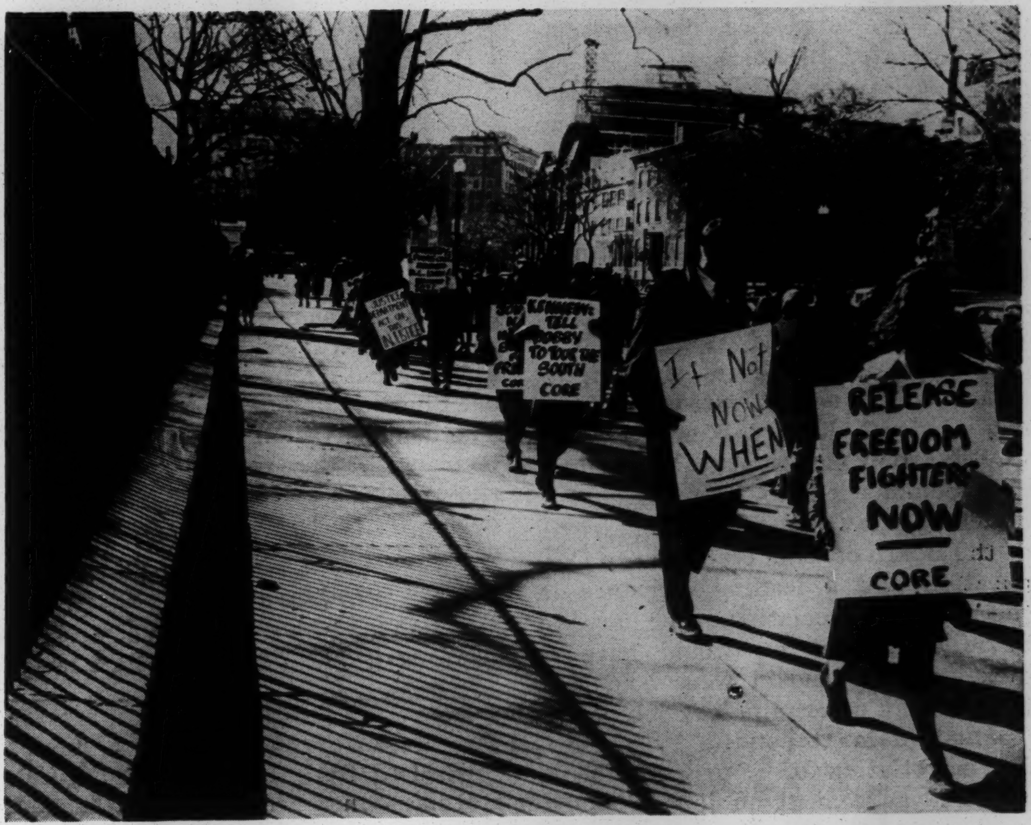
Among those testifying was Ronnie Moore, presently facing up to 10 years on a "criminal anarchy" charge as a result of his desegregation activities in Baton Rouge; Robert Moses, who was working on voter registration in southern Mississippi when a Negro cotton farmer was murdered; Jim Peck, who was beaten almost to death last May by a segregationist mob in Birmingham, Ala. while police turned their backs, and Eric Weinberger, who was tortured in jail after his arrest in Haywood County, Tenn., where he was training evicted Negro sharecroppers to make tote bags. Other witnesses related similarly shocking experiences.

Mrs. Roosevelt's committee, which heard the testimony, is the Commitee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle. Its members include Roger Baldwin, Dr. Kenneth Clark, John Bolt Culbertson, Joseph Rauh, Boris Shishkin, Rev. Gardner Taylor, Telford Taylor and Norman Thomas. Counsel for the committee are Carl Rachlin, CORE's chief attorney, and Rowland Watts of the American Civil Liberties Union. Coordinator of the hearings, which took place in Washington, was Charlotte Devree.

The committee is presently studying the testimony in order to prepare recommendations for concrete steps to eliminate this type of injustice.

A representative of the Department of Justice attended the hearing. A few days later the Department asked for an injunction restraining Shreveport authorities.

Protest "Louisiana Lunacy"


KENNEDY- TELL BOBBY TO TOUR THE SOUTH CORE
If Not NOW WHEN
RELEASE FREEDOM FIGHTERS NOW CORE

These pickets in front of the White House are protesting what the New York Post characterized editorially as "Louisiana Lunacy." The editorial said: "One has to search the repressive codes of the most loathsome Communist and Fascist tyrannies to match Louisiana's latest device for trying to curb the integrationist movement."

That "device" is a state "criminal anarchy" law carrying a maximum penalty of 10 years at hard labor. Facing trial June 13 for "criminal anarchy" is Ronnie Moore, chairman of Baton Rouge CORE.

The case against Weldon Rougeau, vice chairman of Baton Rouge CORE, was dropped soon after CORE initiated a nationwide protest campaign. The case against Dion Diamond, field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was also dropped and the cases against Robert Zellner, another SNCC field secretary, and Charles McDew, SNCC chairman, have been adjourned indefinitely.

When the last COREIator went to press, Moore and Rougeau were still in the East Baton Rouge parish jail as a result of excessive bail—$12,500 and $7,000 respectively. CORE finally succeeded in raising the sum and they were

Continued on page 3

WIN FAIR JOB POLICY AT PHILADELPHIA HOTELS

By Louis Smith

As a result of threatened CORE action, Philadelphia's hotels have adopted a fair employment policy.

For this policy to be a success, qualified Negroes must apply to the hotels and then report to the Employment Division of the Commission on Human Relations, so that accurate tabulations of progress can be made. The Employment Division has informed CORE that the hotels are currently requesting personnel to fill the categories of waiter, waitress, clerk and elevator operator.

Previously, the hotels hired whites only in these categories. The Commission so stated in its April, 1961 report. As a consequence an initial agreement was reached between the Commission and the Hotel Association but many of the hotels declined to observe it.

One violator of the agreement was the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission was planning to hold its annual banquet there at which its civil rights award would be presented to Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Our CORE group protested to the Fellowship Commission, to Robert Kennedy and to Gustav Amsterdam, chairman of the Board of Bankers Security Corporation and a leading influence in the Hotel Association. The protest made clear that we would have to picket if the banquet were held at a hotel with a discriminatory job policy.

Amsterdam responded by promising negotiation of a new and more effective agreement on job policy between the Commission on Human Relations and the Hotel Association. This was confirmed by the Commission and the new job policy resulted.

WHILE HER MOTHER SAT-IN...

I'M
FOR
FAIR
HOUS

. . . at the realty office of Joseph Eyring, along with three other Berkeley CORE members, this little girl, Arlee Leonard, held a picket sign informing passersby of what was going on. She was one of 50 CORE pickets. The demonstration ended after a half hour with the realtor agreeing to show Robert Jefferson, a Negro, the house which he had previously been denied the right to inspect.

Win Marathon Sit-In

Some 400 miles southward, Los Angeles CORE won a sit-in which lasted 35 days at Monterey Highlands housing development. The sit-in took place in relays inside one of the development's model homes.

It ended when Earl Snyder, who took possession of the development through foreclosure on second mortgage, sold the Lile family the house of their choice. The Lile's search for a home started last November. They applied three times at Monterey Highlands and were refused, while a white CORE test team was immediately offered a house. Los Angeles CORE thereupon pledged to sit-in until the Lile's obtained the home of their choice. Mrs. Lile participated in the sit-in. Lile is a physicist employed by a local laboratory.

Precedent-Setting Decision

Across the country in Boston, a housing case initiated as a result of CORE action resulted in the first decision by a state court to outlaw discrimination in entirely private developed housing.

The decision, by the Supreme Judicial Court, upheld the constitutionality of the 3-year-old Massachusetts' fair housing law and ordered A. J. Colangelo, owner of Glenmeadow Apartments in Waltham, to rent an apartment to Maurice Fowler, a Negro. He had been rejected on the grounds that he is a bachelor. However, CORE tests at the time proved that this was a subterfuge and that white bachelors were able to obtain apartments there without difficulty.

IN BRIEF

May 17, the eighth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, was observed by CORE groups across the country with demonstrations at Republican and Democratic headquarters protesting the inaction of both parties on civil rights.

* * *

CORE has opened its first two regional offices: one in New Orleans under the direction of Marvin Robinson and one in San Francisco, headed by Genevieve Hughes. There are smaller offices in Baton Rouge and South Carolina.

Two weeks of picketing by a newly-formed CORE group in Oakland, California, won a promise from the general manager of A.G.E., a big discount house, that Negroes would be hired promptly in non-menial jobs.

* * *

The recent action of the White Citizens Councils in sending busloads of impoverished Negroes up-North is "a device to gain cheap publicity at the expense of personal suffering and deprivation," said CORE National Director James Farmer in a widely-circulated public statement.

* * *

On April 25, Talladega College students picketing two drugstores were the victims of teargas bombs hurled from a passing car and, the following day, 12 of the students were arrested. The group had been trained in nonviolence by CORE Field Secretary Henry Thomas before Alabama illegally outlawed CORE.

MIAMI MOVIES DESEGREGATE

A year-long campaign of stand-ins by Miami CORE has ended with desegregation of the city's major movie theatres.

The policy change was announced by the group after its test teams had gained admission to these theatres, without incident. One of the testers, Christian Fife, spent $9 in admissions testing the movies along Flagler Street, the city's main thoroughfare.

Ending of discrimination at the movies came shortly after, following CORE's announcement of its forthcoming Freedom Highways project. Howard Johnson desegregated its local restaurants. Also, CORE's protest over segregation at the City Hall canteen and at a local golf course, won a City Commission ruling that, thereafter, all public facilities located on city-owned property must serve everybody.

REGISTER AND VOTE?

These two Negro residents of Sumter, South Carolina stand near their fence as Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary, explains the important role of voting in the struggle for equal rights. Door-to-door canvassing is only one of Robinson's chores in CORE's South Carolina voter-registration campaign, which, together with a similar campaign in Louisiana, is being financed in part through a special $8,600 Foundation grant.

He also conducts classes on filling-out application blanks, accompanies persons to registration offices and gives further instruction to applicants who because of error, fail to receive certificates. Directing the five field secretaries assigned to the South Carolina and Louisiana campaigns is James T. McCain, the CORE staff member with greatest experience in voter registration.

"LOUISIANA LUNACY" (Continued)

Continued from page 1

released on March 16 after 56 days of imprisonment. Earlier, the two had served 21 days each. Ten days later, Reverend B. Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary, who had been sentenced on three misdemeanor charges to 21 months in jail and $5,700 fine, was released on $7,125 appeal bond after being held almost two months on legal technicalities. Before the end of March, the "criminal anarchy" charge against Rougeau was dropped—but not against Moore. Moore's trial was originally set for May 28 and then delayed until June 13.

Specifically, he is accused of being "a member of the Congress of Racial Equality, an organization known to the offender to advocate, teach and practice opposition to the government of the State of Louisiana."

Still pending in Federal Court is an injunction brought by CORE to restrain Southern University from continuing to deprive civil rights demonstrators of their rights to an education.

The first hand story of the case is told in CORE's most recent pamphlet, "It Happened in Baton Rouge, U.S.A.", a copy of which is enclosed with this issue. The pamphlet concludes: "We must do all in our power to make the nation aware of what has happened in Baton Rouge. We must support CORE and other concerned organizations in their protest actions."

ACTION IN KENTUCKY

Nonviolent actions against segregation in Louisville, Lexington and Frankfort, prompted the Governor of Kentucky to call a state-wide mayors conference in early April.

In Louisville, the Board of Aldermen unanimously passed an ordinance creating a City Human Relations Commisison. While, as CORE spokesmen pointed out, the ordinance does not give the Commission sufficient powers, it constitutes a first step. Also, while Mayor William Cowgill at a meeting of civil rights leaders denounced a CORE demonstration at the Fourth Avenue Roller Rink in which 19 participants were arrested, it was only following this picketing that the Board of Aldermen acted. More recently, Louisville CORE has been picketing the West End Theater which, though located in a Negro district, refuses to admit Negroes. Sam Switow, who also owns the now-desegregated Kentucky Theater downtown, contends he will not desegregate the West End until other neighborhood theaters change policy. Louisville CORE is also engaged in a fair employment campaign, in which some progress has been made.

Sears, Roebuck has upgraded three Negroes and hired three more. A boycott continues at Coca-Cola in spite of the hiring of one Negro salesman. Pepsi-Cola has agreed to adopt a fair hiring policy.

In Lexington, four CORE members —Rev. David Bronson, Rex Harrison, Jerry Lewis and Julia Lewis—were arrested for sitting-in at the Phoenix Hotel coffee shop. They were acquitted of "breach of the peace," though Police Judge Richard Moloney, Jr. declined to rule on whether a peaceful sit-in violates Kentucky law.

In Frankfort, four students were arrested for sitting-in at the lunch counter of the Frankfort Drug Co. The arrests were the first since the student group started sitting-in in late March. Though not affiliated with CORE, this student group was recently trained in nonviolent techniques by Genevieve Hughes, a CORE regional field secretary.

Reminder to Artists: July 14 is the deadline for artists submitting designs for this year's CORE holiday cards.

"How to Succeed" in Show Business—Be White . . .

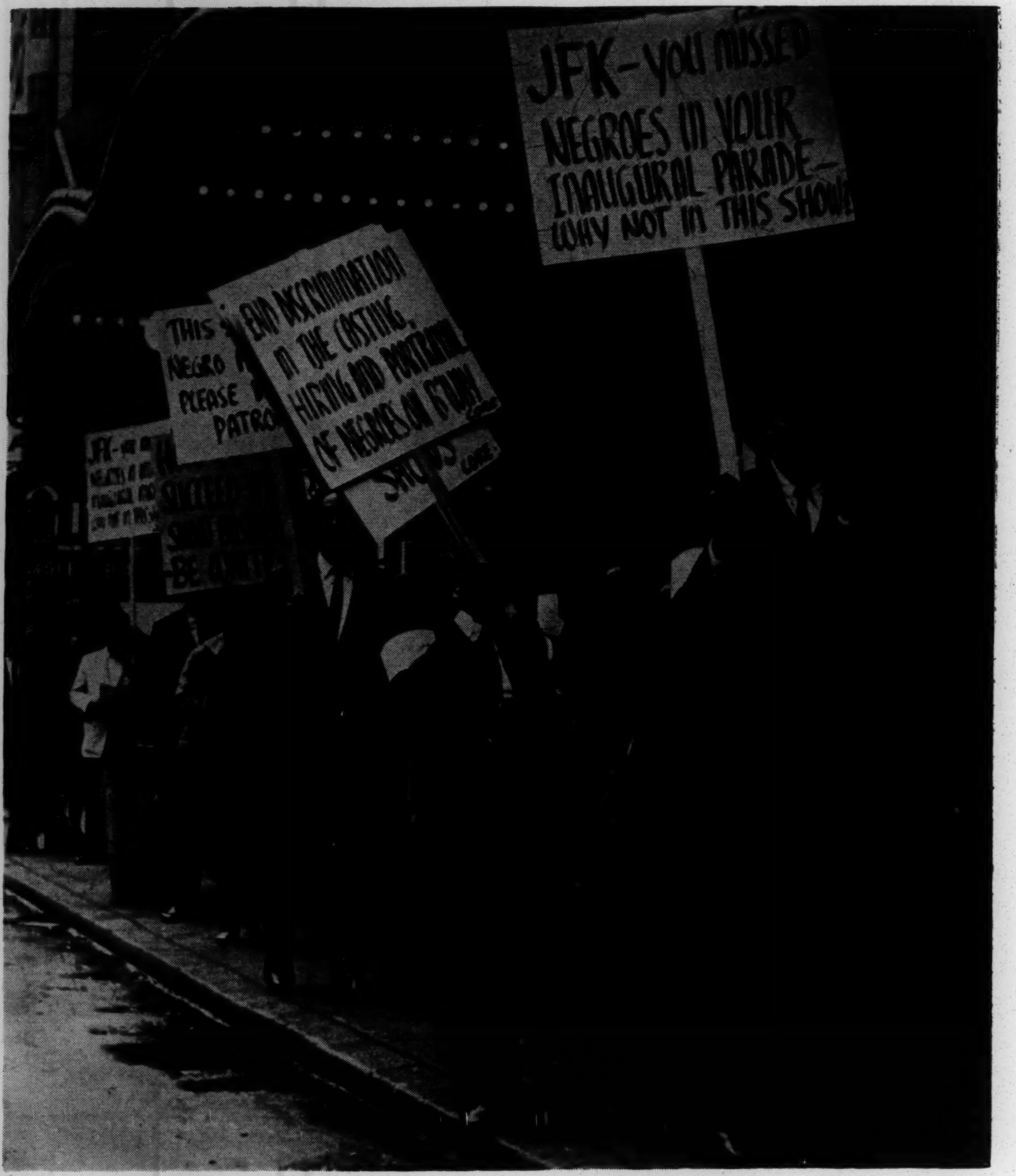
. . . says one of the placards in this mass picketing of the Broadway musical, "How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying." Heading the picket line are Ossie Davis, author, producer and star of "Purlie Victorious" and Godfrey Cambridge, well-known actor and co-chairman of the Committee for the Employment of Negro Performers, which together with CORE, sponsored the protest.

A second CORE-CENP mass picket demonstration took place that same Saturday in front of another Broadway musical, "Subways Are for Sleeping." In a New York Post column about the picketing headed "Lily-white Subway," Murray Kempton asks: "Are we to understand that there are no Negro riders on the New York subway Mr. Merrick (the producer) has recreated for us?"

First Breakthrough . . .

. . . in the CORE-CENP campaign to end discrimination on stage occurred on May 18 with the hiring of five Negro actors and one Oriental for the forthcoming City Center revival of "Fiorello." When this musical, based on the life of New York's late Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, ran initially, there were no Negroes in the cast.

The non-discriminatory hiring for the new cast was part of an agreement negotiated by CORE and CENP with the City Center's drama and light opera companies. The City Center has agreed to word casting notices so as to encourage Negroes and other minority performers to audition and will ensure that "qualified Negro performers are included in its productions cast in all types of roles."


JFK—YOU MISSED NEGROES IN YOUR INAUGURAL PARADE—WHY NOT IN THIS SHOW?
END DISCRIMINATION IN THE CASTING, HIRING AND PORTRAYAL OF NEGROES ON B'WAY SHOWS
CORE
THIS NEGRO PLEASE PATRO
JFK
SUCCEED SHOW BUSINESS —BE WHITE

National CORE is urging those who plan theatre parties to make sure that the plays they benefit have a fair hiring policy.

FACED WITH BOYCOTT, D.C. TRANSIT HIRES 55 NEGROES

Faced wtih a possible boycott of at least three of its lines, the D.C. Transit Co., which operates buses in the nation's capital, has agreed to hire 55 Negroes immediately

The projected boycott was being organized by a steering committee led by Washington CORE and NAG, the Nonviolent Action Group of Howard University. The committee had polled nearly 5000 residents of areas served by the 14th Street, 11th Street and Benning Road lines and found that 85% of them favored a boycott unless the company changed its employment policy. Then, a car pool of 486 autos had been set-up to transport persons boycotting the buses. Half a million leaflets were printed. Some were distributed at churches by members of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employes.

Prompting the renewed drive for a fair employment policy by D. C. Transit was a story in the April 28 Washington Afro-American which quoted a company official as stating that there were only 42 Negro drivers out of a total of 1900 and giving as a reason "You got too many criminals." He also admitted that the company did not employ a single Negro secretarial worker in its main office. Julius Hobson of Washington CORE estimates that the company derives half of its income from Negro passengers.

CORE CALENDAR—SUMMER 1962

June 28-July 1, National Convention: Miami, Florida

July 14-July 28, Employment and Housing Workshop: Columbus, Ohio

July 14-Sept. 2, Freedom Highways Project (to desegregate Howard Johnson restaurants along main east coast highways to Florida. The chain's 14 Miami restaurants opened to Negroes shortly after the project was announced. A few days later the restaurant in St. Augustine, Florida and the one in La Plata, Md. opened.)

Aug. 12-Sept. 2, Annual Action Institute: Houston, Texas

CORE-LATOR

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A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 SEPTEMBER, 1962 No. 97

Lengthy New Orleans Restaurant Drive Won

by Rudy Lombard

One of CORE's most arduous and longest nonviolent action campaigns in the lunch counter sit-in movement ended on September 11 when 77 New Orleans lunch counters and restaurants desegregated. More than 125 CORE members conducted tests and on that day were served without incident.

First Sit-Ins

The campaign started just two years ago, less a week—on September 19, 1960. Of the seven persons participating in the initial Woolworth sit-in, four of us had received training in nonviolence at CORE's Action Institute in Miami. After 6½ hours of sitting, we encountered our first in a seemingly endless series of arrests. It was the city's district attorney, not the store manager, who asked the group to leave and then executed the arrests.

Eight days later, four of us sat-in at McCrory's lunch counter. The legal case which grew out of this sit-in is now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court. A "criminal anarchy" charge against the lone white participant has yet to be argued at the local level.

New Orleans CORE followed through with picketing, leaflet distributions and rallies. In early December, eight CORE members were arrested for distributing leaflets without a permit. During the first months of 1961, eight more pickets were arrested. Jerome Smith, Julia Aaron, Dave Dennis, Doris Castle, Frank Nelson, Alice Thompson and many other CORE members served long periods of "dead time" in jail waiting to be tried. Bonds were so exhorbitant that all available cash was soon depleted.

Despite the activities of the Freedom Rides, in which New Orleans CORE was deeply involved, picketing of Woolworth's continued throughout the summer of 1961. In the fall, police action forced reduction of the picket lines to one person per store.

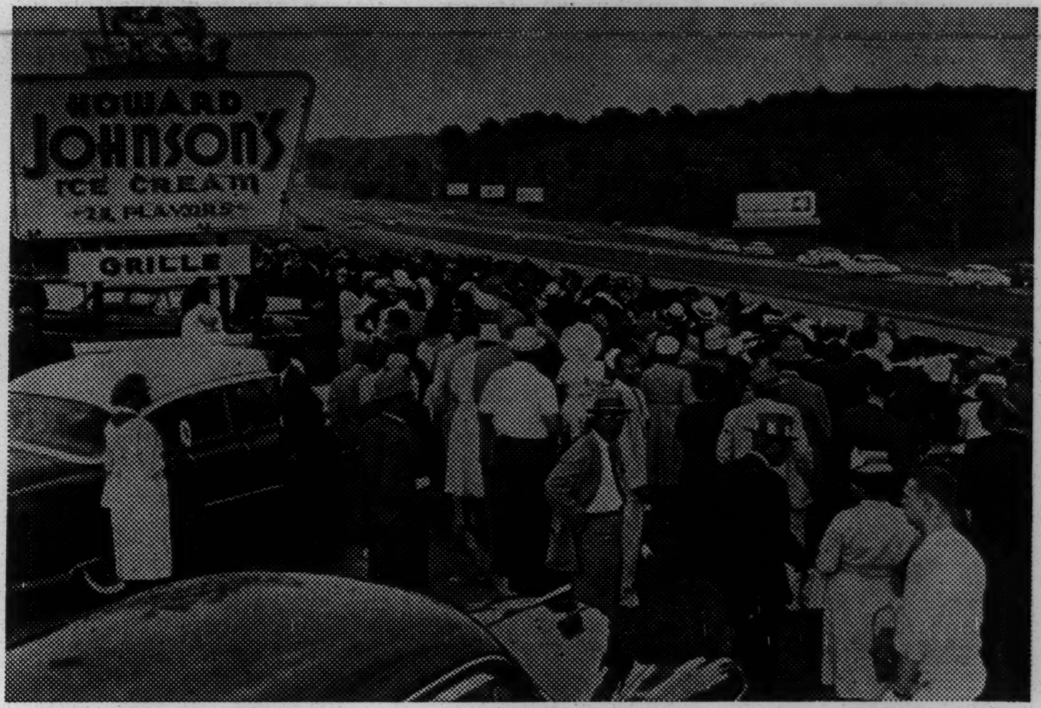
Sit-Inners Harassed

By November, New Orleans CORE resumed sit-ins—many of them lasting all day. The number of participants ranged from four to 20 on weekdays, with as many as 70 on Saturdays. These sit-ins continued through

Continued on page 2

FREEDOM HIGHWAYS

by Gordon Carey



Mass Support

"I'm Clarence Daniels—I suppose you know that I am the manager and I'm ordering you to leave . . ."

Day after day this August we heard these words from the lips of the manager and part-owner of a Howard Johnson's restaurant on the throughway from Durham to Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Caught between the surge for human rights and a desire to maintain an outmoded southern way of life, Daniels realizes that his cause is a lost one. Only a few hundred yards from his eatery is a Schrafft's restaurant which serves without discrimination.

On Sunday afternoon, August 19, Daniels was reluctant host to over 1,000 Negroes and a few whites who assembled on Howard Johnson's front-lawn to protest the restaurant's refusal to serve Negroes. We arrived in a motorcade following a mass protest meeting in a Durham church. After CORE National Director Jim Farmer, who led the group, was turned away by Daniels, he returned to the front-lawn and led the mass of protestors in singing freedom sings and praying. Four young persons, including Waldo Mead, a white ministerial student; Joycelin McKissick, daughter of our Durham attorney, Guytanna Horton and Jon Schaeffer were already serving 30-day jail sentences for "trespassing" at this restaurant. Schaeffer had to serve his term on the road gang.

We who demonstrated in Durham were not alone. Hundreds of persons in other North Carolina cities held similar demonstrations as part of Freedom

Continued on page 4

Houston Action Institute

by Richard Haley

We set up headquarters at the Hotel Algiers, right in the middle of Houston's "Golden Ghetto." For the final two weeks of August, 15 to 20 participants from various parts of the country under the direction of four CORE staff members explored the study and practice of nonviolent methods in that major Texas city. We divided into two sections: Norm Hill leading the one on employment and Fredricka Teer, the one on public accommodation.

All of us worked informally on public relations, getting the temper of the community. It was a mild temper. Frequently some local person would remark: "Houston certainly needs CORE; I'm glad you're here!"—and we would not see him again. I must add, however, that there were exceptions—individuals ready to work and willing to risk.

Within the Institute we wrestled with the problem of what would be the most effective action project. Local people favored the downtown theaters, where there had been sustained local action over a year ago, but without concrete results. We had to consider our limitations in terms of numbers of persons, financial resources and time-span of the Institute.

We decided on Mading's Drug Store, Houston's lone holdout on lunch counter desegregation. So, on August 24, six of us gratefully stepped-out of the 100-degree heat and started a sit-in at Mading's lunch counter *(see photo, taken by Frank Bolton)*. It's a neighborhood store located in a narrow buffer zone of integration between the solid black blocks to the east and the white residential area to the west.

We sat, asked for service, were refused—all according to pattern. The manager told us that Mading's did not serve Negroes. There were no acts of violence, no curses, no arrests — yet the company policy wouldn't have been any different had it been set by an ultra-segregationist like Leander Perez of New Orleans.

One of the two Negro waitresses halted before one of us long enough to say: "When you all go, I'm going too." Nobody interviewed her, took her picture, gave her any token of recognition, yet her act of sacrifice is worth remembering.

The counter was closed down. We sat there, reading or writing. Outside Ed Lewinson, blind Brooklyn CORE member and his seeing-eye dog, Celia, headed the pickets. The dog's picket sign said: "Doggone it, integrate!" Police came to observe. A reporter conducted a lengthy interview, which was never published.

There were subsequent demonstrations, but we did not open the counter. There were negotiations but they were inconclusive. Nevertheless, the Institute was an effective lesson in the realities of nonviolent action. We were in Houston to study a community, to bolster a newly-formed local CORE group, to study CORE principles and practices. We were there to learn and we learned.

Our final effort to penetrate the community was a public workshop at Pinecrest Presbyterian Church. The attendance was not tremendous but the audience response was good. What better way to close than with Gandhi's admonition: "Your strength lies not in numbers, but in the degree of firmness of purpose."

THREE JAILED IN BATON ROUGE

As this issue of the CORElator went to press three CORE leaders were jailed for "defamation" in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Rev. B. Elton Cox was charged with defaming the district attorney and a judge in an address before the local NAACP.

Ronnie Moore and Patricia Tate, chairman of Baton Rouge CORE, offered to testify before the grand jury. They were then charged with defaming the grand jury. Bond for the three on these misdemeanors totals $20,000. Preliminary motions on Moore's criminal anarchy trial are being argued.

NEW ORLEANS—*continued*

February. On occasion the sit-inners were sprayed with insecticide or doused with amonia. Acid was also used. CORE-inscribed caps were snatched off the heads of sit-inners and burned on the spot. Store employees made a practice of roughing-up the demonstrators. One manager flashed a gun and on another occasion had stools removed from under the CORE occupants. Once a local TV cameraman was assaulted and arrested. Police were seldom present.

From the start of the campaign, CORE National Chairman Charles Oldham and CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin had sought negotiations. Shortly after the first outbreak of violence against the sit-inners, word reached us that the variety store managements and other merchants were ready to discuss desegregation. This past February a Committee on Race Relations was established bringing together the Chamber of Commerce, CORE, NAACP, the Consumers League and others. Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern attorney, coordinated the participation of the pro-desegregation groups. New Orleans CORE was represented by its chairman, Oretha Castle. The September 11 desegregation was the outcome of these negotiations.

A Hard-won Victory

In the course of the 2-year campaign, over 350 participants were arrested. The number of briefs filed and cases tried is staggering. Some cases are still pending, a few were dismissed, others are still on appeal. Lolis Elie and other friendly attorneys were kept busy constantly. Jail sentences averaged around 60 days, with an additional 30 days in lieu of fines—and in many cases the full sentences were served in jail.

Finally, the lunch counters, as well as other restaurants in New Orleans are open. Their opening is testimony to the dedication of New Orleans CORE members, their attorneys and their friends—and to the effectiveness of nonviolent action under trying circumstances.

The desegregation of Baltimore restaurants early this summer, following passage of a city law against discrimination in public accommodations, ended an action campaign which Baltimore started more than nine years ago. During the summer, Baltimore CORE tested eating places in Ocean City and found they had desegregated.

My Stay in Albany

by Marvin Rich

Forty of us were arrested on the streets of Albany, Georgia, the night of July 24. We were jailed just a few hours after Chief Circuit Judge Elbert Tuttle invalidated an injunction against demonstrations issued by District Judge Robert Elliot, a Kennedy appointee. We were charged with "impeding the normal flow of traffic." Yet, when we were arrested we were crossing the street in a pedestrian lane with the green light in our favor. What traffic could have been impeded? Perhaps the traffic in ideas..

We marched into jail singing "Climbing Jacob's Ladder." Our morale was high despite the prison conditions and the antagonism of the guards and of some—though not all—the white inmates. It was possible to shout messages from cell to cell and to hold rudimentary workshops.

My cell was 7 feet high, 7 feet long and 7 feet deep. It contained 4 bunks, a cold water tap, and a commode. Often there were 8 of us in the cell—drunks, reckless drivers and integrationists. My first night I slept on the cement floor under a bunk in a space so narrow that it was impossible to turn over.

All jails are essentially dehumanizing. For white integrationists the jail in Albany is probably a bit worse than most. There are no newspapers, books, pencils, paper, cigarettes, razor or soap for the "white nigger who wants to tell us how to run things here." Thus the police described us as they shoved us into cells with the white drunks. This incitement by the self-claimed "non-violent" local law officers was intended to provoke inmate violence against us. It didn't often succeed but occasionally it did. Bill Hansen suffered a broken jaw and several cracked ribs.

Pilgrimage

Shortly after my release, Rabbi Kurt Flascher of Brooklyn CORE, Rev. John Collier, a leader of last year's interfaith Freedom Ride and Rabbi Israel Dresner of Newark CORE laid groundwork for the Prayer Pilgrimage to Albany. All 69 participants were arrested and jailed for holding a prayer meeting at City Hall on August 29. Some fasted while in prison.

The number of arrests since Albany became a focal point in the civil rights struggle now totals over 1,200. Only a dozen have been tried.

Columbus Employment-Housing Workshop

by Lucy Komisar

How do you negotiate with a company such as Kroger's armed with a detailed analysis of its discriminatory employment policy? How do you combat the shocking truth that 80% of federally supported housing such as Beverly Manor Apartments is segregated? How do you meet violence such as occurred at Hilltop Pool in nearby Valleyview? These are the concrete situations which we encountered this July during the CORE summer workshop on employment and housing in Columbus, Ohio, attended by some 25 persons from different sections of the country under the leadership of Norm Hill.

Negotiations with Kroger's personnel director climaxed days of groundwork. (During July, Kroger's was also the target of a CORE fair-employment campaign in St. Louis.) I visited the main office ostensibly to look for a long-lost girlfriend, but in reality to count the number of Negroes employed. There were none. Other workshoppers applied for executive positions and returned with detailed accounts of Kroger's method of recruiting and training managers and supervisors. Teams of three visited neighborhood stores to determine the percentage of Negro shoppers and residents and to interview employees. One afternoon, as "a sociology student at Ohio State University," I interviewed a manager and three employees about Kroger's hiring and advancement policies.

Negotiators Armed With Facts

Socio-dramas preceding our negotiations aptly captured the indignant air of the personnel director as he challenged CORE's right to "dictate" hiring policy to him. As an outcome of the negotiations, Kroger's pledged to hire Negroes as office workers and as executive trainees. Columbus CORE will check as to the company's compliance.

A considerable amount of groundwork also went into our effort to desegregate Beverly Manor Apartments. Having obtained the vital statistics on Columbus's segregated, real estate power structure, four workshoppers approached management demanding public announcement of a fair housing policy. Company representatives denied having discriminated, despite CORE tests which had proved the contrary. However, management requested time to consult its national office prior to agreeing to any public statement of open occupancy. Columbus CORE is following through on this.

Since our workshop was aimed at northern problems, we had not planned training to meet, with nonviolence, the type of violence encountered by desegregationists in the deep south. However, such a training session was necessitated by the assaults on Columbus CORE members picketing Hilltop Pool over its refusal to admit Negroes.

The day after that training session, we walked the picket line with such decorum that even a few of the jeering onlookers commented on our discipline. *(See photo, taken by Bob Adelman.)* On several occasions, CORE pickets at the pool were harassed by segregationist youths in crowds of up to 100.

SEGREGATION IS WRONG
NT IM ERE
ALL I ANT TO DO IS WIM!
IELP! TOP CROW
SEGREGATION SWIMS HERE!
ONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

IN BRIEF

CORE groups have played leading roles in campaigning for desegregated schools in San Francisco and Oakland, Calif., Syracuse and Malverne, N. Y., and Englewood, N. J.

* * *

Crosses burned on the lawns of two residents and dynamite sticks found at the homes of two others did not deter a newly formed CORE group in Lebanon, Tenn., from carrying on its activities aimed at desegregating the community. One such activity was picketing of the Capitol Theater during which five were arrested for "breach of the peace" and later acquitted.

* * *

Two CORE fair employment campaigns, marked by picketing and selective buying, ended successfully with signed agreements by management—the first to be put in writing in their respective areas. One was with the Ebinger bakery chain in Brooklyn, N. Y. and the other with the Denver Dry Goods Co. in Denver, Colo.

FREEDOM SONGS RECORDED

Come all you freedom lovers
Good news to you I tell
About the good old freedom
fighters
Who've come here to dwell!

This is the first verse of "Which Side Are You On, Boy?", one of the dramatic songs in CORE's new Sit In Songs album. Recorded by Freedom Highways participants on the Audio-Fidelity label, the album contains numerous moving songs of protest, most of which are led by Field Secretary Hank Thomas.

Music critic Nat Hentoff said of the album: "The music which has emerged from these experiences has restored the fiery art of American topical song."

The album can be ordered directly from CORE; both monaural and stereo are $3.95.

Please send me ....Sit-In Songs albums

Mono......... Stereo.........

....
(NAME)

....
(STREET ADDRESS)

....
(CITY AND STATE)

I have enclosed $.............

FREEDOM HIGHWAYS—*continued*

Highways, CORE's summer project aimed at desegregating chain restaurants along main southern auto routes.

In Raleigh, the state capital, 300 persons stood in protest on Howard Johnson's front-lawn after being refused service and were drenched with hoses manned by restaurant employees.

Arrests and Insecticide

In Statesville, which calls itself the "City of Progress," the 300 persons who demonstrated at Howard Johnson's were not drenched like in Raleigh, but 21 of them were arrested by police. During the arrests, police brutally beat 15-year-old Patricia Long. The arresting officer later claimed she had "assaulted" him. A 20-year-old Negro boy was beaten on the face with a billie-stick and manhandled. He was charged with resisting arrest.

Following these incidents, Jim Farmer and I hastened from Durham to Statesville. We arrived at midnight and found 75 persons still gathered at the Baptist church. Rev. Wilson Lee was announcing that there would be a mass meeting the following night and that we would then march from the church to the jail where those arrested were being held. Statesville's Negro population is only about 5,500. Yet over 600 Negros jammed the church next evening and walked silently to the jail.

Farmer and Rev. Lee led the walk. Upon our arrival, police ordered us to disperse. We refused. Within minutes, as Rev. Lee offered prayer, a jeep used for insect extermination approached the hushed crowd. A thick fog of insecticide completely enveloped us. No one panicked or fled. Amid coughs and sneezes, Rev. Lee continued to pray. Then, he calmly led us through the fog and back to the church.

In response to protests by the press and public the following day, Mayor Bagnal stated: "We always fumigate the street at City Hall at 10:04 Monday nights." Earlier, the police chief had denied that our demonstration had taken place at all.

Project's Impact

Throughout the month, hundreds of North Carolinians joned the 25 full-time participants in Freedom Highways. These 25, following a 2-week training period in nonviolence at Greensboro, spent two weeks in Durham, then divided into groups of five which fanned out into various sections of the state. Rudy Lombard, a CORE vice-chairman, and I were coordinators of the project.

Howard Johnson, Holiday Inn and Dobbs House restaurants along the state's main highways were the scenes of picketing, marches and stand-ins. Not only Negroes, but whites also demonstrated. There was considerable customer support. As many as 20 white customers walked out at one time in support of our efforts. At Greensboro, where we desegregated the Hot Shoppe restaurant, white baseball players of a New York Yankees farm club joined our sit-in. At Durham, a white ministerial student joined our protest and went to jail with members of our group.

The number of arrests throughout the month totaled 95, most of them in Charlotte. Moon Eng, a young Chinese Freedom Highways participant, was arrested six times for "trespassing." Frank Nelson, a white participant sentenced to 60 days, fasted 20 days and had to be force-fed in state prison.

September 1 was the official termination date for the project, but many of the 25 full-time participants decided to continue their action along with persons in the communities. Other participants were still in jail serving their sentences.

Results

As the project spread from city to city, Governor Terry Sanford found he could no longer ignore it. On August 24, he met with Farmer and Negro leaders from four cities and announced that a panel of leading citizens was being formed to negotiate with Howard Johnson's and other highway restaurants. Our committee hailed this as "a step in the right direction," but announced that the CORE action program would continue.

I feel that Freedom Highways has been one of CORE's most successful national projects. It already has opened nearly 100 restaurants along southern highways. In Florida alone, we succeeded through negotiations in opening all 67 Howard Johnson's. In North Carolina there are 20 Howard Johnson's. When we started our August project, only four of them were desegregated. Now, nine serve Negroes and more are expected to desegregate in the near future.

RE-ARRESTED IN BATON ROUGE

Although "defamation" indictments against three CORE leaders and the local NAACP chairman in Baton Rouge, La. were dismissed on October 1 because of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries, the four were promptly ordered re-arrested on bench warrants. These were based on a "bill of information" containing the same allegations as the dismissed indictments.

The issue of lily-white juries in Baton Rouge parish was raised successfully by CORE defense counsel, which include Carl Rachlin of New York, Lolis Elie of New Orleans and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge.

Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE field secretary and Rev. Arthur Jelke, local NAACP chairman are accused of "defaming" a judge and district attorney at an NAACP mass meeting. Ronnie Moore, former chairman of Baton Rouge CORE who is still facing a "criminal anarchy" indictment and Patricia Ann Tate, present chairman of Baton Rouge CORE, are charged with "defaming" a grand jury by offering to testify on behalf of Cox and Jelks. Trial is set for November 29.

BUS STATION SIT-INNERS ARRESTED

In defiance of the June 4 Supreme Court decision outlawing police enforcement of discrimination in bus terminals, Tallahassee police on September 25 arrested five local CORE members seeking service at the Trailways lunch counter In Tallahassee, Florida.

They were tried on October 4, only four days before the Supreme Court issued a decision specifically upholding the 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission regulations on bus terminal desegregation.

Ironically, in convicting the five, Judge John Rudd cited the ICC regulations as "a usurpation of legislative powers." He sentenced them to $300 fines or 60 days in jail. Patricia Stephens was given an additional $100 fine because of her previous conviction resulting from CORE activities. The other four are James and Julian Hamilton, Rushen Kennon and Ira Simmons.

In addition to appealing, the five have filed a million-dollar damage suit against the city and are seeking an injunction to stop Tallahassee's enforcement of "apartheid"—the South African term for its ultra-extreme type of segregation.

CORE-LATOR

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A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
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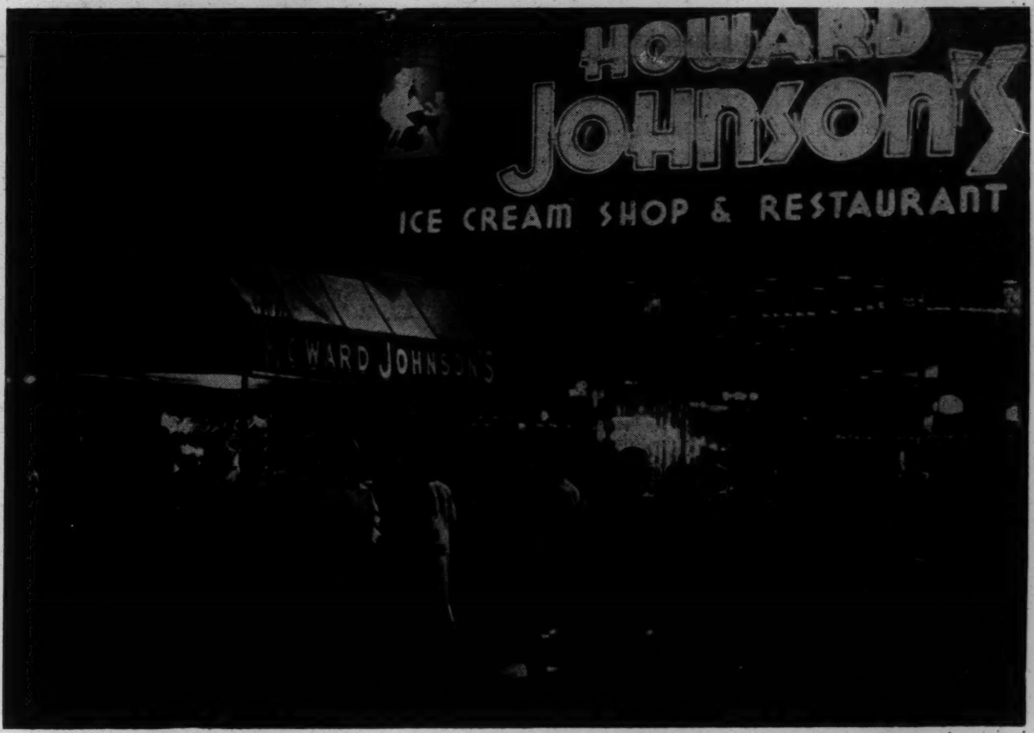
98 NOVEMBER No. 98

Desegregate-Howard-Johnson's Day



This photo shows one of the picket demonstrations conducted across the country on October 6, which CORE had designated as Desegregate-Howard Johnson's Day. Reports from over 30 cities in 15 states indicate that a total of several thousand persons, many of them students, participated.

On the eve of the demonstrations, Howard Johnson, for the first time, negotiated in person with a CORE committee on desegregation of the company's southern restaurants and motor lodges. No agreement was reached then. At the next session, seven company-owned restaurants in Oklahoma were integrated.

Two days before the demonstration, Philip and Morris Rubenstein, owners of five franchised Howard Johnson's in New York City, publicly endorsed CORE's position. Following negotiations with a CORE committee, they agreed to issue a public statement calling upon other franchised restaurants and upon the Howard Johnson Co. itself, to desegregate in the south. Some Howard Johnson restaurants, like those owned by the Rubenstein brothers, are franchised rather than owned outright. Insertion of a non-discrimination clause in the franchise agreements, is one of CORE's demands.

Another demand is that the company drop all charges against persons arrested for sitting-in at Howard Johnson restaurants in North Carolina during the Freedom Highways project. Over 100 such arrests have been made and while some cases were dismissed, other persons were sentenced to as much as 60 days in jail. The Freedom Highways project originally was

(Continued on page 4)

A Carolina City—15 Years Later

by Jim Peck

When I returned to Durham, North Carolina this August for the start of CORE's Freedom Highways project, it was my first visit since the pioneer "freedom ride" of 1947. Inevitably, I kept contrasting and comparing—trying to measure the degree of progress, and lack of progress, in civil rights over the 15-year period.

Within an hour after my arrival, I was assigned to picket an Eckerd's drug store located in the heart of the white downtown section. The picketing's objective, attained before the project ended, was to get management to agree to hire Negroes in non-menial positions. As I picketed, I reflected how this type of protest in a place like Durham would have been inconceivable 15 years ago. True, I heard some abusive remarks from a few passersby, but neither they nor the police molested us. In 1947 we would have faced violence on that street—not just profanity—that is if we had not been arrested the very instant we donned our placards.

It would have been still more inconceivable in 1947 that Durham authorities would have permitted a stand-in such as some of us conducted the following evening at the steamtable of the city's biggest cafeteria, the S. & W. As a result of our refusal to leave unless the Negroes in our group were served, the cafeteria closed-down at the peak of the busy dinner hour.

Most heartening to me, as we stood there, was the number of customers who approached the manager and spoke-up in our favor—in Durham, North Carolina. A white ministerial student, Waldo Mead, joined our stand-in at the cafeteria next day and later went to jail with three Negroes of our group for the "crime" of trying to eat at the local Howard Johnson's restaurant.

The August 12 mass demonstration at that Howard Johnson's, in which over 1,000 Durham Negroes plus a few whites, stood in protest on restaurant property, risking arrest for "trespassing," would have been most unthinkable of all in 1947.

Action in Progress

In short, I was encouraged during this summer's re-visiting of Durham—not by any overall change in 15 years, but by the fact that nonviolent action is in progress and that considerable gains have been won as a result. This action, mainly by Negro students, started in 1960 along with the south-wide lunch counter sit-in movement. Soon thereafter, Durham's lunch counters were desegregated. The city buses were desegregated. Schools started to integrate. A number of downtown stores were prevailed-upon to hire Negro salespeople. A Negro has been elected to the city council. On the other hand, there is plenty of segregation remaining. No eating places other than the lunch counters (and Schrafft's restaurant) serve Negroes. No theater in the white section admits Negroes to any section but the upper balcony.

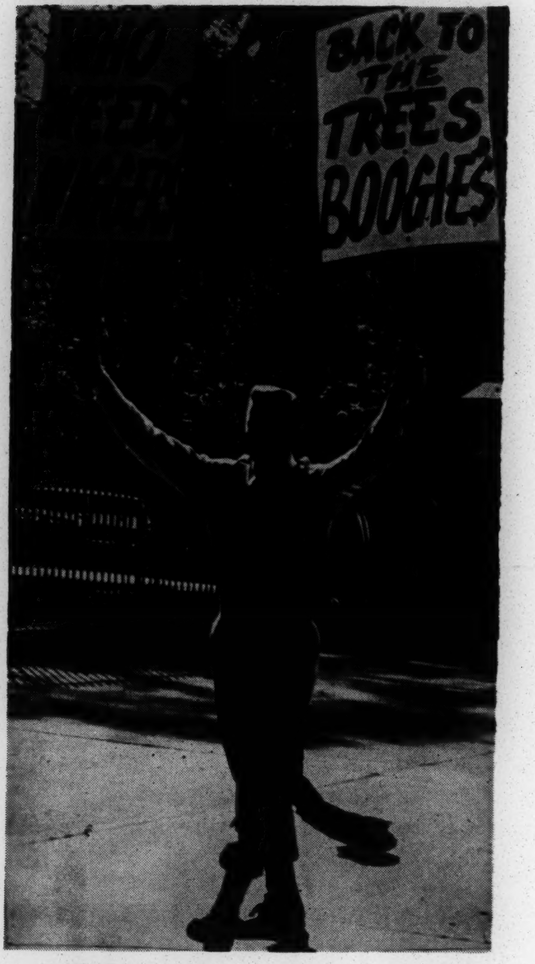
In 1947, however, not only was there no direct action whatsoever aiming toward a change, but there was no prospect of any. Only a handful of Negroes, such as Professor E. C. Boulware, even dared to favor our passing through Durham on our 1947 bus trip. It was heartening for me to meet Boulware again after 15 years and to find him still active in the desegregation struggle. It was a pleasure to meet Rev. Arthur Thomas, a young white minister who had succeeded in establishing a small, interracial church in Durham. It was an agreeable surprise to discover that our local attorney was Floyd McKissick, who had first become interested in 1947 when, as a student, he decided to join our bus trip for a lap. Today he is a leading civil rights lawyer and one of Durham's chief advocates of nonviolent action. His daughter Joycelyn, presently a student, was among the first group jailed in the Freedom Highways project.

ARRESTED—RETURN TO PICKET LINE

Alderman William Clay, long active with St. Louis CORE and the group's chairman, Lucian Richards, were arrested September 21 while distributing leaflets in connection with a fair-employment picket demonstration at Kroger's Wells Avenue store.

Taken to the nearest police station, they were presented with summonses on a charge of disturbing the peace and were released without bond. Thereupon, they promptly returned to the picket line and resumed their leaflet distribution at the store's entrance. Police again appeared and again issued summonses but this time made no arrests.

Nazi Counterpicket


BACK TO THE TREES, BOOGIES

In snapping this photo, Bob Adelman caught the expression of hate on the face of this American Nazi Party member as he virtually ran up and down in front of the White House on September 22 with obscene placards in each hand. He was counterpicketing some 100 pickets who were engaged in a 24-hour vigil and fast initiated by Brooklyn CORE to urge firmer federal action for enforcement of civil rights.

The day before, James Meredith had been rebuffed for the first time from the University of Mississippi by Governor Ross Barnett. The unreasoned hate involved in Barnett's posture—which resulted in mob violence when Meredith finally was admitted a week later—is no different than that incited by the above Nazi. Before long, this Nazi was joined by five others—all in uniform. The counterpicketing ended after a couple of hours with the arrest of the Nazis following an altercation with a passerby.

The CORE vigil ended next day at 2 p.m. Shortly after the demonstration started, a committee of six, headed by Oliver Leeds, chairman of Brooklyn CORE, held a 2½-hour meeting in the White House with Lee White, President Kennedy's assistant on civil rights.

HOUSING SIT-IN LEADS TO PACT

As a result of a 6-hour sit-in by Philadelphia CORE members at a sample home in the northeast section, negotiations took place which resulted in a broad, anti-discrimination agreement with the Home Builders Association, which represents all major builders.

In addition to merely ceasing discrimination in the sale of new homes, the builders agreed to enroll their salesmen in the State Commission's training program on how to handle white buyers who are afraid to purchase in developments where Negroes live. The builders agreed to also use the State Commission's facilities for community education in instances where a house is sold to a Negro in an all-white neighborhood.

"CORE's next step will be to get all the interested agencies together and get the Negro community to take advantage of this new agreement," announced Louis Smith, chairman of Philadelphia CORE. "Without this, the agreement is valuless."

Action Campaign Wins at H & H

A year and a half of negotiations and picketing, climaxed with a sit-in at the executive office has resulted in adoption of a fair hiring policy by Horn & Hardart restaurants in Philadelphia.

"The firm has hired 38 Negro waitresses and 5 cashiers," reported Louis Smith, chairman of the CORE group which conducted the action campaign. "We are now convinced that Horn & Hardart is now practicing a policy of merit employment. We will make periodic checks to see that they continue this policy.

IN BRIEF

CORE has sponsored a number of rallies across the country, particularly on campus, to support James Meredith in his successful admission to the University of Mississippi. On campus, CORE backs the student organizations' armband campaign, calling for students to indicate their support of Meredith by wearing white armbands.

* * *

Pending trial of a $50,000 damage suit brought by Mrs. Gloria Mims, a Negro member of Berkeley (Calif.) CORE, Values, Inc., a local realtor has been enjoined from discriminating in the rental of housing accommodations.

* * *

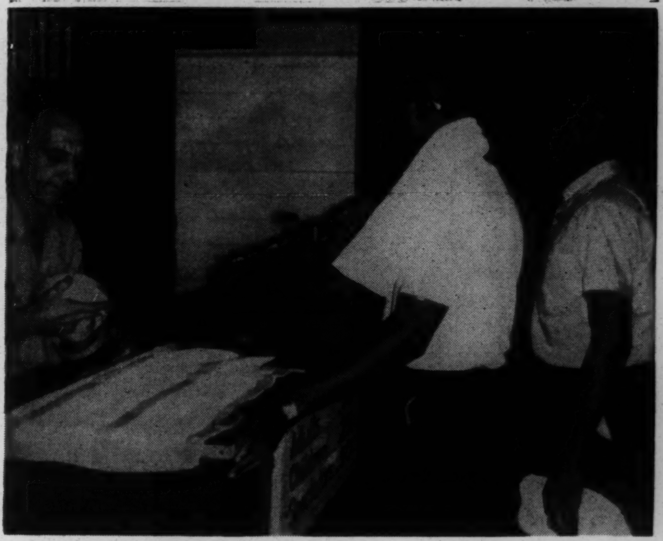
A two-year campaign by Ann Arbor (Mich.) CORE ended recently when the Ann Arbor News adopted a policy of refusing classified advertisements (except "Situations Wanted") with racial designations.

A TENNESSEE TOWN TODAY

by Mary Hamilton

In this small rural community of Lebanon, Tennessee, people have begun to react to the freedom movement. Negro citizens had been watching eagerly the progress towards desegregation in many southern cities. They saw that action was initiated usually by students, ministers and professional people.

Lebanon Negroes felt handicapped by their meager high school education. They felt the economic pinch of take-home pay averaging only $28 per week. They looked at their own community and needed no one to remind them that it was totally segregated. Daily, they were confronted with denial of all elementary rights other than the right to trade with the merchants.



The school system was completely segregated. All restaurants were closed to them. The one theater provided for Negroes a glassed-in jimcrow nest in the balcony. There are no recreational facilities for Negro youth. Negroes are denied the use of public bathrooms. Separate drinking fountains are found in the courthouse and at major supermarkets. Swimming pools at tax supported state parks do not admit Negroes. (*Photo shows Bobby Joe Jennings and Sam Hastings standing-in at Cedars of Lebanon State Park.*) Laundromats have "white only" signs on their doors and windows. Federal Housing projects are segregated. The few Negroes who have civil service jobs are required to do the same amount of work as whites but receive less pay. Runaway factories from the north which employ approximately 1,000 workers refuse to hire Negoes for jobs other than janitors.

Action for Change

At the start of the 1961 school term, a young Negro minister, Rev. Cordell H. Sloan filed suit against the board of education. The outcome was an order to desegregate the schools of the entire county.

Since last March this small community has been subjected to intense harassment from segregationists. On one occasion, a mob of 500 attacked 30 Negroes holding a planning council in a one-room building. Windows were smashed with huge rocks and lights were shot-out. While the mob, armed with knives and lead pipes began to converge, the police turned their backs. It was not until more shots were fired from the mob that the police dispersed the attackers. Cars were rocked and overturned and many persons were severely beaten. Hooded individuals drove through the Negro housing projects firing shotguns. One Negro student attending previously all white Lebanon High School, was roughed-up on the last day of school. In August 1962, two crosses were burned in the Negro residential area. Two Negro teachers, concerned with civil rights, were not rehired for the current school year. The superintendent refused an explanation despite a petition bearing 500 names.

Since the start of CORE action, one lunch counter at a variety store has desegregated. Two downtown drug stores have closed their food counters. Before I left Lebanon, the owners of the theater, Martin Amusement Co. of Columbus, Ga., contacted the new CORE group, which I helped to organize, for negotiations.

Current plans are for a mass boycott of downtown stores and of two major super-markets from Thanksgiving until Christmas. It is felt that applying direct economic pressure will force the downtown merchants to open their facilities to all.

When a city alderman was approached about the violence directed against Negroes, and the lack of police protection, he explained that the city's concern is the "health, welfare and morals" of the community.

San Francisco School Sit-In

This photo showing members of San Francisco CORE sitting-in, was taken at 6:30 a.m., September 19 in the Galileo High School auditorium. The night-long sit-in started after a meeting at which the board of education rejected CORE's plea for "appointment of a citizens committee to study the problem of de facto segregation and to arrive at educationally sound solutions." The plea was made by Will Ussery, chairman of San Francisco CORE, in a speech before some 1200 persons attending the board meeting.

Victory in Berkeley

On the same evening that CORE's school desegregation proposal was rejected in San Francisco, across the bay, Berkeley's board of education adopted a similar plan by Mrs. Roselyn Leonard, chairman of Berkeley CORE.

"Berkeley Faced It; We Didn't" was the apt head on an editorial which appeared two days later in the San Francisco Chronicle. It said: "A comparison of the ways in which the Berkeley and San Francisco school boards faced the segregation issue . . . is so odious and unfavorable to San Francisco that we are deeply dismayed."

Also on September 18, Oakland, another city across the bay, was the scene of picketing against de facto school segregation. Douglas Jones, chairman of Oakland CORE, pointed out that it was the second such demonstration by CORE at headquarters of the board of education.

Boycott in Syracuse

An opening-day boycott during which CORE pickets marched in front of the 90%-Negro Washington Irving Elementary School in Syracuse, N. Y., kept over 900 of the school's 1100 students away.

During the demonstration, 28 mothers accompanied by three CORE spokesmen, visited the acting school superintendent to "register our protest, not our children." Prior to opening day, the CORE group had picketed the board of education and a meeting of the Republic County Committee addressed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. CORE and the IUE also picketed a conference of state boards of education. "Syracuse CORE is pledged to whatever action is necessary to bring integrated education to Syracuse schools," said the group's chairman, George Wiley.

Three other localities where CORE groups have been particularly active in combatting de facto school segregation are Malverne, N. Y., Englewood, N. J. and Philadelphia, Pa.

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"

A hurriedly built shack which serves as sales office at Centerview Estates has been dubbed by Los Angeles CORE pickets as "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

At Centerview Estates, Don Wilson, the builder, is willing to sell homes to Negroes—but not at his other two developments: Dominguez Hills and Southwood Riviera Royale, which have been picketed by CORE since July.

DESEGREGATE-HOWARD-JOHNSON'S DAY

(Continued from page 1)

scheduled to end September 1 but because of widespread community support it has been extended, with many North Carolinians and a few CORE volunteers from other parts of the south presently involved. Ten of the 20 Howard Johnson restaurants in North Carolina still segregate. Demonstrations continue in Statesville, Raleigh, Hishory, Durham and Greensboro.

All of Florida's Howard Johnson restaurants now serve everybody and Maryland's became 100% desegregated when, on the eve of the October 6 demonstrations, the Howard Johnson at Millington for the first time served Negroes.

CORE-LATOR

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A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 BROTHERHOOD MONTH—FEBRUARY, 1963 No. 99

A True Tale Of Tallahassee

by Richard Haley

(Editor's Note: The writer of this story in 1960 was teaching at Florida A & M University in Tallahassee. He took a leadership role in the local CORE group's campaign to desegregate lunch counters. As a result, he was named "Teacher of the Year" by the university's Student Congress. Also, as a result, he was dismissed from his position, without explanation. Now, he is assistant to CORE's national director.)

On January 8, two Negro students walked into Woolworth's in Tallahassee. They sat down at the lunch counter, ordered and were served without incident. This scene was repeated, with minor variations at Walgreen's, Neisner's, McCrory's and Sears Roebuck. A 3-year CORE campaign in the only Florida city still maintaining lunch counter segregation, had ended successfully.

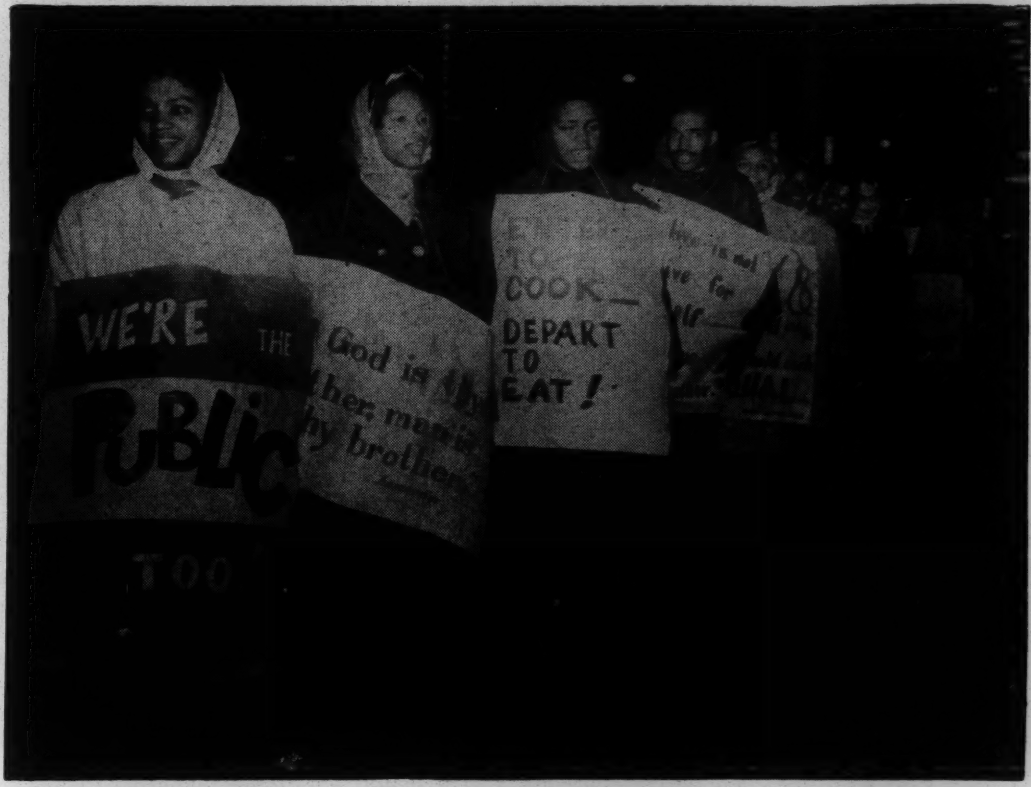
The campaign's first sit-in occurred at Woolworth's on February 13, 1960. A second sit-in a week later resulted in arrests. Five of those arrested—Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, John and Barbara Broxton and William Larkins, Jr.—set a precedent by becoming the first jail-ins of the nationwide student movement. Rather than bail-out, they served 46 days. Patricia wrote from Leon County Jail: " 'We could be out on appeal but we all strongly believe that Martin Luther King was right when he said: 'We've go to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights.' " The five students were recompensed by receiving the first annual CORE Gandhi Award. But the lunch counters remained segregated.

CORE suspended its picketing for several months at the request of several local leaders, but no change took place. So, picketing and sit-ins were resumed. In March 1961, Patricia Stephens and Ben Cowins were arrested at Neisner's after they were attacked by several white men. Pat's sentence was later reversed, but Ben chose to be jailed-in.

First break in Tallahassee's segregated eating pattern occurred as a result of the Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961. Complying with the new ICC regulations which resulted from the Rides, the Greyhound and Trailways lunch counters desegregated. Following the arrest of 10 ministers and rabbis on CORE's Interfaith Freedom Ride, the airport restaurant, operated by Union News Co., closed for several months but finally reopened on an integrated basis. In the spring of 1962, shortly after an-

(Continued on page 2)

NEW FREEDOM TASK FORCE IN SOUTH



by Gordon R. Carey

This photo shows mass picketing of the S & W Cafeteria in Greensboro, North Carolina. CORE's campaign to desegregate the S & W and Mayfair cafeterias, which has become a major issue in Greensboro, is just one of the projects in which CORE's newly-established Freedom Task Force is involved. During November, 111 Negroes and whites were arrested for sitting-in at the two cafeterias. First to be tried was Isaac Reynolds, one of the initial volunteers for the Freedom Task Force. Both he and Richard Ramsey, who was tried with him, received 30-day jail sentences after rejecting suspended sentences with the proviso that they not be convicted of a similar offense for a year. Their attorney, Floyd McKissick, announced that the cases will be appealed. Trials of the 109 others are scheduled to start as this issue goes to press.

The Greensboro campaign is but one example of the type of project being aided by members of the Freedom Task Force, who in effect are full-time volunteers. The Freedom Task Force, which went into action December 1, following a final 2-day training period, is a continuation of last summer's successful Freedom Highways project. Although it is still small and in the experimental stage, its participants have been active in a number of communities.

(Continued on page 2)

TALLAHASSEE

(Continued from page 1)

nouncement of CORE's Freedom Highways project, all Howard Johnson restaurants in Florida—including Tallahassee—desegregated.

This past fall, a full-scale sit-in campaign was started and I returned to Tallahassee to help coordinate it. Police seemed grudgingly committed to maintaining peace inside the stores, despite threats and profane language from white onlookers and exhibition of some lethal-looking knives. The lone white CORE member, chief target of the threats, was escorted to safety in the center of a hollow square of Negro CORE members. One of our cars was damaged. But police made no arrests nor even issued any warnings to those molesting us. The sit-ins continued.

Finally, for the first time, a prominent downtown minister succeeded in arranging a meeting between a CORE committee and a representative of one of the stores. Ironically, this manager hastily informed us not only that he was not authorized to represent the other stores, but that he could not even represent his own. Eventually, however, negotiations with the managements got under way and an agreement was reached to desegregate the lunch counters early in January. A long-overdue change, which had been successfully delayed by the segregationist City Commission, finally became a reality.

FORT SMITH'S LUNCH COUNTERS DESEGREGATE

First project of the CORE group formed in Fort Smith, Arkansas last September was to desegregate the local lunch counters. By mid-January the lunch counters of Woolworth's, Kress's and McCrory's were serving everybody, regardless of color.

The change was accomplished through a series of negotiations sessions with a committee appointed by the mayor, who took the initiative after receiving CORE's request for his intercession. Reginald Watson, chairman of Fort Smith CORE, headed the group's negotiating team. CORE National Chairman Charles Oldham and CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton participated at various stages.

According to the agreement reached two-man test teams ate at the lunch counters during the week preceding desegregation. The Sunday prior to the change, announcements were made in the city's churches. Under terms of the agreement, desegregation will shortly be extended to other eating places in Fort Smith.

TASK FORCE

(Continued from page 1)

In Lebanon, Tennessee, Winston Locket and Jon Schafer have been working with our new CORE group there in a situation where violence has threatened. Early in January, while Winston was picketing a food store where CORE is seeking a fair employment policy, a stick of dynamite was planted on the roof. It was only after protests to the governor and the U.S. Department of Justice that local police began providing adequate protection and taking steps to prevent violence.

In Durham, North Carolina, the Royal Ice Cream Co. operates an ice cream parlor with a front room for whites and a back room for Negroes. As far back as 1958 a young Negro minister, Rev. Douglas Moore, organized sit-ins by high school students, who constitute most of the establishment's customers. The action was renewed with vigor in November when members of CORE and the NAACP youth group began picketing and boycotting.

During a Task Force training session, which I was leading, a minister reported that some of the Negro schools which used Royal Ice Cream in their school lunches were willing to join the boycott. Within two days, Task Force members mobilized leaflet distributions at every Negro school. The students supported the boycott. One teacher reported that only 3 students out of 900 had eaten ice cream at her school.

The company agreed to negotiate and has already offered to serve Negroes in both the front and back rooms. Realizing that mere maintenance of the two rooms would perpetuate segregation, we rejected this offer and the boycott continues.

Statesville and Hickory are two other North Carolina communities where Task Force volunteers have been working. They are able to work in communities for prolonged periods of time. The cost of having paid staff in such situations would be prohibitive. Most of the volunteers are college students with previous experience in nonviolence. As this program develops, CORE hopes to organize a much-needed source of trained manpower to pursue nonviolent action on the community level in the south.

REGISTER A PROTEST WITH YOUR S & W MANAGER

If you live in a community where there is an S & W Cafeteria, write or speak to the local manager, protest the chain's policy of refusing to serve Negroes (except in Washington, D. C.), express support of CORE's present campaign to desegregate the company's Greensboro branch. This appeal to CORElator readers comes from William Thomas, Jr., chairman of Greensboro CORE.

Communities where S & W operates cafeterias, in addition to Greensboro and Washington are: Asheville, Charlotte (location of company headquarters), Durham and Raleigh—North Carolina; Lynchburg, Richmond and Roanoke—Virginia; Chattanooga, Tennessee and Atlanta, Georgia.

LOUISIANA REGISTRAR QUITS ON ACCOUNT OF "ILL HEALTH"

Milton Dardenne, the registrar of Iberville, Louisiana, named in 17 recent voter-bias complaints filed with the U.S. Department of Justice, has resigned because of "ill-health."

In reporting his resignation TV Station WDSU in New Orleans stated that friends of Dardenne had attributed his "ill-health" to the Negro registration drive in this area which is headed by Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary. The complaints to the Department of Justice were an outcome of this campaign.

However, no immediate era of voting justice in Iberville parish is anticipated because, to replace Dardenne, the police jury has named Mrs. Ella Billings, a member of the White Citizens Council. Mrs. Billings reportedly told one of the 17 plaintiffs to the Justice Department: "If I would have checked the other (Negro's) application card, she wouldn't have passed either."

Nevertheless, CORE is pursuing its voter education campaign. Since Dardenne's resignation, 10 Negroes have been registered and 24 rejected. Of the latter, some plan to file complaints with the Justice Department.

HOWARD JOHNSON'S STATEMENT

Last CORElator featured an account of Desegregate-Howard-Johnson's Day (October 6), on which CORE groups across the country picketed for service without discrimination at all the company's southern restaurants. Just before the demonstration, Howard Johnson, himself, agreed for the first time to negotiate (previous negotiations had been with the company's attorney). Two subsequent sessions were held — with representatives of the NAACP as well as CORE present. As a result, the company on December 12 issued a public statement which was carried widely by the press.

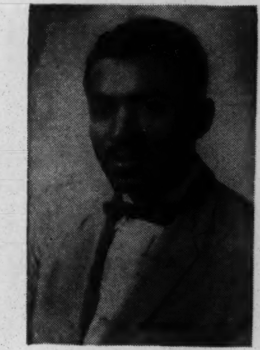
Asserting that "only 18 of the 297 company-operated restaurants" are still segregated, the statement said: "Where it has been possible to change the operation of our company-operated restaurants in the south to conform to our national policy of service without discrimination, this has been done. In Florida, for example, our 66 restaurants are open to all who desire service.

"This review of Howard Johnson's record in regard to desegregation was undertaken with the cooperation of officials of CORE and the NAACP, both of which organizations have led the battle against segregation and discriminatory practices."

Regarding the arrests which occurred at a number of franchised Howard Johnson restaurants in North Carolina last summer during CORE's Freedom Highways campaign, the statement said: "CORE and NAACP both recognize that the Howard Johnson Co. was not a party to this action directly or indirectly, that the company caused no arrests and was powerless to have the charges dismissed against those arrested."

Commenting on the statement, CORE National Director James Farmer said: "It is commendable that Howard Johnson's has put itself on record publicly regarding desegregation. However, it is regrettable that the company remains uncooperative in applying pressure to its franchised restaurants in the south which, after all, bear the Howard Johnson name and to the public are undistinguishable from the company-operated restaurants. CORE intends to pursue its action program until all Howard Johnson southern restaurants, franchised as well as company-operated, became desegregated."

REV. COX SPENDS SECOND CHRISTMAS IN JAIL



Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE field secretary, spent his second consecutive Christmas holiday —and then some— in the East Baton Rouge parish jail. Nine days before Christmas, 1961, on the evening of a student mass demonstration protesting the arrest of twenty-three CORE pickets, Rev. Cox was jailed on a "conspiracy" charge. This past Christmas, he was jailed on a charge of "defaming" a judge and a district attorney at an NAACP mass rally. Imposing the maximum penalty, Judge Fred LeBlanc sentenced him to a year in jail and $3,000 fine on each of two counts with the prison terms to be served consecutively, rather than concurrently. Rev. Cox is still in jail as this issue goes to press, but it is hoped that he may soon be bonded-out on appeal.

Ronnie Moore, former chairman of Baton Rouge CORE and Patricia Tate, the group's present chairman, accused of "defaming" a grand jury by offering to testify on Rev. Cox's behalf, were also convicted by Judge LeBlanc.

Attempts to desegregate the parish courtroom and coffee shop during the trial, resulted in six arrests. The four arrested in the courtroom were charged with contempt and sentenced by Judge LeBlanc to a mandatory 10 days in jail and $100 fine. The two arrested in the coffee shop were accused of "disturbing the peace."

SEATTLE'S FIRST NEGRO STORE MANAGER

Through the efforts of Seattle CORE, a Negro has been hired for the first time in Seattle as a store manager— at the main store of J. C. Penney Co. He went to work upon completion of the company's management trainees course.

A second Negro trainee will be employed as manager of one of the company's stores in San Francisco. In addition, Penney's has hired several Negro clerks in one of its local branch stores. The company started taking-on Negroes at its main store several months ago, following a threatened boycott by CORE.

IN BRIEF

In his initial speaking tour on behalf of CORE, James Baldwin, popular author, lectured during October at Harvard, MIT, Brandeis and Cornell. He started on a CORE speaking tour through the south, as this issue went to press. He is scheduled to do a west coast tour in May.

* * *

Following the unprovoked police beating on December 3 of Jackie Washington, a Negro student at Emerson College, Boston CORE mounted a major protest campaign in an attempt to avert a repeat performance.

* * *

The South Carolina Supreme Court on November 28 unanimously reversed the conviction of 42 Morris College students who participated in CORE-sponsored sit-ins at Sumter lunch counters in October 1960 and February 1961.

* * *

Two major boycotts are presently being conducted by CORE on the fair employment issue: one against Sealtest Milk in New York City, the other against Kroger's grocery stores in St. Louis and in Columbus, Ohio.

* * *

An International Forum dinner sponsored by the National Broadcasting Co. at the Hotel Roosevelt in New Orleans Jan. 11 was picketed by the local CORE group after its chairman and vice-chairman found that their reservations were not honored.

BEQUESTS

CORE recently has received two substantial bequests from the estates of Blanche Harriet Meyer of Portland, Oregon and Barbara Blumenthal McClure of New York City.

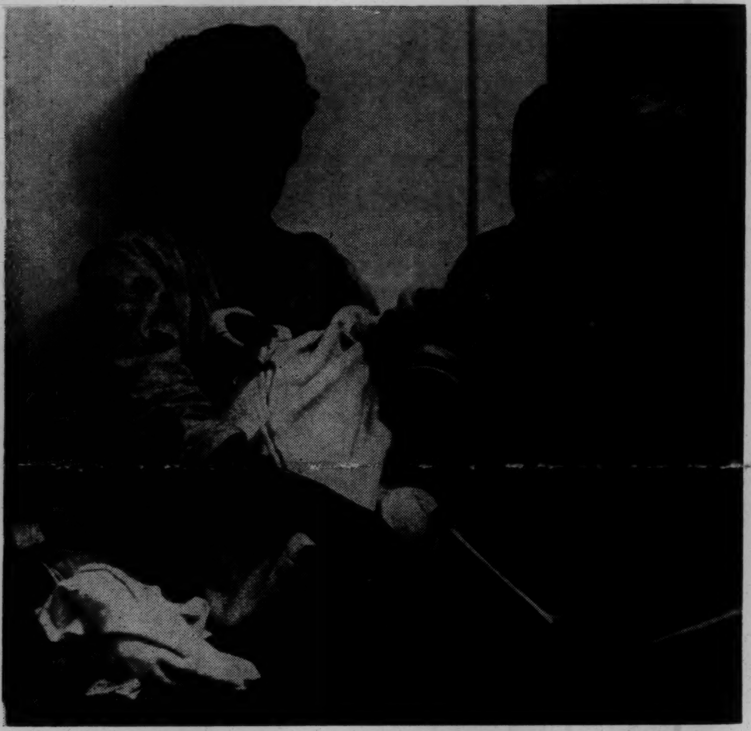
CORE regards such bequests with special obligation and pride. Contributors wishing to insure continuance of CORE's work after their death, should contact Marvin Rich at the national office.

"NEITHER NEGROES NOR ANIMALS . . .

. . . may use benches, rest rooms, or restaurant facilities at the zoo in state-owned Audubon Park, New Orleans." This is the way Oretha Castle, chairman of New Orleans CORE expressed it after Jean Thompson and Carlean Smith were arrested and charged with "criminal trespass" for testing the park's facilities.

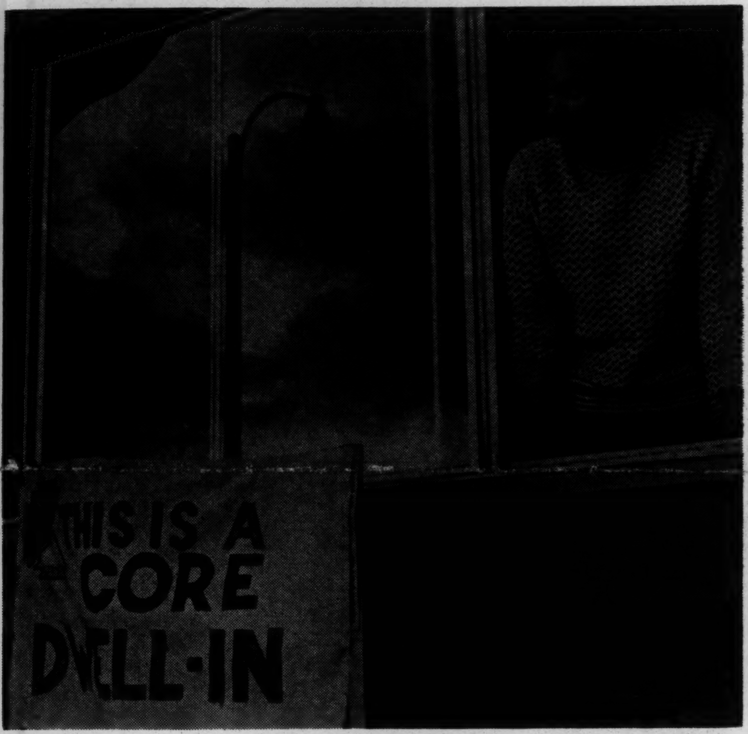
HOUSING SIT-INS — EAST AND WEST

In Edgewater, N. J. . . .



. . . Mrs. David and her three children sit-in at an apartment which the Vesta Corp. refuses to rent them. Forced to move after their home had been destroyed by fire, the Negro family presently is cramped into makeshift quarters where the ceiling has collapsed and leaks have sprung. Sponsoring the sit-in is Bergen County CORE. Three of the sit-inners have received court summonses but were acquitted.

In Wilmington, Calif. . . .



. . . a Los Angeles CORE member looks out of the window of a Sun-Ray Estates home during a 6-day "dwell-in" which ended with arrest of the 7 participants. The protest action then became a "dwell-out" in the front yard and within two weeks the arrests totaled 42. The dwell-out ended after the McLennan's obtained a court order securing the home.

And in New York City in connection with a Brooklyn CORE housing protest, there took place on December 19 the first sit-in inside a bank. The bank—the West Side Federal Savings & Loan Co.—insisted on prohibiting the Molo Construction Co. from renting one of its Brooklyn homes to a Negro couple. The bank sit-in lasted two hours after which the five participants were arrested. The sit-in at the home continued.

In Syracuse, N.Y., a sit-in, which resulted in the arrest of 7 CORE members, won for two African students, the 3-roof apartment which they originally had been refused because of their color. Lloyd Clifford, the owner, also agreed not to press trespass charges against the 7 arrested sit-inners among whom were Evart MaKinnen, chairman of Syracuse CORE and Rudolph Lombard, vice-chairman of national CORE. The two Africans, Skeva Soko from Northern Rhodesia and Antonio Boustcha from Mozambique, are graduate students at the Maxwell School of Public Administration.

In San Francisco what was shaping-up as an impending housing struggle had a happy-ending. "The owner who was in Europe when I applied for the apartment was most distressed when she learned that her managers had denied occupancy to a Negro," reports Doris Thomas of San Francisco CORE. "She agreed to register all future vacancies with CORE, to permit CORE to screen applicants and to pay me reasonable damages for my inconvenience and delay."

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252 JULY, 1963 No. 101

NONVIOLENT UPSURGE

Nonviolent action involving thousands of Negro young people, swept across the south in the brief two months since the last COREIator went to press.

It started in Birmingham in early April with a few lunch counter sit-ins. A month later the jails were filled with more than 2000 nonviolent demonstrators, most of them teen-agers and some as young as 6 years old. Among those arrested, was Mary Hamilton, a CORE field secretary.

Isaac Reynolds, whom CORE had assigned to SCLC for the duration of the Birmingham action, was put in charge of mobilizing young people at the schools and training them in nonviolence.

"This was the most gratifying experience of my life," Reynolds told the COREIator. "Never before have I witnessed, first-hand, such spirit and willingness on the part of youths to change a cruel and unjust social system. Still vivid in my mind is a 13-year-old girl who told a mass meeting one night: 'God is in my heart and freedom is on my lips.' This young girl and the other hundreds of Negro students achieved in a very short time what many of us have been struggling to attain for years."

What shocked the nation and the world about the Birmingham situation is how former Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor countered the nonviolent demonstrations with police dogs and fire hoses. Fortunately, Connor, a stormtrooper-type who had held office for 23 years, was finally defeated at the polls along with the former, ultra-segregationist mayor. A city government of moderates has taken office. This will facilitate putting into effect the agreement reached between a committee of Negroes headed by Martin Luther King and a committee of white businessmen. This agreement, which ended the protest, calls for lunch counter desegregation within 90 days and equal employment opportunities.

Following the Birmingham protest, mass nonviolent action started in North Carolina under CORE leadership (see story in adjacent column). Other places where major protests took place during the past two months include Tallahassee (see story on page 4), Nashville and Atlanta.

As this issue goes to press a major campaign is under way in Jackson, Mississippi. Hundreds of Negro students have been arrested and herded into a stockade on the state fair grounds. On June 1, Roy Wilkins, na-

(Continued on page 2)

Mass Action Makes N.C. Live Up to Liberal Reputation

by James Farmer

At the request of William Thomas, chairman of our CORE group in Greensboro, I went to that North Carolina city on May 18 to lead demonstrations and to try to stimulate greater community involvement in the growing protest action.

From 2000 to 4000 students marched daily into town joined by hundreds of adults in peaceful but spirited demonstrations. More than 1500 arrestees jammed every available jail space. The polio rehabilitation center and the armory were converted into makeshift prisons. Jailed students had to sleep on floors and in baby cribs. The floors were carpeted, in Dick Gregory's words, with "wall to wall us."

With 1500 already imprisoned and four thousand clamoring to join them, the technique of arrest became an ineffective deterrant. The city's response to this crisis was to force prisoners to leave the jails on their own recognizance without bond. Those who refused were removed bodily into buses and transported back to the campuses. But the daily demonstrations continued and when arrests were made the defendants were merely booked and released.

With thousands of students in total revolt against segregation, the adults of the community could not remain inert. Twenty-five local ministers, meeting at my invitation, voted unanimously to launch a total boycott of the business community until Greensboro becomes a desegregated city. The boycott, nearly 100% effective, called upon Negroes to buy only such necessities as food and medicine and to make such purchases at neighborhood stores. The ministers then led a protest march of adults through the downtown area. Two thousand marched in silent and prayerful protest. Some adults joined their children in jail. One college professor commented, "My entire class is in jail so I might as well join them to give them their final examinations." A Negro Episcopal minister, Father Hicks, turned his church over to CORE as a headquarters and had food prepared there for the working committees, in session around the clock. The whole community was in this struggle and there could be no turning back.

With the A & T student body president Jesse Jackson, Bill Thomas and I

(Continued on page 2)

SET FIRE TO CORE NATIONAL OFFICE

A fire was started in the CORE national office on Saturday morning, May 25. The office was locked at the time and nobody was inside. The fire-setting device apparently was inserted through the mail slot of one of the office doors.

Fortunately, the fire was promptly discovered by William Standard, an attorney with offices on the same floor. Immediately, Joseph Formosa, the superintendent, rushed up and put out the flames with fire extinguishers and buckets of water. However, the door, venetian blinds, the morning's mail, which had been deposited through the slot and a quantity of literature which was on a table nearby, were completely destroyed.

Those who wrote letters or sent contributions which may have been delivered March 25 are urged to write CORE again.

NONVIOLENT UPSURGE *continued*

tional secretary of NAACP, and a Negro investigator for the U.S. Justice Department were arrested on Capitol Street. For trying simply to picket, Wilkins, Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary, and Mrs. Helen Wilcher were charged with a felony, conspiring to restrain trade.

Groundwork for the Jackson action was laid by Dave Dennis, CORE field secretary, who conducted a series of nonviolent workshops for the students. A feature story on one of these sessions by Jack Langguth appeared in the New York Times May 31. Jerome Smith, another CORE field secretary, is also in Jackson together with three CORE Task Force workers. One of these, George Raymond, was among the first sit-inners arrested on May 29. Next day Mattie Dennis, wife of Dave, was arrested while leading a group of pickets.

Hinds County Judge J. C. Stennett issued a temporary injunction against CORE and the NAACP banning civil rights demonstrations. The judge set no date for a hearing to determine whether the injunction should be made permanent.

Action is planned in other Mississippi communities.

Man of Action Talks with Robert Kennedy

A man, whom James Baldwin, noted author, characterized as "the most important man in the room" gave his views on the current desegregation struggle to Attorney General Robert Kennedy on May 24.

The man is Jerome Smith, CORE field secretary from New Orleans. The characterization was volunteered by Baldwin in explanation of Smith's heartfelt involvement in the informal discussion which was taking place between the Attorney General and a group of Negro cultural leaders including, along with Baldwin, Lorraine Hansberry, Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne, Kenneth Clark and others. Baldwin had just returned from a west coast tour for CORE in which he spoke at a number of colleges and, in Los Angeles, led a demonstration in support of the Birmingham action. The meeting grew out of a telegram sent to the attorney general at that time.

Baldwin's characterization was based on the fact that Jerome Smith has been imprisoned and beaten more times while engaged in nonviolent action in the deep south than possibly any other single individual. He is still suffering from a head injury he received when he and four other CORE Freedom Riders arrived in McComb, Mississippi in December, 1961.

When Kennedy boasted about what the federal government is doing "behind the scenes," Smith commented: "This is not enough. Power resides in the masses of people: they should be informed. You should talk to CORE Task Force members at the local level."

He was referring to CORE's recently organized corps of volunteers who are working at a subsistence level in key situations throughout the south.

As an example of what the federal government is doing, Robert Kennedy mentioned the recent sending of troops to Birmingham which brought from Belafonte the comment: "the federal government seems to act AFTER the fact."

In the course of the meeting, a proposal was presented which has been made by CORE in the past both to President Kennedy and to former President Eisenhower: namely, that the President go south, in person, and speak-out on these issues. The proposal was simply laughed-off by the Attorney General.

MASS ACTION IN NORTH CAROLINA *continued*

led marches into town on six consecutive days. The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution calling for immediate desegregation of all places serving the public. The Merchants Association followed with a similar stand. Two thousand local white citizens placed a full-page ad in the daily paper strongly urging that all businesses to immediately adopt a policy of non-discrimination. Further they pledged their own determination to patronize businesses which advanced such a policy and to urge others to do likewise. High level negotiations got underway involving some of North Carolina's most distinguished citizens, official and unofficial. A biracial committee was established.

In Durham under sponsorship of CORE and the NAACP and led by Attorney Floyd McKissick, thousands of students demonstrated and hundreds were jailed. A Durham biracial committee was established and good-faith negotiations started even before the same development occurred in Greensboro. Already the city's hotels, motels and 53 of its restaurants have desegregated.

In High Point on May 28, 450 persons joined in a silent march through town. The march climaxed with demonstrations at the Paramount and Center theaters during which a gang of whites armed with rocks, sticks and eggs attacked CORE pickets. Two of the pickets—Juanita Flowers and Brenda White—were injured by flying rocks. A bi-racial committee has been established here, also. Changes have been negotiated but not yet announced.

In Charlotte and in Winston-Salem most hotels, motels and restaurants have desegregated. In Greensboro as well as Charlotte, theater owners have agreed to a prompt policy change. There is reason to believe that theaters throughout the state will open their doors to all before Independence Day. Before the summer's end hotels and restaurants as well as bowling alleys and amusement parks will begin admitting everybody. The Tarheel State, finally, will be living up to its liberal reputation.

However, demonstrations were resumed in Greensboro when the Mayor and the bi-racial committee were unable to secure agreements to integrate from key restaurant owners. A settlement is expected momentarily.

This City Hall Sit-In . . .

. . . in the reception room of Philadelphia's Mayor James Tate halted construction on the new $18,000,000 Municipal Services Building and led to negotiation of a fair employment policy. Twenty Philadelphia CORE members sat-in for 21 hours.

The agreement negotiated between Philadelphia CORE, the Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights and the building trades unions, provides for employment of a definite number of Negroes on the construction project. A somewhat similar agreement was won subsequently by the Philadelphia NAACP at a school construction site following several days of mass picketing. On June 3, Louis Smith, chairman of Philadelphia CORE and Cecil Moore, president of the Philadelphia NAACP, issued a joint statement agreeing to cooperate in campaigning for fair employment on city construction jobs.

In ordering a halt to the Municipal Services Building job, following the sit-in, the mayor publicly retracted a statement he had made the previous week that "nothing can be done to remove discrimination on current construction jobs." The sit-in climaxed a vigorous CORE campaign including picketing of the mayor's home and a mass demonstration at City Hall.

In Brief

New York's famed Waldorf-Astoria Hotel reached a fair employment agreement with New York CORE following a campain marked by nightly picketing of the hotel.

* * *

A group of 11 Negro children prepared to stand-in if necessary, desegregated the Victory Park swimming pool in North Miami Beach. They were accompanied by Weldon Rougeau, CORE field secretary, and Mrs. Hazel Crawford, a member of Miami CORE.

* * *

Northern California CORE members started a sit-in at the California State Capitol in Sacramento on May 30 to protest delay by a Senate committee on an Assembly-enacted fair housing law.

* * *

Presentation of LOOK magazine's All-American City Award to High Point, North Carolina resulted in a joint CORE-NAACP picket demonstration at City Hall. Since then, and prior to the mass action throughout the state, High Point CORE won its campaign to desegregate McDonald's hamburger restaurant.

* * *

Within less than an hour after the initial picket line at an A & P store in Seattle, the district manager came to CORE picketing headquarters at the First AME Church and announced that two Negroes had been hired that same day. Seattle CORE is seeking a city-wide agreement with A & P.

* * *

Negotiations led by CORE Program Director Gordon Carey led to the integration of 60 southern Howard Johnson restaurants in a one week period. Five of the restaurants are in South Carolina. The Company has agreed to integrate all of its owned restaurants this summer. This climaxes a 14-month CORE campaign to secure for Negroes the right to travel with dignity. Some 155 Howard Johnson restaurants have integrated.

NEW ORLEANS ACTION BRINGS TWO KEY RULINGS

Two important court decisions have resulted from CORE action in New Orleans.

The more important is the May 20 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that neither cities nor states can legally enforce a policy of segregation. Four cases other than the CORE one were involved but in those, the respective cities had segregation ordinances. The New Orleans case involving four CORE sit-inners did not involve ordinances but simply public statements by the then-mayor, DeLesseps Morrison and by the police chief that sit-ins would not be permitted.

These statements, Justice Earl Warren ruled, amounted to serving notice "that the city would not permit Negroes to seek desegregated service in restaurants. Consequently, the city must be treated exactly as if it had an ordinance prohibiting such conduct. These convictions commanded as they were by the voice of the state directing segregated service at the restaurants, cannot stand."

The second significant decision, by a special three-judge federal court, invalidated Louisiana's hotel segregation law. The case was initiated by James McCain, CORE organization director, after being refused a room at the Hotel Royal Orleans last November.

Following the decision, the local hotel owners met and though there was some sentiment for adopting a new policy, the majority viewpoint was to continue segregating. Since then, however, three of the major hotels have desegregated. But New Orleans has lost the money which would have been spent there during the forthcoming American Legion convention. Because of the continued hotel segregation, the convention site was shifted to Miami Beach.

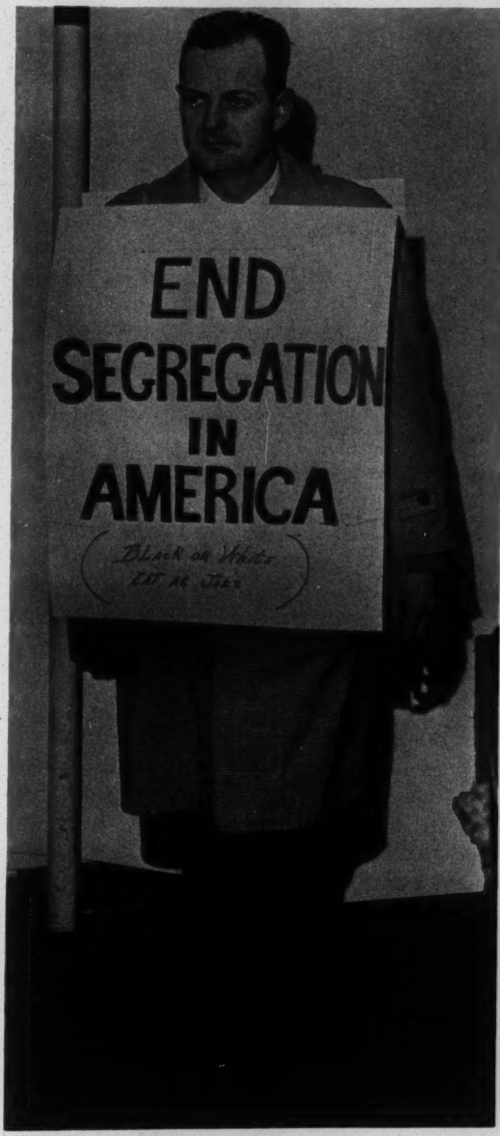
When New Orleans had been first chosen, James Farmer, CORE national director, wired James Powers, national commander of the Legion that if New Orleans hotels continued to discriminate at the time of the convention, CORE would resort to a major-scale nonviolent action campaign.

New Orleans CORE has been taking concentrated action on the employment issue and within the past couple of months has won 59 new sales and office jobs for Negroes.

Most recent gain is the desegregation of state-owned Audubon Park, which includes a zoo as well as an amusement park area. The facilities were opened to all, following negotiations between New Orleans CORE and the park commissioners.

Special CORElator Supplement
IN COMMEMORATION OF
WILLIAM MOORE

A MAILMAN'S LAST DELIVERY



William Moore was a 35-year-old mailman, married and with three children. His final mail delivery will become a landmark in the history of the U.S. civil rights struggle, though he never got the letter to its destinee. He was unable to complete the delivery because he was murdered—shot in the back—at night on an Alabama highway April 23, 1963.

The delivery was not a commonplace one and in fact was not for the U.S. post office. Moore was on vacation and devoting his free time to delivering a letter might be termed a busman's holiday, except for the fact that it was not a holiday in any sense of the word.

He had decided to spend his vacation delivering, personally, a letter to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi pleading for greater understanding on the question of racial justice. He resolved to start at Chattanooga, Tennessee and to walk all the way—400 miles — to Jackson, Mississippi. Tennessee was the state of his birth and Mississippi is where he spent his youth until his family moved north to Binghamton, New York. He was a white southerner who abhorred bigotry. He had been an ardent advocate of brotherhood and world peace since his teen-age years.

The two placards which he chose to carry on his one-man Freedom Walk said: "Equal Rights for All (Mississippi or Bust)" and "Black and White Eat at Joe's." The word "black" had been ripped away when his dead body was found on the Alabama roadside.

Prior to starting the walk, he wrote President Kennedy: "I am not making this walk to demonstrate either federal rights or state rights, but individual rights. I am doing it, among other things, I feel, for the south and hopefully to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished down there."

Last fall, Moore moved from Binghamton to Baltimore, partly to become more deeply involved in the civil rights struggle. He participated in a number of Baltimore CORE actions including Freedom Rides on U.S. Route 40. Just before leaving Binghamton, he helped organize picketing of the local Howard Johnson's on the day designated by CORE for nationwide demonstrations urging desegregation of the company's southern restaurants.

William Moore is the first CORE member to die in nonviolent action.

Desegregation of a Theater —and My First Walk

by William Moore

(Editor's Note: This is probably William Moore's last article. He sent it to me from Baltimore shortly before he left on his ill-fated walk across the deep south. He had written considerably in his lifetime and had had one book published, "The Mind in Chains.")

Exactly 413 persons were arrested in 6 days in the campaign to desegregate the Northwood Theater. I was one of them. The theater is located in a white, middle-class neighborhood with a Negro college—Morgan—only a few blocks away. For eight years, students at this college had demonstrated periodically against this conveniently located movie which refused to admit them.

On February 15, 26 students attempted to enter the lobby and were stopped by the manager. The state trespass act was read and they were arrested. Next day, continuous picketing began and mass arrests occurred nightly. Bail was set at $100 and some students would get out of jail only to be rearrested.

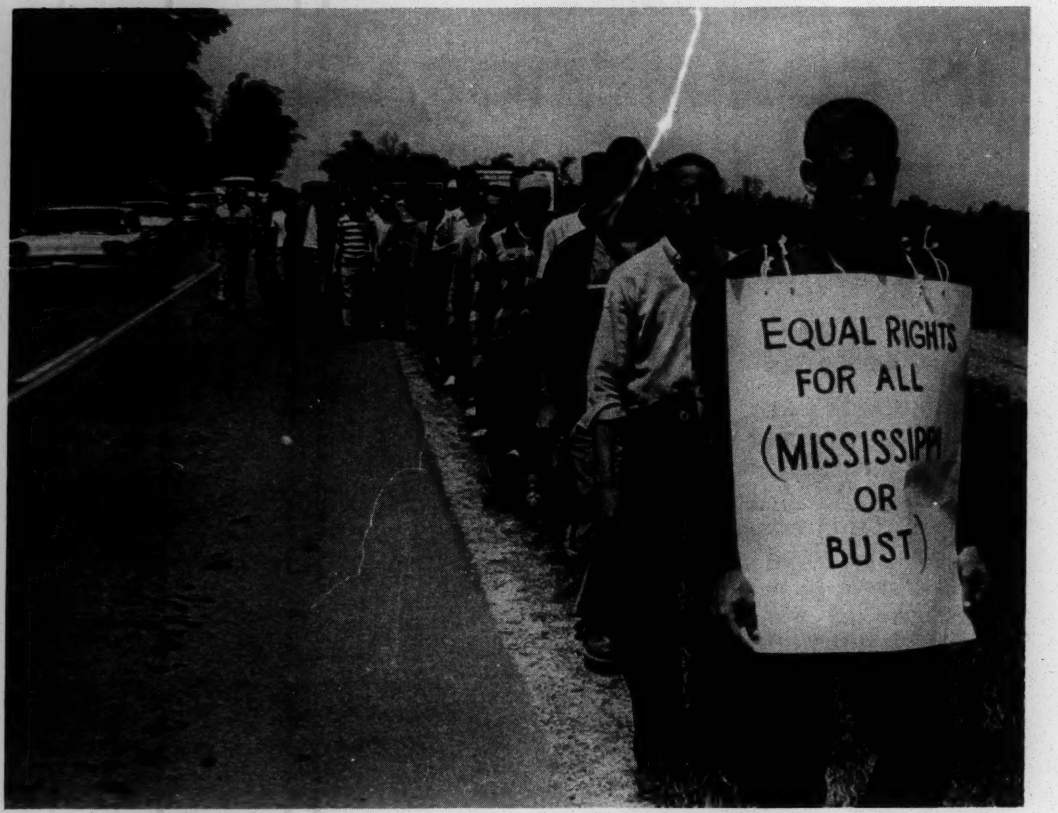
A couple of days later, I happened to pass by, entered the lobby and saw 25 students standing peacefully near the ticket booth. The manager suddenly appeared and started to read the trespass act. Not a student moved. I was no less willing than they were to sacrifice for human rights. So, I decided to stand with them.

A police officer asked each student: "Do you understand that if you do not leave you will be arrested?" When he reached me at the end of the line he repeated the question. Even before we were placed under arrest more students entered the lobby. That night police arrested 150 Negroes and one white—myself. My bail was set at $200. The Negroes were packed two and three to a cell. I had a private cell with a board for a bed. Next morning, the Baltimore CORE group bailed me out, though the campaign at this particular theater was not a CORE-sponsored project.

Picketing spread from the theater to the police station and city hall. Neighborhood residents and college professors joined the picket line at the theater. White students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College joined Negro students of Morgan College in picketing. For

(OVER)

FREEDOM MARCHERS RESUME MOORE'S WALK



Starting at the identical spot in Chattanooga where William Moore set out on his ill-fated Freedom Walk, ten members of CORE and SNCC, including CORE Assistant National Director Richard Haley, tried to complete the walk to Jackson.

This photo shows them approaching the Alabama state line line on May 3. Leading the walkers and bearing placards identical to those carried by Moore, is Sam Shirah, a white native of Alabama.

Behind the walkers, is a gang of white teen-agers who, on occasion pelted them with rocks and eggs. During the lunch stop that day, Winston Lockett was hit hard in the neck and fell to the ground. As the walkers prepared to proceed, Robert Gore was struck in the head by a flying rock.

At the Alabama border, the group was blocked by a contingent of state troopers directed by Alfred Lingo, state commissioner of public safety. First, Lingo over a loudspeaker, ordered the walkers to disperse. When they refused, he had them arrested.

Police used long electric prod poles in arresting three of the walkers who laid down on the road and decided to non-cooperate. Newspaper reporters who had been following the walkers were halted at the state line.

Meanwhile, from a mob of whites assembled in a nearby field came shouts of "Get the goddam communists!" "Throw them niggers in the river!" One woman kept yelling: "Kill 'em." "Kill 'em."

The arrests were not entirely unexpected. Eight others who had started from Birmingham to join the Freedom Walk had been seized in Attala two days earlier and Alabama officials had announced this as their policy in the situation.

The walkers decided to remain jailed-in and a hearing in circuit court was set for June 3. They were imprisoned at Fort Payne until a group of CORE members from various parts of the country assembled for a protest vigil at the jail. The jailed walkers were then transferred to Gadsden but on the first day of the protest vigil there, they were transferred to Kilby State Prison in Montgomery. Eric Weinberger went on a hunger strike and finally was force-fed. He lost 30 pounds.

Eleven of the vigilers decided to try to complete Moore's walk. They started on May 19 immediately following a memorial service at the murder site.

As soon as Jim Peck, editor of the CORElator and a personal friend of Moore's, had concluded the service by laying a wreath at the spot of the assassination, the 11 walkers donned their placards and started to walk. Before they had proceded two steps, they were arrested by state troopers who had been scrutinizing the memorial service and on occasion harassing a number of the 125 persons attending. Ten of the walkers were tried and received suspended sentences. One is still to be tried as this CORElator goes to press. The ten arrested May 3 were tried June 3 after being jailed-in for a month. They were fined $200 and the case is being appealed.

GROUP IN MOORE'S HONOR

At a meeting in Binghamton, N.Y., on June 5 addressed by Jim Peck, some 60 persons voted to form a CORE group in honor of William Moore. The new group will succeed the William Moore Committee for Human Rights which was set up by Binghamton residents shortly after the murder.

DESEGREGATION OF A THEATER *continued*

two more nights, the arrests continued. Then on February 21, the owner decided to desegregate the theater and the pickets gleefully tore-up their placards. Those still in jail were released without bail.

Next day, I decided to follow-through this victory by walking to the state capital in Annapolis—a distance of about 35 miles—and deliver a letter to Governor Tawes. I would wear two placards: one saying "End Segregation in Maryland," the other "Equal Rights for All Men." I was unable to deliver my letter to the governor, personally, because he was out, sick. However, I had a long talk with one of his assistants and spoke with leaders of the state assembly. My own state assemblyman, Joe O'Connell, bought me dinner and drove me back to Baltimore.

Perhaps it was this walk which gave me the idea for my forthcoming walk in the south. When I wrote my friend, Jim Peck, about the southern walk, he replied that possibly this would be more effective as a group action and that, furthermore, it would be extremely dangerous for a lone individual. However, I had made up my mind. I felt that a white mailman, born in the south, delivering a letter to Governor Barnett, would have a certain impact. I definitely plan to take this walk during my vacation.

CORE Wins Right to Picket Following Mass Arrest

Tallahassee CORE pickets were back in front of the State and Florida theaters on June 1 following a legal victory on picketing rights.

The court decision came following the arrest two days previous of 222 demonstrators charged with contempt of an anti-picketing injunction.

Young Guns of Texas
We are all Brothers in Christ
SEGREGATION IS WRONG!
FREEDOM NOW! CORE

The same judge who had issued the injunction, Ben Willis, reversed himself following a conference with defense attorneys shortly after the trial started.

Following court adjournment, Defense Attorney Tobias Simon told the assembled students: "This is the first time in a southern state that the right of Negroes to picket has been defined and put into an order." The students stood and cheered. The pickets are limited to 10 at the State and 18 at the Florida.

Patricia Stephens Due, chairman of Tallahassee CORE and one of the arrested group, pointed out that in addition to picketing, and without violating the court ruling, Negro students in large numbers will continue to line-up and attempt to buy tickets at the booths. "The theaters are our major project at present," she added. The theater desegregation project has been in progress for several months.

FILE 318 VOTER COMPLAINTS IN 5 LOUISIANA PARISHES

CORE has filed 318 complaints of voter discrimination in five parishes in the sixth Congressional district of Louisiana. So reports Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary, who has been working in this area since last fall.

As a consequence of these complaints, Moore says, the federal government has started a photostatic inspection of all records in the five parishes, starting with Pointe Coupée where three public school teachers and a large number of high school graduates were refused the right to register.

Next parish slated for federal inspection is St. Helena, whose registrar, Quitman Crouch, told Moore: "Negroes can't register because they're stupid."

The other three parishes are West Feliciana, where not a single Negro is registered; Tangipahoa and Iberville. In Iberville, Ella Billings, recently appointed with the approval of the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commission, has reportedly said: "Niggers ain't gonna run this parish." Nevertheless, of the Negro voting potential only 2,500 remain to be registered in the CORE drive. The former registrar, Milton Dardenne, resigned last fall because of "ill health" after CORE started initiating the filing of voter-bias complaints.

It is in these five parishes that CORE is planning a voter registration project this summer. Gordon Carey, CORE Program Director, was recently in the area making housing arrangements for the 35 persons who will participate.

CORE is a national organization with affiliated groups, committed to the goal of erasing the color line through methods of interracial direct nonviolent action.

The nonviolent direct action approach to racial discrimination assumes that a lasting resolution of problems can best be obtained through a spirit of good will and understanding. This spirit must be combined with a determination to end discrimination through action programs directed to specific problems. The ultimate goal is an integrated society where each member is judged solely on the basis of his individual worth.

National CORE is financed largely by contributions from interested individuals. Churches, unions and local CORE groups also contribute to its financial support.

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

252 SEPTEMBER, 1963 No. 102

THE PLAQUEMINE STORY

by James Farmer

On August 19, with three local leaders, Dr. Bertrand Tyson, a physician, W. W. Harleaux, a school principal, and Rev. J. W. Davis, I led 500 persons on a protest march to City Hall. Upon reaching the building, several of the marchers began singing "We Shall Overcome." The three local leaders and I were arrested. The others were dispersed by a teargas attack.

Returning to the church, they regrouped and marched again into another barrage of the nauseating gas. In the next two days 232 persons were jailed. There was not enough room in the parish jail, so some of us were sent to adjoining parishes, while others were placed in an improvised stockade.

I had planned to be in Louisiana only three days on a brief speaking trip, but the town of Plaquemine had other plans for me. I had wanted to join the March on Washington, but instead I was in jail. Many of those jailed with me had planned to make the trek to Washington, but they chose to remain in jail. Their "crime" was the same as mine—asking for freedom now, or, as Plaquemine called it, "disturbing the peace." I had no real choice but to remain behind bars with those incarcerated with me. The historic March on Washington would go on beautifully without us; the historic struggle of Plaquemine Negroes might not.

The magnificent demonstration in Washington inspired Plaquemine's freedom fighters to redouble their efforts. They marched and they sat-in. They were tear gassed, stuck with electric prod rods and trampled by state troopers' horses. Children and adults were injured.

With most of us just out of jail—we had been jailed-in for 10 days—even bigger marches were planned. The Negroes had achieved a unity such as never existed before. On September 1, they marched in the largest demonstration of all. The mounted troopers with their prod rods, rode-down the

(*Continued on page 2*)

JAILED ON DEATH PENALTY CHARGE

Zev Aelony, CORE field secretary, has been imprisoned since August 17 in Americus, Georgia on a charge of "attempted insurrection." Since this is a crime carrying the death penalty under state law, no bail has been set. Jailed on similar charges since August 8 are Donald Harris, SNCC field secretary, Ralph Allen and John Perdew.

These three were arrested during a peaceful protest march broken-up by club-swinging state and local police. Aelony was arested on the street during a protest march nine days later—in which he was not even participating. He had been working with the Sumter County Movement, sponsor of the local actions. However, his main task in Americus was to help the Koinonia cooperative establish a system of coordination with similar-type cooperatives in Ruleville, Mississippi and Brownsville, Tennessee.

The district attorney has intimated that if Aelony would plead guilty to more minor charges, the "attempted insurrection" charge would be dropped. Aelony has rejected any such deal.

Congressmen from Minnesota, Aelony's home state, Colorado and New York already have taken action in this case. CORELATOR READERS CAN HELP BY WRITING ATTORNEY GENERAL KENNEDY AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY *NOW* INSISTING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTERCEDE AGANIST THIS GROSS MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE.

WEINBERGER BITTEN BY DOG, BURNED BY TEARGAS

Eric Weinberger, winner of the 1962 CORE Gandhi award, found his body swollen with police dog bites and teargas burns following a police assault in Brownsville, Tenn. on August 5.

So severe were the wounds, that he required hospitalization. But it took two days to bail him out so that he could be taken to a hospital. At first local authorities refused to cooperate even to the extent of naming the charge on which he was being held. Medicine prescribed by an examining doctor was not permitted in the jail.

Occasion for the police assault was the first civil rights demonstration in this seat of Haywood county, which has become famed for eviction of sharecroppers registering to vote. Weinberger was leading a group of youth to picket the courthouse following refusal of local officials to discuss overall desegregation demands.

GADSEN'S BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION

The biggest civil rights demonstration ever conducted in Gadsden, Alabama, took place on August 3. More than 1,000 persons participated of whom 685 were arrested. Leading the march, which started shortly after noon, were four local ministers. Then came the men, followed by the women and children and, finally, the women with babies in their arms. The procession stretched for over a half mile.

Upon reaching the business district, the marchers were halted by police and ordered to disperse. They stood firm for their rights and the mass arrests started. Electric prod rods were used by police to hasten the process. A group of arrested men were prodrodded into running—not walking—barefoot from the overcrowded county jail to the coliseum, where the overflow of prisoners was held. Yet, Deputy Sheriff A. E. Lockwood told the press he "hadn't seen" any electric rods.

The prod rods were in evidence, though not used, the following day when over 200 protestors assembled at the jail in 95-degree heat to sing freedom songs and pray. The youths and women with babies had been released but the others remained in prison. The Republic Steel plant shut down completely on August 3 because a large number of its 2,000 Negro workers had quit to join the march.

Mary Hamilton and Marvin Robinson, CORE field secretaries, had been working in Gadsden since mid-May. Together with William Douthard, a Task Force worker, they were imprisoned for several weeks following a march on June 19.

"It was brutal as hell," commented a local police officer who asked to remain unidentified. "There was no need to club those people." Local police interceded when a state trooper started clubbing a Negro woman who had fallen to the ground. Questioned about the brutality, Albert Lingo, commander of the state troopers, said: "I can't help it if these people (the demonstrators) ran into each other."

Regarding the following weeks, Mary Hamilton reports: "We were harassed repeatedly by the state troopers. In a backroom of the police station of nearby Attalla, Bennie Luchion, a CORE Task Force worker, was kicked in the stomach and prodded in his genitals. In mid-July, small protest walks through the downtown area were initiated. The first day, state troopers arrested a number of the walkers including William Douthard, our Task Force worker, who was beaten in a police car and then set-upon by 15 troopers as their commander, Albert Lingo looked on."

PLAQUEMINE (*Continued*)

marchers like cowboys on a fearsome round-up. The demonstrators again took refuge in Plymouth Rock Baptist Church. Troopers pursued them into the church, hurling round after round of teargas canisters. The demonstrators were driven from the church, carrying the wounded, the faint and the hysterical. They retreated to the parsonage.

Not content with this desecration of a place of worship, the troopers turned high pressure fire hoses into the church, overturning benches and breaking windows. Bibles and hymnals floated in the pews. The troopers then hurled a volley of teargas canisters into the parsonage, driving the demonstrators into the yard. Further volleys of the gas drove them back into the parsonage. Many were overcome by the gas and artificial respiration was administered.

Meanwhile, other state troopers rode through the town, pursuing and brutalizing any Negroes in sight. Doors were kicked-in and houses invaded as the troopers loudly proclaimed, "We want Farmer!" Negroes beaten in the streets were told, "We'll let you go if you'll tell us where Farmer is." Two Negro girls heard troopers say, "When we catch Farmer we're going to lynch him!"

Hearing these bloodthirsty threats, I started to walk over and turn myself in. I was stopped by local citizens who insisted that if I surrendered, I would not be alive in the morning. They persuaded me to take refuge in a hearse. With another hearse as a decoy, I thus escaped from the frenzied lynch mob composed of law enforcement officers.

In New Orleans next day I called a press conference and described what had transpired in Plaquemine. I announced I would return on the morrow

Curiously, there was no warrant for my arrest awaiting me. The frenzied house-to-house manhunt two days before had been without warrant and without charges.

for trial of my "disturbing the peace" charge.

Back in Plaquemine I was tried and convicted on earlier charges. The sentence on each charge was $100 fine or 30 days in jail. Through my lawyers, Murphy, Bell, Collins, Douglas and Elie I immediately served notice of appeal.

The Plaquemine battle goes on. Negroes have launched a tight economic boycott of local stores. They have arranged to buy their food and clothing elsewhere on weekends. The school principal, W. W. Harleaux, has been threatened with his job. A worker in the Negro school lunchroom has been fired because her children were in the demonstration. The school's students are replying with a lunchroom boycott. Instead of eating lunch they sing freedom songs.

Enjoined against further demonstrations, CORE is seeking through the courts to have the injunction overturned. Meanwhile, demonstrations are starting in other nearby communities. In Hamond, for example, students have demonstrated and their mayor has now set up a bi-racial committee. Plaquemine itself may be a long struggle, but we shall certainly overcome.

TALLAHASSEE DEMONSTRATES

354 CORE members ware arrested in Tallahassee during the September 14-15 weekend. The interracial group was protesting continued segregation at local theaters.

Most remain jailed on "contempt" charges. Previously, some 221 had been arrested on similar charges only to have the charges thrown out of court.

About 2,000 students marched to the courthouse to protest the arrests. A small delegation spoke to the sheriff and hundreds spent the night in a vigil before the jail.

Attorney Tobias Simon has traveled 450 miles from Miami to represent CORE.

Tallahassee CORE's drive to desegregate the Florida Theatre, site of the demonstrations, and the State Theatre has been in progress all summer.

Sixty persons sitting down in thick mud at the construction site of mobile classrooms in a Negro section of Chicago were arrested on August 2. The demonstration was but one of Chicago CORE's protest actions against temporary edifices in segregated areas as opposed to transferring Negro students to schools in other areas.
hoods.

* * *

A week of intensive picketing and sit-ins in the lobby and dining rooms by Syracuse (N.Y.) CORE brought a fair employment policy to the Hotel Syracuse, the city's largest hotel.

* * *

Montgomery Ward hired 43 Negroes and 9 other members of minority groups between mid-May and mid-July at its Oakland and San Leandro, California, stores following negotiations which ended two weeks of picketing by Oakland and Berkeley CORE.

REGISTRATION DRIVE IN RURAL LOUISIANA

This photo shows Rudolph Lombard, CORE Vice Chairman, visiting a prospective voter in southern Louisiana. He, Gordon Carey and Ronnie Moore coordinated CORE's summer voter registration project in eight southern Louisiana parishes.

As an outcome of the crash program, 450 Negroes were registered and over 200 discrimination complaints were filed with the Department of Justice.

In West Feliciana parish, where no Negro had ever registered, two Negro ministers—Rev. Rudolph Davis and Rev. Joseph Carter—attempted to do so. Rev. Carter was arrested and jailed overnight.

In East Feliciana parish, four Negroes were fired from their jobs for becoming involved in the registration campaign. William Brown, one of the CORE participants, was arrested for 'speeding" while sitting on a front porch. Michael Lesser, another CORE worker, was picked-up for "disturbing the peace" as he escorted Negroes to the registrar's office. Bond was set at $2000. Both decided to remain jailed-in. On August 11, they were joined by 21 others who were arrested aboard a segregated ferry boat crossing the Mississippi. After being jailed-in several days, the 21 were released and charges against them were dismissed. Brown and Lesser were released on bond and their cases adjourned until October.

In West Baton Rouge parish, the registrar's wife assaulted Charles Martin, a CORE worker, with a shoe. Martin was subsequently arrested for "disturbing the peace" as he acomcpanied Negroes to the registrar's office. Special voter education clinics were a part of the program. "When we first got to Clinton (in East Feliciana parish), the atmosphere of fear was so great that the only place we could find to conduct a clinic was the living room of one of the persons who housed us," said Miriam Feingold, a participant in the project. "By the time we left, Rev. Transters, a local Negro minister, had opened his church to us and was, himself, speaking at mass meetings."

First of the clinics was in Iberville parish, whose main city is Plaquemine. Its Negro section has been gerrymandered so that it is outside city limits. The city provides no sewer facilities and no street lights for the Negro section. This, added to the usual obnoxious, segregation practices prompted three and a half weeks after the first registration clinic, the mass protest in which James Farmer, CORE National Director, and 230 others were arrested (see story on page one).

Ronnie Moore, CORE field secretary, who has worked on voter registration in this area for an entire year, said: "Our summer project has ended. However, I am glad that CORE has agreed to keep 14 full time Task Force workers in southern Louisiana until at least November 7. As a result of our past, long-range voter registration activities, we are in the process of organizing the Sixth Congressional District Voters Association of Louisiana.

WIN JOBS IN 23 STORES WITHIN MONTH IN LEXINGTON

Through direct action together with a selective buying campaign, Lexington (Ky.) CORE gained jobs for Negroes in 23 major downtown stores within the month starting July 22. Eact store hired from one to 12 Negroes, with more to be hired in the immediate future.

Speaking at a rally on July 22 which launched the camapign, CORE National Director James Farmer predicted: "We expect you'll see very few dark faces on Main Street until there is fair employment." The correctness of his prediction is shown by the campaign's success.

One of the stores which changed its employment policy is Sears Roebuck, where nine CORE members had been arrested for sitting in the aisles. Charged with violating a city fire ordidance, they were acquitted by a judge who ruled that they could have moved easily and quickly had a fire broken out.

On August 21, 14 CORE members sitting-in at Stewart's department store were arrested when they refused to leave at closing time. All but five of them, who are juveniles, remained jailed-in.

Lexington CORE is aiming to establish a fair employment policy at all major downtown stores.

FIRST ARRESTS IN SUMTER

First arrests since the start of the Sumter (South Carolina) Movement's 2-week mass action campaign occurred on August 6. Fifty-five persons were taken into custody for "parading without a permit" as they marched down the main street. Heading the march was Rev. Fred C. James, chairman of the Sumter Movement, which includes CORE, NAACP and local ministers. Rev. James headed the first CORE group in Sumter in 1958.

Prior to establishment of the Sumter Movement, a city-county steering committee on civil rights had asked the city government to form a biracial committee. The Mayor promised this would be done, but instead, he appointed a 4-man committee of whites which would act as liaison between the city government and the Negro community. This was rejected by one of the first mass meetings of the Sumter Movement.

In preparation for the mass action campaign, CORE Field Director James McCain, who is a native of Sumter and a pioneer in the local civil rights movement, returned here to conduct one workshop on nonviolence.

MASS MARCHES MARK DRIVE FOR OPEN CITY

A series of mass marches climaxing on September 11 with over 700 participants marked CORE's campaign to make High Point a completely open city.

The September 11 march was countered by a mob of some 3000 whites who pelted the demonstrators with rocks, eggs and tomatoes. Police hurled teargas bombs along a two-block section of the main street. The day after the march, local civil rights leaders and city officials negotiated a 90-day truce on mass demonstrations. Mayor Floyd Mehan agreed to drop his proposed ordinances barring such demonstrations.

On September 9, 363 persons were arrested in three successive marches. Most of the arrests were made late at night after the final march, as the demonstrators stood silently in front of the Center Theater and Everett's Cafe, two main targets of the open city campaign. Police rushed to the site with loaded teargas guns and summoned a fire truck equipped with high pressure nozzles. The arrested demonstrators quietly marched, two-by-two, to the city jail.

On September 3, 50 persons including CORE Field Secretary B. Elton Cox were arrested for "trespassing" at the A & W Drive-in. Next day some 300 persons marched there in protest. Confronted by a white mob and 100 helmeted policemen, the marchers were unable to gain access to the drive-in. However, they stood on a nearby curb and sang freedom songs. A white man, who came over under the pretense of shaking hands with Cox and then struck him, was arrested.

MOORE MURDER SUSPECT FREED

An Etowah county grand jury refused on September 13 to indict Floyd Simpson for the murder on April 23 of William Moore, Baltimore CORE member, on his one-man Freedom Walk across the south. Simpson had been arrested two days after the Alabama roadside murder following an FBI ballistics test indicating that the bullets in Moore's body came from a gun belonging to Simpson. He had been released on $5000 bail. Now he is free.

* * *

38 CORE members, including two university professors, were arrested in Syracuse while protesting discrimination against Negroes displaced by an urban renewal project. Months of negotiations had failed to bring any change in practice.

WIN DRAMATIC CAMPAIGN IN BATON ROUGE

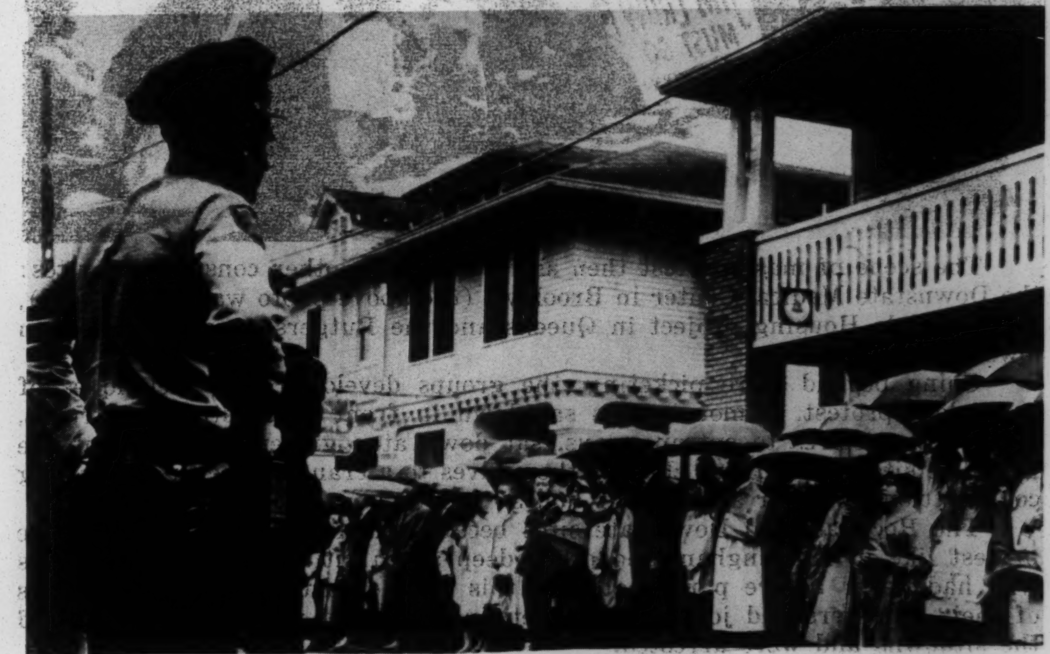
Lunch counter desegregation in Baton Rouge on August 6 marked the successful conclusion of one of the most dramatic campaigns in the present day civil rights struggle. Negroes were served without incident at 12 lunch counters downtown and in shopping centers.

It was just 40 months since the first local lunch counter sit-inners were arrested setting-off a series of events which included many arrests, a mass exodus of students, temporary closing of Southern University, and, finally, the indictment of local CORE leaders for "criminal anarchy."

Specifically, it all started on March 28 and 29, 1960 with the arrest of 16 sit-inners at Kress's, Sitman's and the Greyhound bus station. The all-white State Board of Education, which administers Southern University, warned that any student participating in a sit-in would be subject to "stern disciplinary action."

On March 30, 3500 students marched through the center of town to the State Capitol. In retaliation, 17 students were expelled including Marvin Robinson, who is now a CORE field secretary. The student body then voted to boycott all classes. Attempts to negotiate reinstatement of the 17 students failed, when Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of the Negro university, failed to support them. In protest, several thousand students quit the university.

The sit-inners cases were appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed their conviction on December 11, 1961 in a precedent-setting decision to the effect that a peaceful sit-in for equal rights does not constitute disorderly conduct. On the day of the Supreme Court decision, Baton Rouge CORE led sit-ins at Kress's and McCrory's. Three days later a mass picket demonstration at the stores resulted in 23 arrests. In protest over these arrests, some 4,000 demonstrators, most of them Southern University students, assembled at the courthouse.



Tear gas, bombs (note the one in the above policeman's holster) and police dogs were used to break up the peaceful demonstration and 50 more students were arrested. Dr. Clark closed the university for Christmas vacation four days ahead of schedule. Because of excessive bail totaling $116,000 the CORE students had to spend the Christmas holiday in jail. Though Dr. Clark had pledged he would resign this time before suspending any student demonstrators, he accepted orders from the Board of Education to expell seven.

On January 17, 1,000 students marched to his residence in protest. Dr. Clark again closed the university, this time for a week. Five leaders of CORE and SNCC were indicted for "criminal anarchy." A nation-wide protest campaign was started by CORE and the charges were finally dropped against four. Charges are still pending against CORE field secretary Ronnie Moore. An injunction against CORE demonstrations issued by District Judge E. Gordon West has just been overturned by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeal.

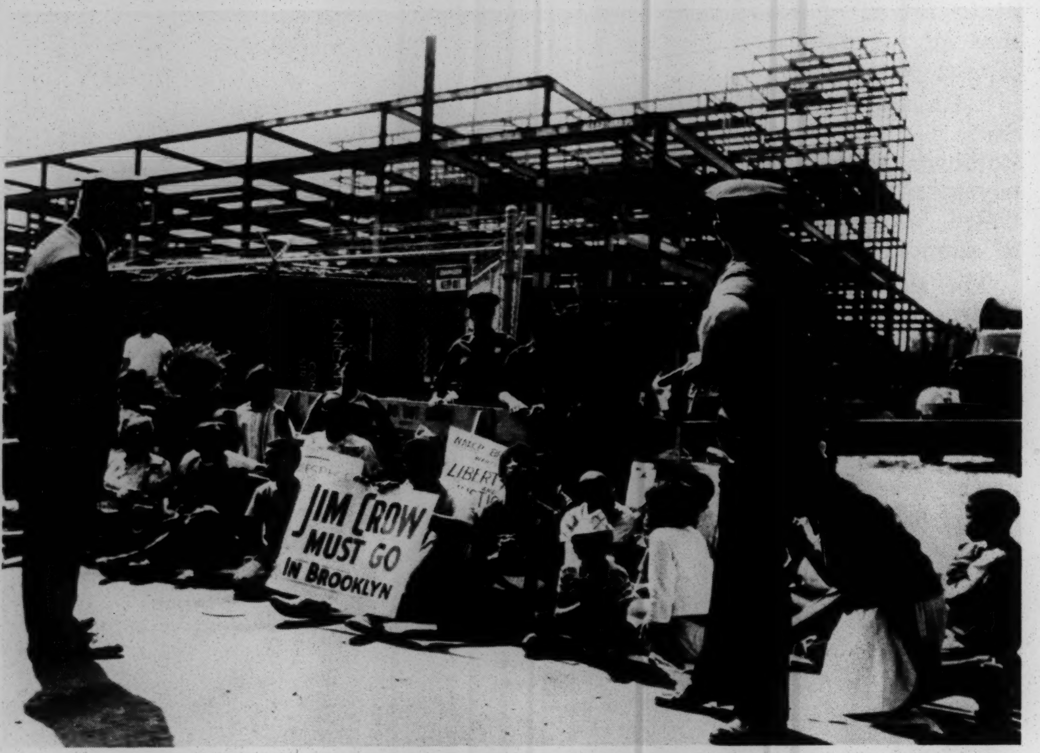
Finally in April Charles Oldham, former CORE national chairman, initiated negotiations which resulted in the agreement to desegregate the lunch counters on August 6.

Over 800 Arrested in Mass Drive for Construction Jobs

A massive campaign this summer in the metropolitan New York and northern New Jersey area for employment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans on construction jobs has resulted in over 800 arrests (including your editor).

The New York campaign has been conducted by the Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity which represents local CORE groups and other leading civil rights organizations.

The first major action in New York was a large picket demonstration and sitdown at the construction site of Harlem Hospital annex. Realizing the potential effects of an entire summer of such demonstrations in the heart of Harlem, Mayor Robert Wagner agreed to shut down the job until the fair employment issue is resolved. Construction has not yet been resumed.


JIM CROW MUST GO IN BROOKLYN
LIBERTY

The scene of mass protest then shifted to three other construction sites: the Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn (the above photo was taken there), the Rochdale Housing project in Queens and the Rutgers housing project in lower Manhattan.

Going beyond mere picketing, the groups developed new techniques of nonviolent protest. Demonstrators sat down in front of construction trucks, chained themselves to entranceways, sat down atop girders. Recently at the Rochdale site four persons chained themselves to a crane 60 feet aloft, halting construction work for almost four hours.

The Rochdale and Downstate sites became the focus of community-wide protest like in Birmingham and other deep south cities. Negro churchgoers who had never before participated in this type of action, heeded the pleas of their ministers and joined the picket lines in large numbers. Some joined the sitdowns and were arrested.

Coinciding with the campaign, marathon sit-ins were conducted inside City Hall and in Governor Nelson Rockefeller's city office. The City Hall sit-inners finally were ousted on August 21 after more than six weeks and the approaches to the building have been barricaded with sawhorses ever since.

As a result of the campaign, both Mayor Wagner and Governor Rockefeller set up offices to enroll Negroes and Puerto Ricans who want to work in the construction industry. However, this step is deemed thoroughly inadequate by the Joint Committee. Furthermore, some building trades unions, despite public statements, have not taken concrete steps to remedy the situation.

Agreement in Newark

An agreement between the building trades unions and four civil rights groups including Newark-Essex CORE was negotiated in nearby Newark, biggest city in the northern New Jersey area, with the aid of Mayor Hugh Addonizio. A sit-in in City Hall and picketing of the Barringer High School construction site had marked the campaign which led to the agreement.

A safeguard clause, negotiated for the first time, provides that the city conduct pre-employment conferences with all contractors under consideration for municipal contracts "to make sure there is no racial discrimination in the initial hiring pattern and that Negroes and Puerto Ricans have a fair change for these jobs."

Negotiations are under way, but no settlement has been reached in Elizabeth, New Jersey, where Union-Middlesex CORE has been supporting mass picketing and sitdowns at the County Courthouse annex construction site. A large number of demonstrators have been arrested.

MOTORCADE MOVES SLUM'S JUNK TO SLUMLORD'S HOUSE

A truck loaded with half a ton of junk collected in a South Philadelphia slum, headed on August 17 for the home of one of the area's chief slumlords, Sol Levin.

Following the truck, which contained broken plumbing, worn-out mattresses, rusty bedsprings, etc., was a motorcade of some 200 Philadelphia CORE members. The street leading to Levin's West Philadelphia home was blocked by a cordon of 30 policemen. So the CORE members emptied the truck's contents in front of the police line. The police inspector in charge summoned a city dump truck.

This protest action was part of the CORE group's campaign to eliminate South Philadelphia's slum conditions. Ten days earlier, in an attempt to make the municipal government aware of how miserable these conditions are, a CORE deputation escorted a group of city officials through the Hawthorne section of South Philadelphia and arranged interviews with some of its more unfortunate inhabitants.

"Some of the places we visited were dreadful," commented Thomas McBride, co-chairman of the Mayor's Commission on Civil Rights.

"You'll never make these houses good enough to live in," was the opinion of Barnet Liberman, Commissioner of Licenses and Inspections.

Dell Graham, chairman of Philadelphia CORE, headed the deputation which conducted the tour.

Eight members of New York University CORE were arrested on August 21 as they unloaded in front of City Hall a truckload of junk collected behind a row of rat-infested tenements on Eldridge Street. A sizable pile, which had been dumped before the arrests occurred, was removed later by a city sanitation truck.

During the demonstration, City Hall was picketed by over 100 adults and children from the neighborhood carrying signs in both Spanish and English saying "Slumlords Must Go."

Later in the day trucks from the Department of Sanitation cleaned up Eldridge Street.

8 YEARS OF PROTEST OPENS AMUSEMENT PARK

August 28, 1963, which will be long remembered for the mammoth March on Washington, was marked in nearby Baltimore by a significant civil rights victory. Gwynn Oak Amusement Park for the first time admitted Negroes, ending a Baltimore CORE campaign which started exactly eight years ago when the owners—the Price brothers—flatly refused to negotiate.

One of the brothers, James Price, told reporters on August 28 that he is "bowing to pressure" and hopes that the policy change will be peaceful. It certainly was on the first day. Small groups of Negroes used the Park's facilities without incident.

"The "pressure" to which Price referred were two mass demonstrations this past July led by ministers of all faiths in which 383 persons were arrested for seeking to use the Park's facilities.

First major CORE demonstration at the Park occurred on September 5, 1955 when over 40 persons picketed. The occasion was the Park's annual "All Nations Day," which, ironically, was as all-white as any other day on the premises. Each year, CORE selected "All Nations Day" as the occasion for its biggest demonstration at the Park.

In 1957, women dressed in the costumes of various nations led the picket line. CORE succeeded in getting some of the participating nations to withdraw. On "All Nations Day" in 1959, five CORE members were arrested for seeking to use the Park's facilities. Walk-ins, stand-ins at ticket windows and picketing marked the 8-year campaign.

IN BRIEF

A march of over 400 persons on August 8 protesting defacto school segregation in Los Angeles was led by CORE National Director James Farmer and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman. On September 13, 8 members of Los Angeles CORE started a sit-in and fast at the board of education.

* * *

A 5-week fair employment campaign, during which Bronx (New York) CORE pickets were assaulted by members of the Nazi-style American Renaissance Party and by neighborhood hoodlums, ended on August 10 with the signing of an agreement with the White Castle hamburger chain.

THE MARCH

WE MARCH
JOBS
WE MARCH
INTEGRATED SCHOOLS NOW!
WE DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS NOW!
WE DEMAND AN FEPC LAW NOW!
END SEGREGATED RULES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Photo by Bob Adelman

Since the momentous August 28 March on Washington has been adequately covered by newspapers, radio and TV, the CORElator will not take up its limited space with a detailed report. Suffice it to say that the March, with its quarter of a mililon participants, was a milestone in the civil rights struggle. CORE groups, particularly those in cities along the eastern seaboard, dispatched dozens of buses to Washington. CORE National Director James Farmer, one of the top civil rights leaders scheduled to speak, was jailed-in in Louisiana (be sure to read the third paragraph of his story on page 1). His spech was read by CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick.

What Must Be Done?

The murder of innocent children in Birmingham proves conclusively that we cannot wait for time to solve our problems. This issue is filled with stories of brutality and injustice. We all have a responsibility to help end this situation.

You can help by writing to the President *and* to your Senators and Congressman. Tell them they must see that the administration civil rights bill must be passed and improved by:

1. Strengthening the public accommodations section. A refusal of service to a hungry man is just as cruel in a small diner as a large restaurant.
2. Enforceable FEPC should be added to the bill.
3. Across the Board Part III—Authority to permit the Attorney General to bring civil rights suits in *all* instances where Americans are denied their constitutional rights because of race or religion.

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

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THE WEST FELICIANA STORY

by Ronnie Moore

West Feliciana is a southeastern Louisiana parish with a 60% Negro population where no Negro had registered since 1902. On October 17, 1963, at approximately 2:30 p.m., Rev. Joseph Carter emerged from the St. Francisville courthouse, smiling and waving his voter registration certificate.

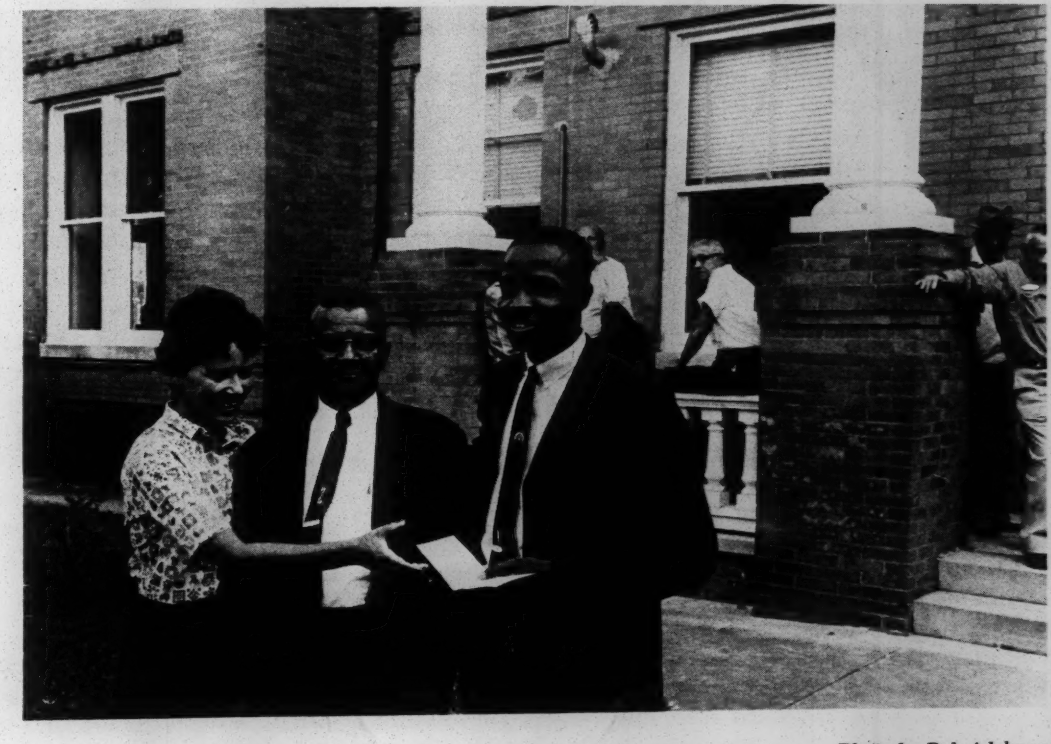


Photo by Bob Adelman

In this photo, CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton (at left) and I (at right) are congratulating him on being the first Negro to register since reconstruction.

It was just a year since the start of CORE's registration drive in West Feliciana and seven other parishes of Louisiana's 6th Congressional district. In West Feliciana, fear, apathy and ignorance had prevailed. On one occasion in the town of Tunica, Weldon Rougeau, also a CORE field secretary, and I were ordered out of a minister's conference because local Negroes feared for their lives and the safety of their meagre property.

This past summer our efforts were intensified when Rudy Lombard, and Gordon Carey, two national CORE officers, headed a group of some 50 CORE Task Force workers to work in this area and especially in West Feliciana. As a result, on August 10, Rev. Carter and another Negro minister, Rev. Rudolph Davis, attempted to register. They were told that they each would have to be identified by two registered voters—an impossibility, since there were no Negroes registered in the parish. When Rev. Carter approached Registrar Fletcher Harvey to inquire about his qualificaiton, he was promptly arrested by Sheriff W. C. Percy for "disturbing the peace" and jailed overnight.

(Continued on page 2)

P.S. TO "THE PLAQUEMINE STORY"

by James Farmer

On October 7, the Negro students of Plaquemine, Louisiana went on strike forcing a four-day shutdown of the high school. In addition to demanding reinstatement of a fired lunchroom worker, they sought reinstatement of 35 of their fellow-students who had been suspended, desegregation of Iberville parish schools by 1964 and equal job opportunities for Negroes.

Police teargassed the striking students, first as they marched in groups of 10 to the white high schools, which they were picketing and again as they assembled in Freedom Rock Baptist Church (the church's name had been changed from "Plymouth Rock" to "Freedom Rock" following our mass demonstrations which I described in the last COREIator).

Police Chief Dennis Songy threatened to destroy the church asserting: "If they want to use that church to serve God, that's OK, but they're not going to use it as a fort." The word "fort" was ill-chosen for the student protest action remained peaceful throughout. Evidently the police chief does not believe the parishioners have the right to use their church as they see fit.

Two of the student leaders—Kenneth Johnson and Willie Mellien—have been committed to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents for an indefinite period. This means up to five years for Johnson, who is only 16 and was a CORE Task Force member. Attorneys are seeking a habeaus corpus writ to secure their release.

* * *

In Clinton, the start of picketing in the downtown business section on October 14 resulted in the arrest of 38 pickets and a CORE field worker. Attempts by the state to enjoin all CORE activity were halted pending a ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on the validity of the state court hearing.

FREEDOM VOTE DRIVE

CORE was an active participant in the Council of Federated Organizations during its recent Freedom Vote Campaign in Mississippi which netted 90,000 gubernatorial votes for Aaron Henry. CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis was an executive of the Henry campaign committee.

CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond was run out of Yazoo City three times by local police and was finally arrested by highway patrolmen. Yazoo City is one of the localities where CORE concentrated its campaign efforts. Others were Meridian, Canton and Jackson.

Georgia Insurrection Law Voided—4 Freed

(Editor's Note—Thanks to readers who heeded the appeal in the last CORE-lator to write Attorney General Kennedy and President Kennedy on this case.)

Georgia's 1871 insurrection law and a state law against unlawful assembly were declared "unconstitutional and void" by a special 3-judge federal court on November 1. Reasonable bail was ordered set immediately for a CORE field secretary and three SNCC field workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus without bail on the grounds that this law carries the death penalty.

(left to right are Donald Harris, Ralph Allen and John Perdew of SNCC and Zev Aelony of CORE)

Also the court demanded reasonable bail for two other SNCC workers who had ben held on other miscellaneous charges. The six were thereupon released on bail totaling $11,150 and were greeted enthusiastically by a group of over 150 friends and supporters. They want to remain in Americus and continue the civil rights struggle from where they left-off.

The court decision, which was two-to-one, came after a-day-and-a-half hearing marked by testimony of extreme police brutality against civil rights demonstrators last August. Witnesses related how they had been clubbed mercilessly and jabbed with electric prod rods.

Sallie Mae Durham told how, upon requesting medical aid following her arrest, she was thrown into a five-by-five "dungeon." James Williams, a laborer, testified that his leg had been broken by a state trooper wielding a baseball bat.

The state prosecutor, Stephen Pace, Jr., admitted to the court that the main purpose of invoking the insurrection law which he admitted is unconstitutional—was to halt the demonstrations. He reaffirmed the correctness of his statement quoted by UPI that "the basic reason for bringing these charges was to deny the defendants, or to ask the court to deny them bond."

Pointing this out in his argument to the court, Morris Abram, CORE's attorney, said: "Defendant Pace has admitted that prior to the commencement of this action, he did not even intend to call plaintiff's case to trial. He has in fact indicated that if plaintiff would agree to leave the state of Georgia, he would consent to his admission to bail."

The SNCC members were defended by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund.

The defense lawyers pointed out that the court decision marks the first time the federal judiciary has halted a state court civil rights proceeding at the request of private individuals—the imprisoned men. Filed on their behalf, the suit seeks to restrain state and county officials from conspiring to suppress the civil rights movement in Americus. The court gave these officials until January to prepare their defense against this charge.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

Rev. Carter thereupon filed a $100,000 damage suit in federal court accusing both the registrar and the sheriff of violating his civil rights. This boosted local morale to the extent that attendance at our voter registration clinics, which had ranged from 5 to 10, increased to as many as 115 by the end of September.

Then, on October 17, 43 prospective registrants, including Rev. Carter, assembled at Masonic Hall and boarded a bus for the courthouse in St. Francisville. Upon arrival, I conferred with the district attorney and the registrar. However, the registrar claimed that 8 whites were ahead of us on the waiting list and we sat across the street from 8:35 a.m. until 2 p.m. before Rev. Carter was called.

As the morning passed, tension mounted. On several occasions, a group of whites tried to block the entranceway. I was shown a knife and was told I would be emasculated. Rev. Carter was likewise threatened. FBI agents and a Justice Department official were stationed around the courthouse. Of five Negroes attempting to register that day, four were rejected. Three of them had attended high school but the fourth had been unable to do so.

That night, two Negro families were threatened. Their landlord, Daniel Lee, accompanied by two other white men, warned that if the two family heads should again attempt to register, their homes would be burned to the ground and they would be killed or injured in the fires. Johnny Hamilton, the first to be threatened, complained to the Justice Department and then decided to leave town. James Payne, the second man threatened, was hit across the face with a rifle butt.

Nevertheless, we returned to the registrar's office next day, 30 strong. Again we were told that a group of whites was ahead of us and we would have to wait. Although on every occasion the registrar has made such a claim, we have never actually seen any of these prospective white registrants. Seven of our people actually gained admission to the office that day, of whom three were registered: Nathaniel Smith and Ernest Morgan —both farmers—and Handy Berry, an unemployed hod carrier. As Smith came out of the office, I pinned on him an "I Am A Registered Voter: Are You?" button.

That night five carloads of whites went to the home of our bus driver, John Brannon, and fired gunshot volleys around his home.

(Continued on Page 3)

SUSPENSION OF 2 STUDENT CORE LEADERS PROMPTS CAMPUS PROTEST

The suspension of Patricia Stephens Due and Ruben Kenon from Florida A & M University in Tallahasee, Florida, has resulted in several student protest actions and one mass rally on campus.

The two students received the heaviest prison sentences—six months—as a consequence of Tallahasee CORE's mid-September mass demonstrations at the Florida Theater, in which 354 demonstrators were arrested. The cases are presently being appealed.

Following the suspensions, CORE has taken Patricia Due on its staff to lead a voter registration campaign in the Tallahassee area. She is a longtime leader of Tallahassee CORE and was a participant in the first jail-in of the 1960 lunch counter sit-in movement.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

The following Monday we returned to the courthouse to find that the registrar had adopted a tactic of demanding extraordinary identification. He asked for identification from two registered voters in each applicant's ward, which was impossible since the four Negroes thus far registered had been from different wards. He agreed to accept a driver's license over a year old, but this proved an impediment since Louisiana's drivers licenses are renewed every two years. All nine of our prospective registrants were thus rejected because of insufficient identification, so a complaint was filed with the Justice Department.

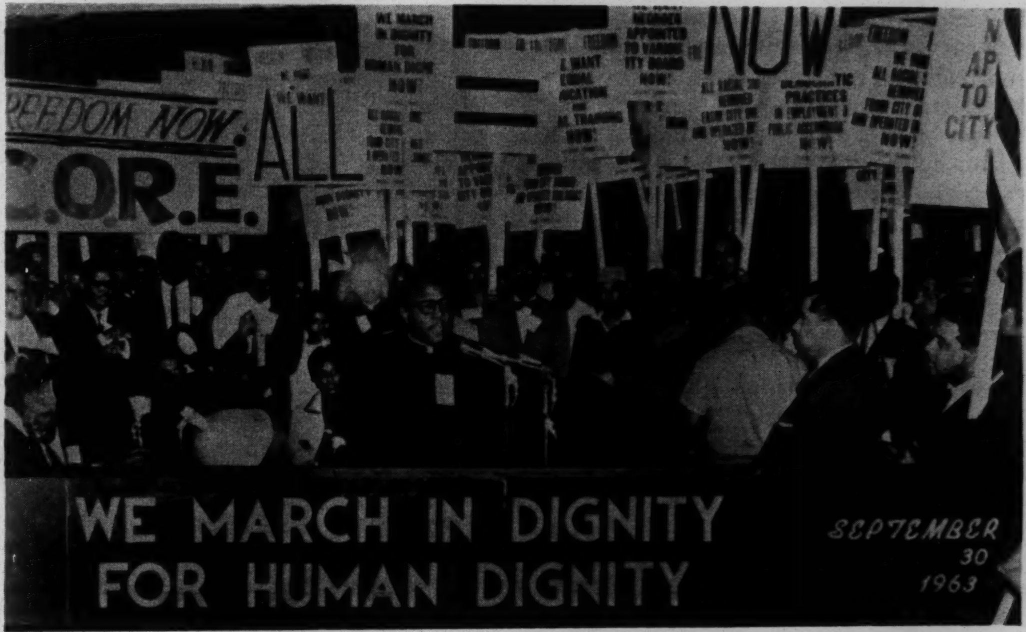
Next day, we canvassed the parish and held a clinic with over 165 participants. On Wednesday, we returned to the registrar's office to check on the identification requirements. Two days later, possibly as a result of our complaint to the Justice Department, an official of the state registration office was supervising the local registrar and two of our five applicants succeeded in registering.

That brought our total of registered Negroes to 6. Since then, 10 more have been registered. This total is small, but extremely significant in a parish where no Negro has registered since 1902.

* * *

In Iberville parish, which was the initial target of the CORE voter registration drive, a full slate of 12 Negroes qualified for the 1963 Democratic primaries. Among the candidates are Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force worker, and Dr. Bertrand Tyson and W. W. Harleaux, both community leaders.

BIGGEST PROTEST MARCH IN SOUTH



The biggest civil rights march to be held in the south took place in New Orleans on September 30 under the sponsorship of the Citizen's Committee, a joint group whose chairman is Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern counsel.

Over 15,000 Negroes and whites participated. The New Orleans CORE contingent carried a large banner saying "Freedom Now—CORE." CORE National Associate Director Richard Haley and New Orleans CORE Chairman Oretha Castle led the contigent. Over 300 white students were among the marchers.

Another banner in the march said: "We March in Dignity for Human Dignity Now." A banner proclaiming the march's chief objective said: "We Want Equal Employment and Equal Training Now." Another objective of the march was desegregation of those public accommodations which still refuse to serve Negroes and repeal of a local ordinance imposing segregation in public places selling alcoholic beverages.

Speakers included Oretha Castle of CORE, Ernest Morial of NAACP, Rev. Avery Alexander of the Consumers League, Rev. G. L. Hayden of St. James AME Church, A. Horowitz of the Hillel Foundation, Monsignor Clauche and Rev. A. L. Davis.

Follow-Through Action

Two of these speakers—Rev. Davis (at the microphones in above photo) and Rev. Alexander—were among 25 persons arrested a month later—on October 31—while sitting-in in the City Council chamber, the segregated City Hall cafeteria and the Mayor's waiting room.

Rev. Davis, who was ousted from the City Council chamber, had pledged to "stay here and sit for 30 days hence until we get some word" on demands for complete desegregation and equal job opportunities. Rev. Alexander was dragged by the heels by two policemen from the cafeteria.

Five days later eight more sit-inners, including CORE Field Secretary Isaac Reynolds, were arrested in the mayor's waiting room and in the cafeteria. Included in the group were five whites: a Tulane University professor and four Tulane students.

A Mass March in the North

Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, on October 26 was the scene of a Statewide March for Jobs and Freedom in which 12,000 persons from all parts of the state participated. Arriving in special buses and by train, they started marching at City Hall, proceeded to the State House and then to the War Memorial Building where a giant rally was held.

Participating in the March were a large number of unions and religious bodies in addition to the New Jersey chapters of CORE and the New Jersey Conference of NAACP. Directing the March was Robert Gore of CORE. Honorary chairman and director were A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who led the August 28th March On Washington.

IN BRIEF

Los Angeles CORE has formed a Mexican-American Committee to concentrate on winning equal housing and employment opportunities for Mexicans. Asked about rumors that Negro gains are being made at the expense of Mexicans, Adolph Villavazo, chairman of the new committee, said: "This is nonsense. We can all achieve our rights together. Let's not fall prey again to that old theme of 'divide and conquer.' "

* * *

Chicago CORE groups played a leading part in the detailed organizational work which made the October 22 Freedom Day school boycott the biggest demonstration against de facto school segregation in the north. On that day, over 225,000 students, nearly half the total enrollment, stayed away from classes, while over 10,000 demonstrators marched on City Hall and the Board of Education. They demanded the resignation of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis, who has been unwilling to make any changes to bring about integration.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of Filing: October, 1963. 2. Title of Publication, CORE-lator. 3. Frequency of Issue, bi-monthly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 5. Location of Headquarters or General Business offices of the Publishers, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher, CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038, Editor, James Peck, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038, Managing Editor, Marvin Rich, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. 7. Owner, CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. No stockholders. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 per cent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities; None. 9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation. 10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal Manual (Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, Untied States Code). A. Total No. Copies Printed, average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 55,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 50,000. B. Paid Circulation. 1. To term subscribers by mail, carrier delivery or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 40,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 40,000. 2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise, none. C. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 15,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 10,000. D. Total no. of copies distributed. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. 54,975; single issue nearest to filing date, 49,975. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Marvin Rich, Managing Editor

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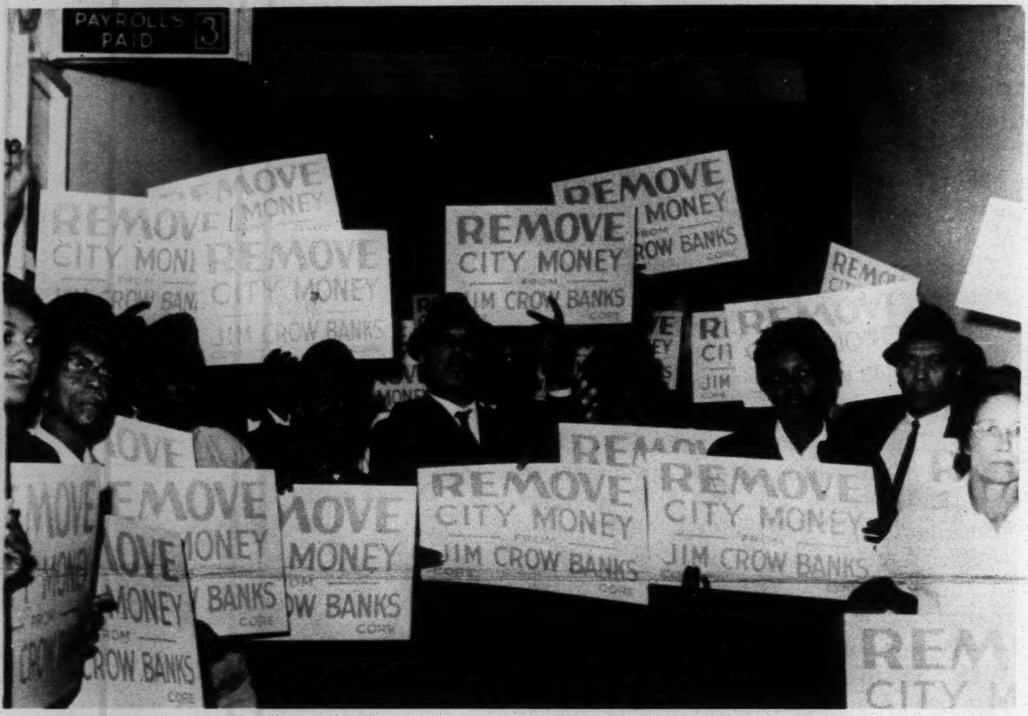
Harsh Jail Terms Prompt City Hall Protest


PAYROLLS PAID
3
REMOVE CITY MONEY FROM JIM CROW BANKS CORE

The imposing of prison sentences of up to a year on 19 leaders of St. Louis CORE's fair employment campaign at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. resulted in this protest demonstration inside City Hall on October 28. Over 1,000 persons had marched on City Hall.

That evening more than 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a protest rally. John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, said the rally was "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

The 19 were sentenced by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott for violating his August 30 injunction against "physical interference" at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. Among those sentenced were Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE and Alderman William Clay, a long-time leader of St. Louis CORE. Alderman Clay was sentenced to 270 days in jail. Fines ranged from $500 to $1000 against each of the defendants. The cases are being appealed. Trial of 40 demonstrators arrested on "disturbing the peace" charges has been adjourned until November 29. Nonviolent demonstrations have been conducted both inside and outside the bank. Inside, CORE members frequently lined-up at windows to simply seek change or to open new accounts which would be promptly closed.

The bank is still being picketed. Intercession by Mayor Raymond Tucker and a 2-week truce failed to prevail on management to adopt a fair hiring policy. Several other banks have hired 35 Negroes as a result of St. Louis CORE's campaign, but not Jefferson.

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38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

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FEB 13 1964

CORE-LATOR

Published bimonthly by the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y. Subscription $2.00 a year
A National Organization with affiliated local groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods
James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 BROTHERHOOD MONTH, FEBRUARY, 1964 104

Campaign To Make Chapel Hill's Tradition A Reality

By James Farmer

On January 12, in sleet and snow, 170 dedicated Negroes and whites walked 12 miles from Durham to Chapel Hill for a mass rally which I had the privilege of addressing. At the rally, held in the First Baptist Church, an overflow crowd expressed determination to pursue the on-going desegregation campaign until this university town's longstanding liberal reputation is translated into reality.

Somehow, progress toward desegregation in Chapel Hill reached a standstill, whereas most North Carolina cities, prodded by the upsurge of nonviolent action, recently made forward strides.

According to a survey conducted by "The Daily Tar Heel," the University of North Carolina's student paper, 32% of Chapel Hill's restaurants discriminate, three of the town's five motels exclude Negroes, eight out of nine barbershops service whites only, segregated wards and rooms are maintained by the North Carolina Memorial Hospital and one grocery store posts a "whites only" sign on its door.

Last summer, protest demonstrations started. Then a truce was called to allow for intensive negotiations by the mayor's committee. But nothing came of the negotiations.

So, this past December sit-ins and picketing were resumed under the leadership of CORE Task Force Worker John Dunne and NAACP Youth Council Chairman Quinton Baker and with the support of CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick, who is an attorney in nearby Durham. Enlisting the support of other civil rights groups, Chapel Hill CORE helped establish a joint organization known as the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee.

Thus far there have been 239 demonstrators arrested. A few of them chose to remain jailed-in over the Christmas holiday. Two of them, Hope Van Riper and Patrick Cusick, served their full 30 days. Cusick, who is white, fasted for the first 20 days protesting his assignment to a segregated work gang. He finally was transferred to an integrated gang. One of the arrested demonstrators,

(Continued on page 2)

A Freedom Walk Across Town

ACTION-BACKED DRIVE GETS NEGROES ON TV

"For six consecutive Saturdays last spring, we displayed seven television sets at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue," recalls Clarence Funnyé of New York CORE in describing the start of his committee's successful campaign to get Negroes on TV. "Totals of Negroes, excluding sports figures, appearing on each channel were marked on a scoreboard, and we offered passersby a silver dollar for every Negro they saw. In the six weeks, we lost only $15—and we succeeded in creating awareness in the Harlem community on the extent of Negro exclusion from TV and thus enlisted informed community support for any prospective selective purchasing campaign."

The fact that the project was implemented with carefully prepared plans for selective buying and picketing against adamant corporations, is responsible for its rapid accomplishments, according to Funnyé.

In a report on the project's success, he writes: "We feel this had been made possible first, because we insisted on approaching the man who controls the advertising dollar and is the source of advertising policy, and second, because we backed up our demands with solidly-based threats of direct action."

Within six months, the CORE committee concluded agreements with 13 major TV advertisers, and started negotiations with 36 others. The agreements provide for employment of Negroes both on commercials and on sponsored programs.

First target of the campaign was Lever Brothers, the third largest TV advertiser. Next came the two largest advertisers, Colgate - Palmolive and Proctor & Gamble. The other 10 with whom CORE agreements have been concluded are National Biscuit, Corn Products, Gillette, Kellogg, Beech-Nut Life Savers, Schlitz, Campbell, Bristol Myers, Falstaff Brewing and Brown & Williamson.

Negotiations are continuing with several other major television advertisers.

The CORE project was mentioned at length in a New York Times feature article by Peter Bart and in a full page article in Newsweek—both with photos showing newly-made TV commercials with Negroes. The Newsweek story was appropriately headed "March on Madison (Avenue)".

APPEALS COURT JAILS 15, FREES 4 IN BANK CONTEMPT CASE

Fifteen leaders of St. Louis CORE's fair employment campaign at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. have been jailed following a decision by the St. Louis Court of Appeals upholding their convictions. Four others were freed.

The court placed the 15 in custody of the sheriff and quashed their writs for habeas corpus. Their prison sentences range from 60 days to a year. An appeal to the Missouri Supreme Court is planned.

The 15 include Alderman William Clay, long active in St. Louis CORE, Lucien Richard, the group's chairman, Roberta Tournour, Robert Curtis, Rev. Charles Perkins, Norman Seay, Taylor Jones, Louis Ford, Ian Grand, Benjamin Goins, Kenneth Lee, Ronald Glenn, James Peake, Michael Grand and Danny Pollock.

The four acquitted on appeal were former CORE National Chairman Charles Oldham and his wife, Marian, Raymond Howard and Herman Thompson.

The heavy prison sentences were imposed by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott for violating his August 30 injunction against "physical interference" at the bank. The fair employment campaign is continuing and the bank is being picketed. More than 75 Negroes have secured jobs at other St. Louis banks since the CORE campaign began.

Desegregate City Jail

When the 19 CORE leaders were first jailed in December, prison officials started to put white CORE prisoners in separate cells from Negro CORE prisoners, but this drew an immediate protest. So, the group of CORE prisoners was integrated but the other prisoners remained segregated.

Following their release, two of the prisoners, Oldham and Howard, both of whom are attorneys, filed and pursued a complaint with the Council on Human Relations. As a consequence, on January 7, Public Welfare Director Chester Stovall publicly announced that the longstanding policy of segregation in both the city jail and the workhouse would end immediately.

* * *

In a move to end segregation in the workhouse at Dayton, Ohio an investigating team of the local CORE group has submitted a full report to Workhouse Superintendent Paul Lenarduzzi.

Negroes Vote for First Time Since 1902

Negroes in West Feliciana and Tensas parishes voted in the Louisiana primaries for the first time since 1902.

The total number of Negroes who came to the courthouse of St. Francisville, West Feliciana parish seat, on December 7 and to the courthouse of St. Joseph, Tensas parish seat on January 12, was small. But the precedent, established as a result of CORE's voter registration campaign, was significant.

Among the 13 who voted in West Feliciana was Rev. Joseph Carter, who had been threatened with castration as he approached the courthouse on October 17 to become the first Negro registrant since 1902. Another voter was James Payne, who had been hit across the face with a rifle butt in an attempt to stop him from registering.

This type of intimidation was not practiced in Tensas parish, reports P. F. Ellis one of the first of 15 Negroes to register. He also said that the registration officials were cooperative. The registration of Negroes in Tensas ended an era in which some Louisiana parishes had no Negro registrants since reconstruction. CORE's campaign recently was extended to Tensas where CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore assigned several Task Force Workers. Once registered, the Negroes exercised their voting rights in the January 12 primaries.

Just a week thereafter, 150 crosses were burned during one night in five parishes where CORE has been working on voter registration. An anonymous Klansman phoned the Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate that, if the revival of the KKK were doubted, "go outside and look at the crosses burning." In Clinton, where three of the crosses were burned, CORE Task Force Worker Mimi Feingold told the press that the burnings would in no way deter CORE's voter registration drive.

Jailed CORE Leader Wins Reinstatement

Clinton CORE Chairman Currie Collins, who was handed a dismissal notice when he got out of jail last October, has been reinstated with back pay to his job as food service worker at Villa Feliciana Geriatrics Hospital in nearby Jackson.

In ordering his reinstatement, the Louisiana Civil Service Commission, though denying that his "color, race or affiliation with any organization motivated the disciplinary action," ruled that absence in itself does not constitute cause for discharge. In appealing to the Commission, Collins asserted he had notified the hospital of his arrest and pointed out that he had accrued accumulated leave.

Collins, along with 37 other pickets, was arrested in early October at the start of a picket campaign urging desegregation and job equality in the downtown business section. As a consequence of the ensuing boycott, Collins and 11 other activists were arrested in early December for "conspiracy to commit public intimidation." Proceedings by the state to enjoin CORE demonstrations in Clinton have been halted through a precedent-setting decision by a three-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Task Force member Edgar Vickery remains in jail (after serving 42 days) at press time.

CHAPEL HILL *(Continued from page 1)*

Father Clarence Parker, an 80-year-old Episcopalian minister, was carried bodily to the patrol wagon. A university professor was beaten for seeking service with Negro friends.

In one of the segregated restaurants, demonstrators were assaulted by hoodlums and employees, doused with ammonia and clorox and finally arrested. The owner's wife sank to new depths of vulgarity by urinating on one of the demonstrators.

Many students chose to remain in Chapel Hill over the holiday to carry on the campaign and thus make the principles of Christmas more meaningful.

Following the holiday, the Chapel Hill Ministerial Association presented the Board of Aldermen a petition with 1,850 local signatures asking for enactment of a public accomodations ordinance. Only two of the six alderman favored it: Hubert Robinson, a Negro, and Mrs. Adelaide Walters. When the Board met on January 13, Mrs. Walters moved that the proposed ordinance be debated. Instead, the Board set up a committee to seek voluntary desegregation, despite the failure of such efforts last summer.

So, the nonviolent action campaign continues. February 1, fourth anniversary of the lunch counter sit-in movement, has been set as "D-Day," the day for resumption of mass demonstrations if no progress has been made.

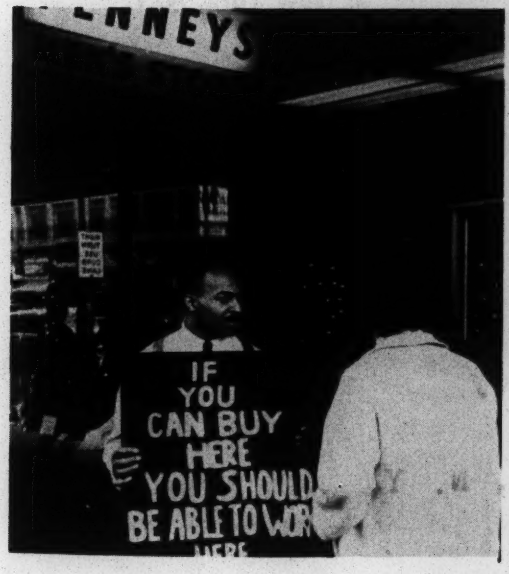
WIN FAIR JOB PACTS—EAST AND WEST

In New York City and in Seattle, specifically-detailed fair employment agreements with A & P supermarkets were negotiated in December by the respective CORE groups of these major eastern and western cities. In New York, several local civil rights groups cooperated with local and national CORE in the negotiations.

The Seattle agreement ended a 5-month picketing and boycott campaign aimed at getting the company to go beyond tokenism. Seven Negroes had been hired as a result of picketing a year ago, but the company had stopped there. Both the Seattle and New York agreements are specific as to the minimum of minority group employes to be hired, placement in skilled capacities, recruitment, training programs and continuous negotireview to ensure progress.

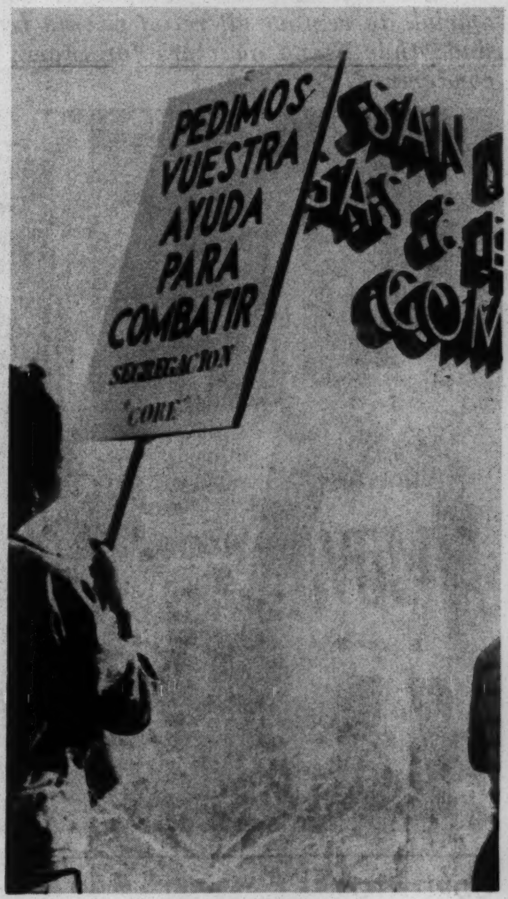
A contract with a suburban New York shopping center providing for job equality, not only in the stores but on new construction work was negotiated between Long Island CORE and the Roosevelt Field Merchants Association. This is particularly significant in an area of the country where throughout the summer civil rights groups campaigned for job equality in the building trades.

In San Francisco, two fair employment agreements covering 317 supermarkets and groceries and 30 department and drygoods stores was characterized by San Francisco CORE Chairman William Bradley as "perhaps the first major job breakthrough on an industry-wide level." In the case of the department and drygoods stores, San Francisco CORE, with the support of the Baptist Ministers Union, had started *a picket and boycott campaign against Macy's and Penney's.*


PENNEYS
IF YOU CAN BUY HERE YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO WOR

Across the bay, Berkeley CORE has been picketing some 160 stores along Shattuck Avenue urging that they become parties to a fair employment agreement which has been signed by 14 stores including Hinck's the largest single employer in the downtown area.

Near the Mexico border, 500 miles southward, *San Diego CORE pickets appeal for Mexican support with placards in Spanish such as this one. (It says "We Ask Your Aid in Combatting Segregation.")*


PEDIMOS VUESTRA AYUDA PARA COMBATIR SEGREGACION
CORE
SAN

The pickets are calling upon the San Diego Gas & Electric Co. to adopt a fair employment policy.

Safeway Trailways, the unit of National Trailways operating between New York and Washington, reached an agreement with CORE to hire nine drivers, six ticket agents, six mechanics and five information girls from minority groups in New York City by this spring. And Meyer Davis, society orchestra leader, following negotiations with CORE and the Afro-American Musicians Association, agreed to give immediate attention to placing Negro musicians in his widespread, single-engagement enterprises.

REGIONAL TRAINING CONFERENCES

In response to the suggestion of CORE groups in many areas, national CORE has started a series of training conferences under the direction of Program Director Norman Hill.

Four such conferences have already been held: in the metropolitan New York area, New Jersey, Connecticut and California. Others in the immediate future are planned for upstate New York, the metropolitan Chicago area, Massachusetts, Ohio Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Michigan and Louisiana.

Some of the topics discussed are building community support for nonviolent action, politics of civil rights, history of the freedom movement and processes of CORE group development.

COUNT BASIE JOINS CORE PICKETS

Count Basie, the noted bandleader, joined members of Tallahassee CORE and students from all-white Florida State University on a picket line December 4 in front of the Mecca Restaurant, whose doorman had barred him from entering. Accompanying him at the time were two whites including a sociology professor at the university.

The restaurant, which refuses to serve Negroes, had been picketed by Tallahassee CORE for several weeks. It is located at the corner of Park and Copeland Streets, directly opposite the university's main entrance. Basie's band was in town to play on campus at a fraternity dance.

The university's professors recently have been raising funds to pay the fines of Negro and white students arrested in CORE demonstrations in September at the Florida Theater. Seven of the students are whites, who attend Florida State University and the University of Florida. Thirty are Negroes, who attend Florida A & M University. Expressing "alarm" at the white professors' action, State Representative C. E. Russell called upon other state legislators and members of the State Board of Control, which operates the university system to express their "disapproval."

On January 4 George Raymond, a CORE Task Force member working on voter registration in Canton, Mississippi, was pulled out of a car by police, hit several times and finally jailed for "resisting arrest." CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis called for a Department of Justice investigation, and FBI men arrived at the scene.

"IN MEMORY OF SIX ALABAMA CHILDREN...

. . . WHO DIED IN BIRMINGHAM BOMBINGS OF 1963," *says the inscription on this wreath placed on Christmas eve by Brooklyn CORE at foot of giant Christmas tree in Rockefeller Center, a key sightseeing spot for tourists visiting New York. Surrounding the tree are CORE members singing freedom songs.*

MAYOR APOLOGIZES FOR ARREST OF AFRICAN STUDENT

The arrest of an African student at the home of his hosts in Westwood, N.J., which prompted a borough-wide distribution of protest leaflets by Bergen County CORE, brought a belated apology from Mayor William Steinbach.

Two months after the incident, the mayor read to the borough council his letter of apology to the African student, Kighoma Malima of Tanganyika, inviting him to "visit our community again, at which time I will look forward to meeting you."

Such an apology had been requested at the time of the incident by the student's hosts Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Kahn. Malima was arrested while lying on a beach chair reading a book in the Kahn's backyard. Police, on the pretext of pursuing a suspicious prowler, rushed him to headquarters without even granting him an opportunity to go inside the house and get his passport.

Contending that the arrest was solely an act of discrimination, Bergen County CORE distributed protest leaflets on November 9. One of the leaflet distributors, Martin Jacobs, was arrested for violating a local anti-leaflet ordinance. Pointing out that such ordinances are unconstitutional, Mrs. Shirley Lacey, chairman of the CORE group, announced a second leaflet distribution the following Sunday. There was no police interference.

IN BRIEF

A sit-in in the lobby of the Colorado governor's office was conducted by members of Denver CORE in a demand for strengthening of the state's fair housing law.

* * *

An action campaign started by Washington (D.C.) CORE last August, ended when Benjamin Franklin University agreed to admit all qualified applicants starting this month.

Office Volunteers Needed

Volunteers with clerical skills are needed urgently in the national CORE office. Persons interested in this type of work should contact Benjamin Brown. The office address is 38 Park Row (opposite City Hall) and the phone number is CO 7-6270.

WIN FREEDOM FOR 2 YOUTHS FACING UP TO 6 YEARS

Two students confined to the Louisiana Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents because of their role in a Plaquemine high school students' strike against segregation last October, have been freed. Their release is the result of a habeas corpus writ obtained by Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern attorney.

The two had received indefinite commitments, which would have detained them in the juveniles' jail until they are of age. This would have meant a 6-year sentence for Willie Mellien, who is only 15 and a 5-year sentence for Kenneth Johnson, who is 16. Johnson was a member of CORE's Task Force.

FIRST CORE COMMUNITY CENTER IN MISSISSIPPI

In early December, CORE opened its first Mississippi community center in Canton. A second one is planned soon in Meridian. Canton is the biggest town in Madison, a rural county populated by 23,637 Negroes and 9,267 whites.

"Needed in these rural counties is a place where services can be dispensed to offset the effects of economic and cultural deprivation, a place where an attempt can be made to show children and parents that their plight is not normal and that significant change is possible," explained CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis, the center's supervisor.

For its educational program, the center will have first choice on over 25,000 books recently shipped from New York by "Books for Mississippi," a project initiated by a committee of volunteers at the national CORE office under the direction of Benjamin Brown. (Brown wishes to thank all individuals and groups having donated books and brought them to the CORE office for shipment).

The new center is not palatial, but its facilities are adequate. One room is used as a library and study room. Another is geared as a classroom. In addition there is a recreation room—primarily for the younger people—and an office.

The center has been financed so-far by national CORE and with funds collected for the purpose at local rallies.

LITERATURE LIST

REPRINTS (Single copies free. 100 for $1)

# of copies

...... **"I WILL KEEP MY SOUL" . . . James Farmer (The Progressive, Nov., '61) CORE's National Director tells about his Freedom Ride which ended in Mississippi's State Penitentiary.**

...... **INTRODUCTION TO A SIT-IN . . . (Look Magazine, Jan. 3, '61) The story of a Southern white girl's first nonviolent action against discrimination.**

...... **CORE GOES SLUMMING . . . (Greater Philadelphia, Sept., '63) Action campaign against slum conditions in Philadelphia's "decrepit" Hawthorne Village.**

...... **CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGY AFTER THE MARCH . . . Marvin Rich (New Politics, Fall, '63) An analysis of where the Movement is headed.**

...... **A FACE FOR THE INVISIBLE MAN (Sales Management, Dec. 20, '63) The campaign to integrate advertising.**

...... **WHY DIDN'T THEY HIT BACK? Jahn and June Robbins (Redbook, July, '63) A white segregationist who beat up Freedom Riders tells through the authors how he was converted to nonviolence.**

PAMPHLETS

...... **CRACKING THE COLOR LINE . . . James Peck. This graphically photo-illustrated pamphlet gives the complete story of CORE in action since it was first organized in 1942. This 32 page edition includes two new chapters, one on the lunch counter sit-in movement, the other on the Freedom Rides. $1 per copy; 7 for $5; 100 for $40; 1000 for $350. (Quantity prices postpaid to one address).**

...... **CITY OF PROGRESS . . . Gordon Carey. Statesville, N.C. calls itself the "City of Progress," but CORE's 1962 Freedom Highways project discovered this to be a false slogan. Negroes in Statesville—one-fifth of the total population—live in near total segregation. 5c per copy: Quantity rates on request.**

...... **THE RIGHT TO VOTE . . . James McCain. CORE's Director of Organization, gives a graphically photo-illustrated story of the lack of voting rights in his native South Carolina. 40c for single copies. Quantity rates on request.**

...... **IT HAPPENED IN BATON ROUGE . . . Ronnie Moore and Major Johns. Two CORE workers tell, first-hand, about one of the most dramatic civil rights struggles in the south. 10c per copy; 5 for 25c; 100 for $2.50.**

...... **THIS IS CORE. Basic, capsule leaflet for persons seeking an answer to the question, "What is CORE?" 10c per copy; 5 for 25c; 100 for $2.50.**

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...... **ALL ABOUT CORE. A 20-page pictorial guide to what CORE is and does. 25c per copy; 5 for $1; 100 for $15.**

...... **THE LOUISIANA STORY 1963. (Just off the press) James Farmer tells how Plaquemine's Negro citizens were tear-gassed, cattle-prodded, (and how he was nearly lynched) in their efforts to obtain the smallest vestige of their rights, beginning with the right to vote. 10c per copy; 5 for 25c; 100 for $2.50.**

FILMS

FREEDOM RIDE—a moving 24 minute documentary film of the Freedom Rides, narrated by Jim Farmer, depicting the Rides and the riders as they made their way through the Deep South and into America's conscience. Write CORE for details.

MISCELLANEOUS

# of copies		
......	**SIT-IN SONG BOOKLETS**	**10c**
......	**FREEDOM NOW BUTTONS**	**5c**
......	**EQUALITY PINS (=)**	**$1**
......	**CORE-lator, bulk copies**	**(postage)**

BOOKS

...... **OUR FACES—OUR WORDS . . . Text by Lillian Smith, photographs by Bob Adelman. Here in monologues and photographs is the living, speaking portrait of the fight for freedom. Available in April, 1964. (W. W. Norton).**

...... **HARD COVER $5.00** .... **PAPERBACK $1.95**

...... **LIMITED AUTOGRAPHED EDITIONS $10**

...... **FREEDOM RIDE . . . James Peck. (Simon and Schuster, with foreword by James Baldwin and introduction by Lillian Smith). A human interest story, not just about the Freedom Rides in which Peck was beaten almost to death by a segregationist mob, but about CORE from its early years of pioneering in nonviolence until this technique for combatting discrimination became nationally famous. (Special autographed copies $1).**

...... **KILLERS OF THE DREAM . . . Lillian Smith (W. W. Norton, with new foreword and two new chapters on the impact of the sit-ins and of the new African nations). Examining her own childhood memories, Lillian Smith reveals the deeper meanings of segregation as a symbol and a symptom of the estrangements which have cut man off from himself, his fellow-man, his world. $4.50**

...... **LET MY PEOPLE GO . . . Chief Albert J. Luthuli (McGraw-Hill). An autobiography of the Nobel Prize winner from South Africa. Luthuli discusses the difficult life of black people under an oppressive government. $5.50**

...... **NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME . . . James Baldwin (The Dial Press). A series of essays by one of America's foremost authors. Baldwin says that although the question of color is central in the essays, "the question of color, especially in this country, operates to hide the graver question of the self." $4.50**

RECORD ALBUMS

...... **SIT-IN SONGS: SONGS OF THE FREEDOM RIDERS. (Dauntless Records, monaural and stereo). Most of the singers here had just been released from jail on CORE's "Freedom Highways" project. $3.95 (includes a song booklet with each record).**

...... **JAZZ SALUTE TO FREEDOM. (Special CORE release). A collector's item of two discs with 31 of the top-notch jazz artists such as Duke Ellington, Cannonball Adderly, Miles Davis, J. J. Johnson and others. Two discs for $5.00**

...... **BLACK MAN IN AMERICA . . . James Baldwin (Credo Records). This quality recording is the result of an interview with Studs Terkel of Chicago's WFMT Radio. $3.50**

TO: CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

Amount enclosed $.................. **(Sorry, NO COD's).**

WIN RENT STRIKE IN CLEVELAND, START TWO MORE

The first rent strike in Cleveland, Ohio, against slum conditions ended after two weeks with the owner and agent of a 4-story building in the Hough area agreeing to all of Cleveland CORE's demands.

First, the building's agent, Ross Realty Company, started plumbing repairs, installed additional garbage disposal facilities and began plastering. *The latter included fixing a hole in the bathroom ceiling of Mrs. Jessie Mae Smith.*

While the rent strikers welcomed these repairs, they decided to continue withholding rent until the remaining CORE demands are met. Within days the agent started painting hallways as well as individual apartments, repaired outside bricked-up entrances which had been broken-into and reduced the rent for one of the 7 families involved in the strike. Though the building has 30 apartments, only 7 are occupied.

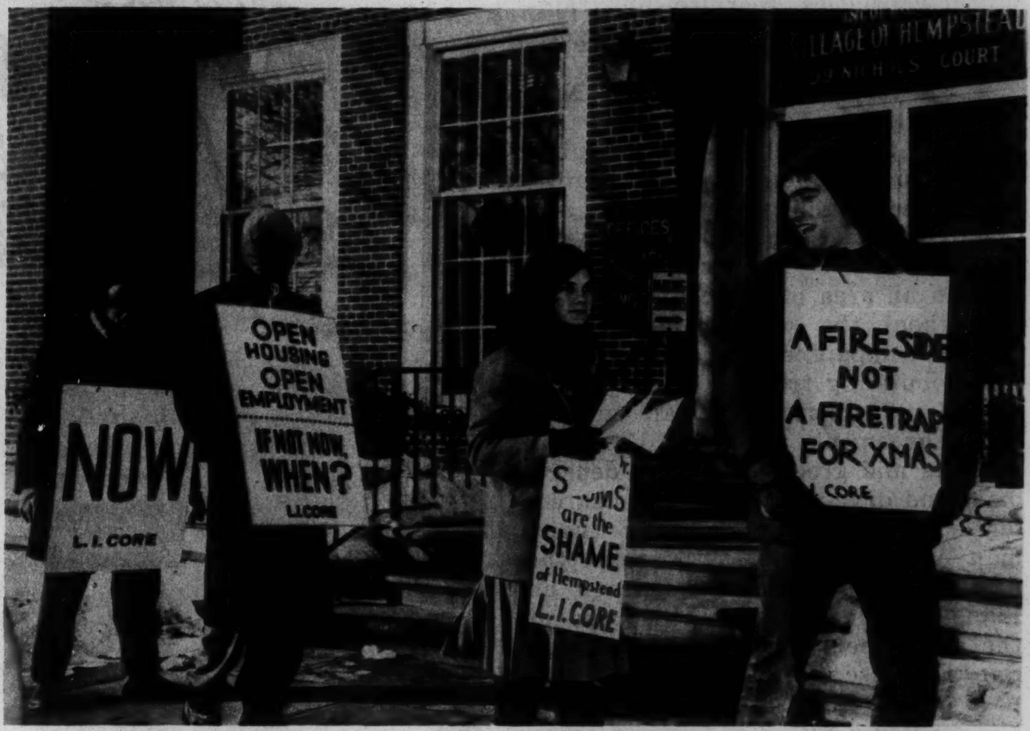
Following successful conclusion of the first rent strike, Ruth Turner, secretary of Cleveland CORE announced the start of rent strikes in two other buildings involving a total of 33 families. During the first rent strike, the group prevailed upon the Welfare Department to withhold relief clients' rents where building inspectors found violations. However, the strike was won before the city had a chance to act. Such action by the city will be sought in the present rent strikes.

Rent Strikes in New York Area

CORE groups are involved in the growing movement of rent strikes against slum conditions in the New York area. As this issue goes to press, rent strikes in 18 buildings of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section are being led by Brooklyn CORE. New York University CORE is heading a rent strike in 5 buildings not far from the campus. Several months before the strike started, the group tried to dramatize the tenants' plight by collecting a truckload of junk behind the tenements and unloading it in front of City Hall. During the mid-January cold wave, these tenants secured heat only after a delegation met with Deputy Mayor Edward Cavanagh.

From Boston, Alan Gartner, local CORE chairman, reports that the group through negotiations has been successful in bringing about immediate improvements in a number of slum buildings. However, in a few cases, rent strikes appear imminent as this issue goes to press.

Through a picket campaign, Long Island CORE prevailed upon welfare officials to remove all relief clients from 10 rundown shacks in Hempstead and find other living quarters for them. The group is seeking to have the shacks condemned.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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

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CORE VOTER CAMPAIGN NETS 2700 IN TWO WEEKS

A 2-week CORE voter registration drive in March in Dade County, which includes the Miami area, has added 2700 Negro registrants to the rolls. So announced CORE Field Secretary Weldon Rougeau.

Since Rougeau started working on voter registration in this area in September 1962, the total number of Negro registrants in the county has risen from 30,000 to 42,000. "About 42% of the potential Negro vote is now registered," he said. He praised county officials for making available voter registration sub-stations in all areas of the county. Thirty-eight such sub-stations were established, of which 12 were in Negro areas.

Five organizations including the Florida Council of the AFL-CIO joined CORE in the campaign which included widespread leaflet distribution and organization of car pools.

Voter Drive Outruns Goldwater's

"Business is booming for (the county registrar) because simultaneously throughout Gadsden county (in northwestern Florida) two voter drives are being conducted," writes Joe Rice in the St. Petersburg *Times*. "One is spearheaded by a pair of prominent white businessmen who support Senator Goldwater for the Republican nomination. The other is being pushed by Patricia Stephens Due, a Negro employed by CORE. Her goal is to get get as many Negroes on the voter rolls as possible between now and April 5 when the books close. After the initial spurt of 30 names, the (Goldwater) drive seems to have lost some of its momentum. The movement to register Negroes, on the other hand, seems to be gaining momentum each day."

Mrs. Due reports that the arrest of four CORE voter registration workers in late January prompted several hundred Negroes to register "without our having to urge them."

CORE OPENS SOUTHERN OFFICE

To coordinate its stepped-up activities in the deep south, CORE has opened a southern national office in New Orleans under the direction of Richard Haley, CORE associate director. The office is located at 2211 Dryades St.

"In the first months of operations, our major concern will be in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi because most of our personnel and activity is currently centered in those two states," Haley said.

CORE is the first national civil rights organization to open a southern office in a city other than Atlanta. New Orleans CORE is the oldest CORE group in the deep south.

FREEDOM DAY IN CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

By Edward Hollander

This photo shows the first of some 350 Negroes who lined-up in front of the police-guarded Madison County courthouse in Canton, Mississippi on Freedom Day—February 28. They stood in line for five hours in chilly weather, though only five were admitted to take the registration test. The first 150 marched in a body from Freedom House, the CORE-initiated community center. The remaining 250, arriving from out-of-town by mule, horsecart and on foot, were halted by a barricade of city police but were permitted to proceed to the courthouse two-by-two. They swelled the original group making this the biggest voter demonstration to take place in Mississippi.

Over 50 policemen—city, county, state and special—patrolled the streets. They were equipped with shotguns and teargas. Only two days before, the state legislature had passed a bill for "mutual assistance pacts" among Mississippi cities for pooling "personnel, equipment, supplies and material . . . for prevention and alleviation of riots or civil disturbances of the peace."

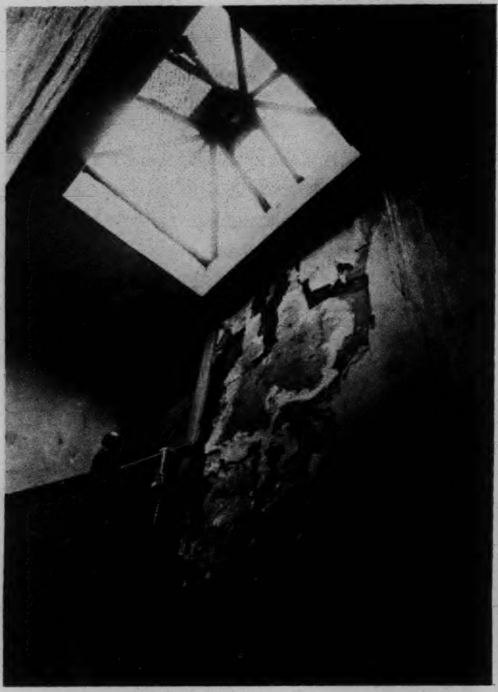
A second bill which was passed permits cities to "restrict the movement of the citizens" and a third—aimed at the 90%-effective boycott of 21 Canton stores and three products—provides up to six months in jail and a $500 fine for "any person who shall willfully and maliciously print, circulate or distribute" material designed to "interfere with a lawful trade."

Despite this new legislation and despite Canton's recent history of police brutality, harassment and arrests, there was no police violence on Freedom Day and only one arrest—Milton Esco, a youth on probation in a leaflet distribution case.

But three days later, when some 2,600 Negro students participated in a 1-day boycott protesting substandard conditions in Negro schools, 15 civil rights workers, including seven CORE staff members, were arrested. All but

(Continued on Page 2)

THIS BOSTON SLUM BUILDING . . .



. . . is one of many which was repaired as a result of negotiations initiated by Boston CORE as part of its campaign against substandard living conditions for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

FREEDOM DAY *(Continued)*

two were released at the end of the day.

It was not the first time that police had arrested leaders of the voter registration drive here. On January 23-24 all but three of the CORE and SNCC staff members as well as some local residents were arrested for distributing leaflets in violation of a city ordinance adopted three days earlier. They were in jail for up to a week pending release on appeal.

On February 7, Claude Weaver of SNCC and I were arrested for allegedly "intimidating by threats of force and violence" a woman named Charlean Smith by preventing her from taking a job at one of the boycotted stores. Neither Weaver nor I had ever met or heard of Charlean Smith prior to the arrest. Nevertheless, we were found guilty and sentenced to six months in jail and $500 fines. After 11 days in jail, we were released pending appeal.

There were other arrests on various charges during the two months preceding Freedom Day as well as several incidents of police brutality. George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker, was on one occasion pistol-whipped by Constable Herbie Evans and on a second occasion kicked and shoved by Evans who had waylaid him on the outskirts of town. On February 3, two local teenagers were beaten mercilessly by police following a voter registration meeting at Pleasant Green Church.

As Freedom Day approached, the voter registration campaign was stepped-up. Daily street meetings and nightly mass meetings were held in Madison and throughout the county to ensure a sizable turnout.

"Freedom Day was dramatic proof that the Negro people in rural Mississippi want to vote and are willing to register despite harassment and intimidation," commented Daave Dennis, CORE field secretary and assistant director of the Council of Federated Organizations.

L. Foote Campbell, the registrar, remains mum on registration statistics. But according to a U.S. Justice Department suit, in 1962 only 1.1% of the county's Negroes were registered as against 97% of the whites. Negroes constitute 72% of the county's population.

IN BRIEF

A week-long, Holy Week fast in front of the post office in Chapel Hill, N.C., was conducted by five civil rights advocates including John Dunne, CORE Task Force worker and chairman of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee.

* * *

A technique described by San Francisco CORE Chairman William Bradley as a "shop-in" proved effective in a recent action campaign by Bay Area CORE groups and the Baptist Ministers Union to make Lucky Stores adhere to its fair employment agreement. The technique consists of loading shopping carts with merchandise, having the purchases rung-up by a cashier and then asserting you haven't money to pay.

* * *

CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who heads the voter registration drive in southeastern Louisiana, completed a 30-day sentence in East Baton Rouge parish jail on March 19. The U.S. Supreme Court had declined to review his conviction for violating an anti-soundtruck ordinance on December 15, 1961, the day when police broke up a mass demonstration with teargas bombs and police dogs.

* * *

In Los Angeles and in Washington, D. C., Safeway Stores has adopted a fair employment policy following negotiations with the CORE groups in the respective cities.

SECOND CORE COMMUNITY CENTER IN MISSISSIPPI

Last CORElator reported the opening of CORE's first Mississippi community center—in Canton. A second one is now functioning in Meridian under the direction of Rita and Mickey Schwerner, and its educational program is under way.

Voter registration classes are being held on two evenings a week. A story hour for children from five to ten is conducted on Saturday afternoons. Reading and remedial instruction is being given periodically pending the establishment of regular classes. A sewing class for girls, prenatal instruction for expectant mothers and an arts and crafts program are being planned.

The library has proved popular with children and teenagers as well as adults. It contains 10,000 volumes many of which were sent here as a result of the national CORE office staff's Southern Educational Project (formerly known as Books for Mississippi). The shelves were built by three local youths: Marshall and David Sims and James Chaney. Although there are no overdue fines, the books are being returned to the library on time.

One of the rooms in the community center is set aside for teenagers. It contains, among other games, a ping-pong table built by the same boys who erected the library shelves.

CITY-WIDE HOTEL PACT FOLLOWS MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION

A city-wide fair employment agreement covering major San Francisco hotels was negotiated at City Hall on March 7 following a massive, night-long demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel which ended with the arrest of 135 participants at 4 A.M.

As part of the contract, the hotel agreed to drop all legal action against the 135 as well as against demonstrators arrested on two previous weekends. Over 1,000 persons had participated in the Sheraton-Palace demonstration, picketing on the outside, marching through the lengthy main-floor corridor and, finally, sitting down at the main entrances. Among the demonstrators were members of CORE groups from the entire Bay area.

The new agreement is between the Hotel Employers Association, representing 33 major hotels and the United Freedom Movement, with which CORE is affiliated, the Baptist Ministers Union and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination. Field Secretary Chet Duncan was the signer for CORE. Negotiations with the Sheraton chain had been initiated some months ago in Boston by Alan Gartner, member of CORE's National Action Committee. The hotels agreed to "bring the total employed of minority group to a level of from 15 to 20% of total employees by July 20."

SCHOOL BOYCOTTS IN FOUR CITIES

Successful boycotts protesting de facto school segregation were conducted during February in four major cities: New York, Cincinnati, Chicago and Boston. In all four cities, CORE groups played a major role in neighborhood organizational work, establishing picket lines at schools and conducting Freedom Schools for the younger students.

"If this is a fizzle, we want more fizzles like this!" commented CORE National Director James Farmer in addressing thousands of Negro, Puerto Rican and white students who had converged on the Board of Education for a massive rally concluding the New York school boycott on February 3.

JIM CROW CAN'T TEACH DEMOCRACY!
DEMOCRACY LIVE IT!
TEGRATION EANS ETTER SCHOOLS OR ALL

Photo by Bob Adelman

"Fizzle" is the characterization of the boycott made by the Board's president, James Donovan, despite the fact that according to the Board's own figures, 464,361 students, representing 44.8% of the total enrollment, had stayed out of school.

The New York boycott marked the first joint mass action by the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. A second boycott was conducted on March 16 but was less effective since, unlike the first, it did not have the united support of all civil rights groups.

Eight days after the first New York boycott, the day before Lincoln's Birthday, there was a boycott in Cincinnati in which, according to official figures, 26,400 students out of a total enrollment of 83,500 stayed out of school. Clyde Vinegar, chairman of the local CORE group, and Lloyd Trotter, acting president of the local NAACP branch, called the boycott a success. It was sponsored by both organizations.

In Chicago on February 25, despite solid opposition from Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic political machine and its Negro henchmen, 172,350 students out of 470,000 stayed away from school. Chicago CORE Chairman Sam Riley commented: "The turnout was remarkable in view of the anti-boycott position taken by five of the six Negro aldermen on the City Council." Schools in the ward of Alderman Kenneth Campbell, an anti-boycott leader, were almost entirely empty.

The following day was the date of Boston's school boycott, which Boston CORE Chairman Alan Gartner characterized as "a distinct success." The Boston School Department reported that 20,571 students had stayed out. Total enrollment is 92,844. Boston school officials have thus far failed even to admit the existence of de facto segregation.

The towns of Chester, Pennsylvania and Cambridge, Maryland were also the scenes of one-day school boycotts during February. In Cleveland, agreement by the Board of Education to integrate 800 Negro students at three East Side schools to which they are bussed, ended a protest action by the United Freedom Movement in which Cleveland CORE participated. The Negro students had been placed previously in segregated classroom units upon arrival. A similar situation in Milwaukee caused picketing of four schools by the local CORE and NAACP groups.

CHAIN-IN AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS —SITDOWN ON BRIDGE

New York City on the afternoon of March 7 was the scene of two CORE demonstrations which attracted considerable attention because of their unusual character.

Early in the afternoon, three local CORE leaders—Isaiah Brunson of Brooklyn CORE and Herbert Callender and Howard Quander of Bronx CORE, took handcuffs from their pockets and chained themselves to a grill just outside the office of Police Commissioner Michael Murphy. They were accompanied by Raphael Martinez of New York CORE and Rev. Laurie Walker and had just attended a meeting with Deputy Inspector Arthur Savitt at which they had protested police brutality against minority group members in general and the case of Jesse Roberts in particular. (In Syracuse, N.Y., several CORE members were arrested recently for demonstrating against police brutality.) During the chain-in, the group was joined by two Puerto Rican representatives, Flora Santiago and Jose Sanchez. Within minutes, police with metal cutters clipped the handcuffs of the three who had chained-in and arrested them and the four others.

Later in the afternoon, seven members of East River CORE, sat down in the middle of the Triborough Bridge, halting traffic for twenty minutes at the start of the rush hour. Six of the sitdowners were arrested —Penn Kimble, Paul Feldman, Donald Arthur, Joe Louis, Elizabeth Adler and Tina Lawrence.

"We regret to inconvenience people passing through our neighborhood on their way home to the better sections of the city, but we are both very sorry and very angry about the way Negro and Puerto Rican children are treated in Harlem," explained Blyden Jackson, chairman of East River CORE. "We ask commuters to look more closely at the schools in our community because they are so unlike many of the schools in Queens and Long Island."

The Triborough Bridge is the main artery leading from Manhattan's Harlem to Queens and Long Island. Specifically, the CORE group sought to draw attention to substandard conditions at schools located near the Manhattan approach to the bridge.

Juvenile gang violence, a problem rarely tackled by CORE groups, is the target of a new project initiated by Philadelphia CORE. "The problem has become so explosive that the youths themselves have come to us for a solution," explains Philadelphia CORE Chairman Louis Smith.

CORE CHAIRMAN CARRIED OUT OF ARIZONA CAPITOL

Delbert Hodge, chairman of a newly-formed CORE group in Phoenix and an ex-athlete, is shown here being carried out of the Arizona State Capitol on March 30. Over 100 other sit-inners were removed, bodily, along with him, as 120 policemen converged on the building.

Since March 26, Phoenix CORE had been conducting these sit-ins to urge passage of a public accomodations law which has been bottled-up in committee. Mass picketing coincided with the sit-ins.

Within Phoenix, the bailiwick of Barry Goldwater, 50% of the hotels and motels discriminate, according to a survey by the Council of Civic Unity. Regarding employment, an average of only two Negroes are employed by major department and retail stores.

Unfurl Placards in R.I. Capitol

At 1 p.m. on March 13, 26 members of Rhode Island CORE assembled in the House gallery carrying tightly rolled-up freedom placards with particular emphasis on housing. At 2:15, minutes after the House convened, they simultaneously stood up and unfurled the placards. They remained standing for a half hour and then proceeded to the rotunda steps to confront the legislators at the end of the session.

* * *

On the eve of a scheduled demonstration, Cincinnati CORE chairman Clyde Vinegar and Dr. H. J. Nimitz, superintendent of the Dunham Tuberculosis Hospital, reached an agreement for desegregation of bed-pattern assignments. To ensure that the desegregation is carried out, Cincinnati CORE, under the agreement, can make monthly inspections of the hospital.

FACES UP TO TEN YEARS FOR TELLING TRUTH ABOUT POLICE BRUTALITY

Lois Chaffee, formerly a teacher at Tougaloo Christian College and presently a CORE Task Force worker, faces up to ten years in jail if a Mississippi court finds her guilty of "perjury." The "perjury" indictment stems from her testimony about police brutality during a peaceful protest march in Jackson last June 13, two days after the murder of Medgar Evers. The testimony was given at her own trial following her arrest for "disturbing the peace."

Newspaper and television reporters covering the June 13 demonstration also observed and reported the police using billy clubs against the demonstrators. Ten of these reporters are being sought to testify at her forthcoming hearing in federal court.

U.S. Judge Sidney Mize has set April 13 for the hearing and has ageed to a stipulation sought by CORE attorneys that the Mississippi courts will not move in the "perjury" case until two weeks after he issues his decision. Miss Chaffee's attorneys, Carl Rachlin, CORE chief counsel and Paul O'Dwyer, member of the New York City Council, will seek to halt the "perjury" prosecution permanently on the grounds that the case is intended solely for the purpose of unconstitutionally intimidating and punishing her for her civil rights activity. It was on these grounds that a special three-judge federal court, on November 1, ordered the release of a CORE field secretary and three SNCC workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus, Georgia without bail under a state law which carries the death penalty.

PLAN TO EXPELL STUDENTS MISFIRES

A school supervisor's plan to expel students who had attended a CORE workshop in Quincy, Florida, misfired because, as it turned out, the total number attending was in the hundreds.

"After the workshop, the principal made an announcement asking all students who had attended to see him," reports CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due. "From reports we had received, he expected only a few to show up at his office and he had been instructed by the supervisor to expel them.

"Several hundred came, however, and sang freedom songs each time he tried to discourage them from future involvement with CORE. Finally, nobody was expelled because, as he said: 'there were too many.' "

The CORE workshop was an outcome of a voter registration meeting.

VINDICATED BY SUPREME COURT

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Secretary
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CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton expresses gratification at the March 30 U.S. Supreme Court decision asserting that she had been within her rights in refusing in an Alabama court to answer when the prosecutor addressed her as "Mary," rather than "Miss Hamilton." She had served five days in jail on a "contempt" charge for taking this position. In his petition to the Supreme Court, Jack Greenberg, chief counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, held that "one of the most distinct indicia of the racial caste system" is "the refusal of whites to address Negroes with titles of respect such as 'Miss,' 'Mrs.' or 'Mr.' and to refer to them as 'Boy' or 'Girl.' "

DESEGREGATE SECOND TALLAHASSEE RESTAURANT

The Dobbs House Restaurant, where several CORE members were arrested for sitting-in last November, has desegregated following negotiations between Tallahassee CORE, the local manager and the restaurant chain's regional supervisor.

Dobbs House thus became the second eating place with table service to end discrimination in the Florida state capital. The first was Howard Johnson's, which desegregated in the Spring of 1962 as part of a statewide agreement between the company and CORE.

Previously, restaurants in the air, train and bus terminals had opened as a result of CORE efforts.

* * *

A newly-formed chapter of CORE in Palm Springs, California, has negotiated with school authorities an agreement for hiring of Negro teachers. Sidney Hagler, chairman of the CORE group, reported that "The administrators acknowledged the need for Negro teachers and are making an effort to inform teacher placement centers that Palm Springs is interested in qualified Negro applicants."

An important memo from CORElator editor Jim Peck

SEND TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE NEWS REPORTS—PLUS PHOTOS!

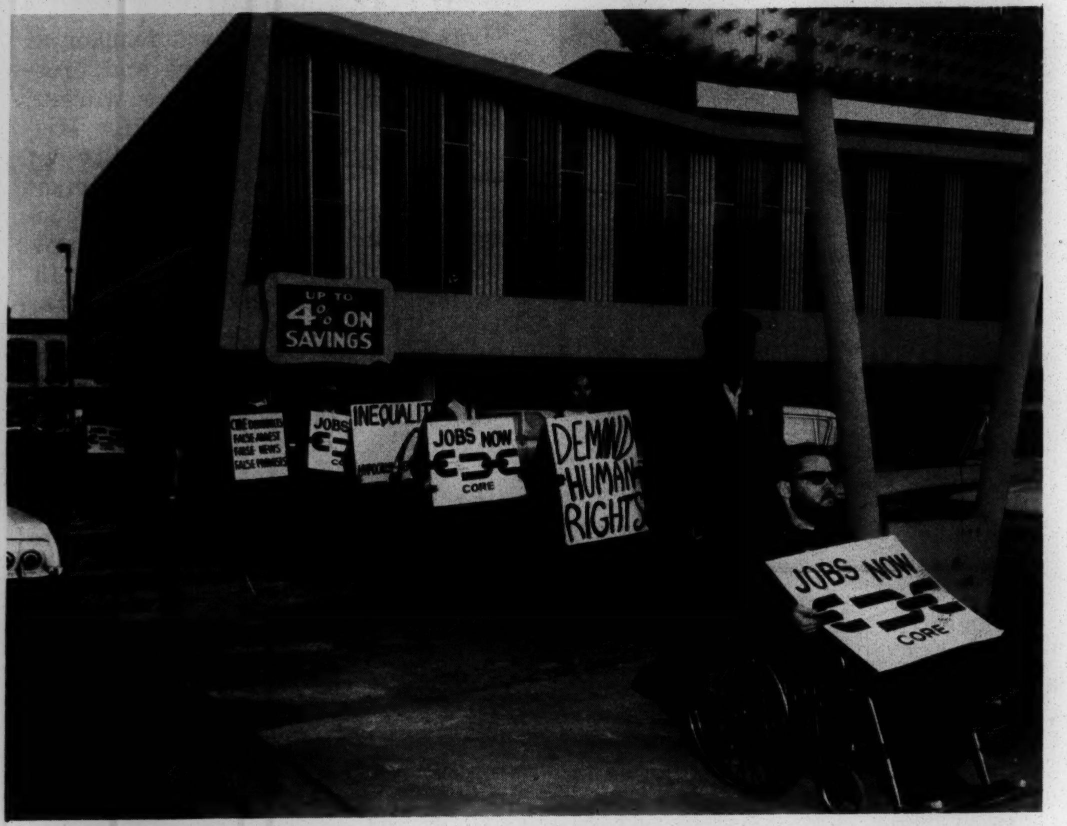
1. *To obtain nation-wide publicity for your group in the Negro press and liberal journals.* Once a week (twice, if we have sufficient news) national CORE sends out news releases to the Negro press and liberal journals throughout the country. Some of the Negro papers print these releases in-toto; others print some of them. While you can and should publicize your group's activities locally, you are not geared to undertake nation-wide publicity. You'll be missing this much-needed publicity across the country unless you send in news reports to the national office.

2. *To obtain nation-wide publicity for your group in the CORElator.* This is a significant avenue of publicity since the *Corelator* goes to persons throughout the country who are interested in the nonviolent freedom struggle to the extent of contributing money to CORE. The *CORElator* cannot carry your story if you don't send it in.

News Reports: Whoever handles publicity in each group—and it is advisable to nominate a person for this task—should never forget to dispatch news reports and press clippings to the national office (addressed to Marvin Rich or to me). If he is, simply, too rushed to write, sending a local newspaper clipping is second-best (with notes correcting any portion of the cilpping which might be inaccurate). Where the distance is over 500 miles from New York, news reports should be airmailed. In the event of a major news development (such as, say, a mass arrest of CORE members, an incident of mob or police violence against CORE members or the winning of a major CORE action campaign in the community), a collect phone call to the national office (COrtland 7-6270) would be in order.

Photos: Photos increase, immeasurably, the effectiveness of publicity. Frequently, national CORE, from such photos, has mats made which are sent out along with the news releases. Such photos also are used in the *CORElator* and in CORE pamphlets. We are perpetually short of photos.

Freed After 47 Days in Jail: Join Picket Line



Without even taking time out to shave after leaving jail, five of the 15 St. Louis CORE leaders imprisoned for 47 days joined the picket line on March 2 at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. Heading the line, in his wheelchair, is James Peake, Jr. Second in line is Roberta Tournour, wife of CORE Field Secretary Eugene Tournour. And fourth in line is Robert Curtis, former chairman of St. Louis CORE. The present chairman, Lucian Richards and Taylor Jones, who also came directly from jail to the picket line are not in the photo.

Win Campaign

Just 28 days after this photo was taken, the long campaign ended with the bank hiring five Negroes. The drive had been marked by hundreds of arrests of nonviolent demonstrators inside and outside the bank and the sentencing of 15 of the group's leaders to from 60 days to a year in jail.

The unusually long prison terms were for contempt of an injunction issued last August by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott. The 15 CORE leaders were in jail from January 15 until March 2 when a 3-judge panel of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals freed them pending appeal of their habeas corpus writs.

Immediately following the sentencing, over 1,000 persons marched in protest on City Hall and 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a rally which John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, characterized as "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

When President Johnson came to St. Louis on February 14 for the city's 200th anniversary celebration, 84 CORE pickets protested. As they neared the hotel, they were arrested and held without charges until his speech was over. Several thousand persons had petitioned the President to shun the St. Louis anniversary because of the failure of city officials to help resolve the fair employment issue at the bank.

In the course of the campaign more than 75 Negroes had gotten jobs at other St. Louis banks but the Jefferson bank remained adamant.

Boston Bank Hires Negroes

A drive for increased employment of Negroes at the First National Bank of Boston ended when the bank within one month hired 17 Negroes out of a total of 67 new employees, accepted a plan for recruitment of minority group workers and agreed to revise its training film.

The agreement is with Boston CORE, which had already negotiated agreements with the National Shawmut and Merchants National banks. During the campaign the bank had been picketed and national CORE had written its Massacusetts contributors urging them to withdraw their accounts until the bank adopted a fair employment policy.

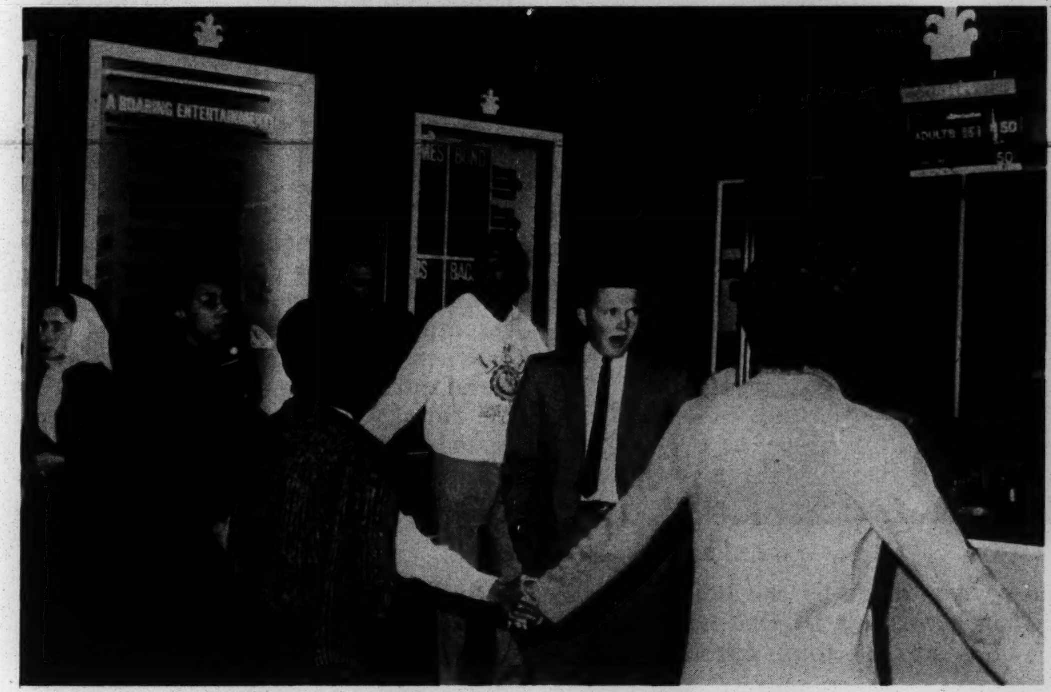
'FREEDOM RING' ENCIRCLES TICKET BOOTH

By Doris Castle

Since November 1963 New Orleans CORE had been picketing three downtown theaters urging that they admit Negroes. It is the end of March 1964 and the situation called for new techniques.

So on Good Friday, nine of us joined the line of patrons at the ticket window of Loew's State. The line moved briskly. The first of our group reached the window and placed her money on the counter. It was not the ticket seller but the assistant manager standing nearby who refused to sell the ticket.

One by one, we followed. Each was refused, without explanation. The last of our group, Alice Thompson, then walked behind the ticket booth. We joined her, linked hands and completely surrounded the booth forming a "Freedom Ring." We began to walk in a circle.



The surprised patrons fell back into the quickly-gathering crowd of spectators. A few held their places in line. One man tried to break through our ring but failed.

While we circled the booth, police conferred with the dejected theater manager. Then a policeman came over to our group and asked us each, individually, to leave. We refused. He placed us under arrest. We sat down, still in circle formation. Policemen then lifted each of us onto a hand-truck, rolled us to the paddy-wagon and took us to jail.

It was a first arrest for Katrina Jackson and Harold Sullivan. Shirley Thompson, Ruth Wells, Linda and Dorotha Smith and Alicia Joseph had been arrested before. I had been arrested five times in the course of New Orleans CORE's years of nonviolent action.

We were booked on an open charge. It was later minutely particularized to "criminal mischief," "Obstructing passage," "disturbing the peace," "refusing to move on" and "resisting arrest." After three days in jail, we were released on bond pending trial.

In February, through the intercession of Sonny Liston whom we had contacted, the closed-circuit telecast of the Liston-Clay prizefight was shifted from Loew's State to the municipal auditorium.

ARREST LIBRARY SIT-INNERS . . . THOUGH THERE IS NO LIBRARY FOR NEGROES

Though there is no library for Negroes in East Feliciana parish, five Negroes who sought to use the white library in the parish seat of Clinton on March 7 were jailed for "disturbing the peace." The five — Henry Brown, Robert Smith, Willie Kelly, Cleveland McKenzie and L. C. Bibbens —were arrested while sitting-in. Five days later, Mimi Feingold, a CORE Task Force worker, was arrested as a material witness and her bail was set at $1000.

Similar groups of CORE students on March 7 attempted to use the libraries at St. Francisville, West Feliciana parish seat and at Greensberg, St. Helena parish seat, but found "closed" signs in the windows. Both libraries are normally open Saturdays.

Library buildings in the three parishes are operated by a tri-parish board for whites only, though Negro taxpayers money goes to support them. A suit seeking desegregation of the libraries has been filed in federal court by CORE attorneys. Sole library service for Negroes is one bookmobile, which has been out of operation since its operator, Mattie Matthews, was fired. Her dismissal came after she and 12 other leaders of a CORE boycott against downtown stores were arrested last December for "conspiracy to commit public intimidation." The three parishes are targets of an intensive voter registration drive by CORE. In West Feliciana no Negro had registered from 1902 until this past October.

CORElator readers who want to join the CORE group nearest to them but who don't know its location can get this information by writing to James McCain, CORE Director of Organization, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.

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JULY-AUGUST 1964 No. 107

THE RIOTS — AND CORE

by James Farmer

No one on earth would have been happier than I to have been proved wrong when we warned early last spring that the summer promised to be long and hot in the northern cities unless creative steps were quickly taken to begin an assault on basic problems of jobs, housing, schools and police brutality. Thousands of youth, we warned, filled with frustration to the point of hopelessness, were about to retch forth in violent anger. We have no pride, only anguish, at the accuracy of this judgment. Explosions have come and, with chain reactions, spread in spite of all that CORE could do to prevent them. It is a curious commentary on the confusion of our times that those who warned against the riots are now being accused, by some quarters, of bringing them about. If only we had not pointed to the lighted fuse, some argue, that fuse might have gone away.

Hardly a press interview goes by these days without the question being asked: "What good purpose do you think is served by riots and demonstrations?" Riots and demonstrations indeed! As if the two were indistinguishable and identical, or as if riots would not occur if there were no demonstrations. The Harlem riot of 1943, it must be remembered, came before direct action demonstrations had found widespread use. And the problems which produced that riot have remained unresolved. They have, in fact, grown worse.

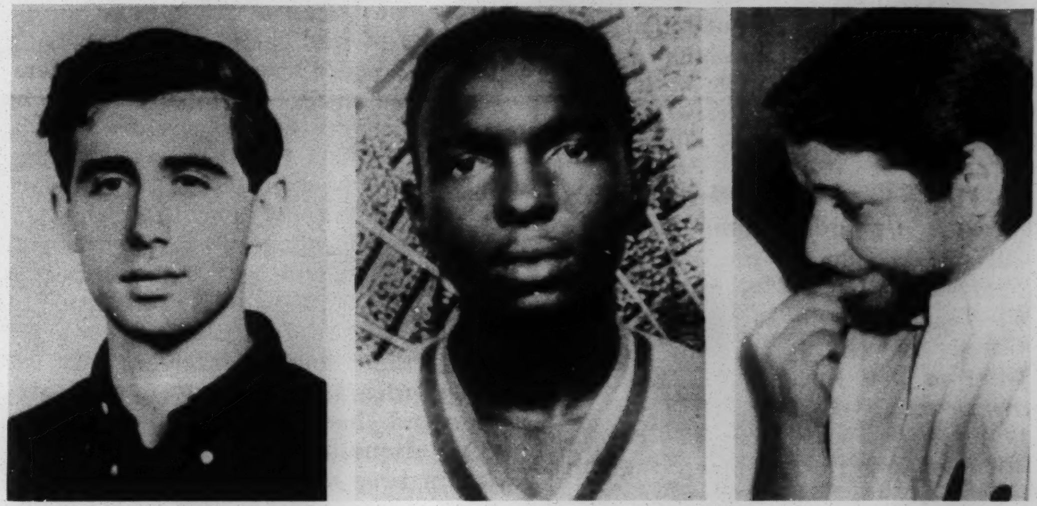
The rioting youth in Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, Rochester and Jersey City, were largely unemployed and angry with the world. A lash-out in blind fury was the result.

As CORE Director of Organization, James McCain and I spent many long hours trudging the streets of Harlem, trying to halt a tragedy and pleading against madness, members of New York City CORE chapters joined us as peacemakers and first aid squads to care for the injured.

The rioting was insanity, and the rioters were wrong, however great their grievances. Yet the civil rights groups, CORE included, had been unsuccessful in removing the hurt that drove them to desperation, so that they took matters into their own hands. It was bloody, if one-sided warfare between two ancient adversaries; the agrieved ghetto community and the police. The police, largely white, became the symbols of the oppression of the ages and all that is

(*Continued on Page* 2)

THREE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MURDERED



Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner were assassinated near Philadelphia, Mississippi, late at night on June 21. Their bullet-ridden bodies were found by FBI agents 44 days later buried in a newly-erected earthen dam six miles from town. Arrests are expected as this issue goes to press. Goodman was a student who had just arrived in Meridian from the Freedom Summer training center in Ohio. Chaney was a CORE Task Force worker and a native of Meridian. Schwerner also was a CORE Task Force worker who, with his wife Rita, had directed a CORE community center in Meridian since January.

THEIR STATION WAGON . . .

Day 656-2
Nite 656-48

. . . charred and wrecked, was found on June 23 by FBI agents in a swamp on Bogue Chitto Creek. Former CIA Director Allen Dulles was dispatched to the scene by President Johnson and a Navy contingent joined the search. CORE National Director James Farmer flew to Mississippi to help press the inquiry.

(*Continued on Page* 2)

CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

The three rights workers had been arrested on a speeding charge by a deputy sheriff while on their way to Longdale to investigate the burning of Mount Zion Methodist Church. The triple murder occurred following their release late at night.

Mass picket demonstrations at federal buildings in many cities across the country promptly were organized by CORE groups to urge federal intervention and full federal protection for civil rights workers in the deep south. However, as the summer continued, there have been repeated shooting, arson, physical violence, threats and other forms of intimidation by Mississippi and Louisiana segregationists. There also have been a large number of harassing arrests of civil rights workers by local officials.

109-YEAR-OLD WOMAN REGISTERS

by Judy Benninger

July 27 became an unplanned CORE Freedom Day in Gadsden county, Florida. When the registrar's office in Quincy opened at 9 A.M. about 20 Negroes had lined up. Between then and closing time at 5 P.M. there were from 15 to 75 Negroes in line at all times. A Negro was being registered every second. The number registered plus the number turned away during this one day approximately equaled the total number of Negroes registered in the county as of January.

One CORE member walked up and down the line of those waiting to register, answering questions and keeping the line orderly. Another CORE member stood at the exit, pinning "I Am Registered" buttons on those who had completed registration. CORE Task Force workers, members of the local CORE group and adults from the voter registration steering committee canvassed and leafleted.

At about 2:45 a car from Chattahoochee, 26 miles away, arrived and a woman, 109, was helped out by two CORE Task Force workers accompanying her. She had been born in slavery, she told them, and thought it about time that she should register and vote. Others in her neighborhood had said they were afraid and she had made them promise that if she came back alive from the registrar's office, they would register next week. Upon returning to Chattahoochee, she was confronted by a small group of anxious neighbors. "There was nothing to it," she assured them. Her daughter, who is 90 years old, and her granddaughter immediately promised to register the following Monday.

THE RIOTS AND CORE

(Continued from Page 1)

wrong in our society. And the police used more force than was neceessary in response to the initial rioting, against guilty and innocent alike. More rioting was the result.

One night in Harlem, as hundreds of angry youth milled about 125th Street in front of the New York CORE chapter office, and a bloody confrontation with a mass army of police seemed imminent, CORE members and I tried a desperate strategy to bargain for time and prevent violence. When the youth rejected my plea to get off the streets and go home, we began a disciplined march, seeking to lead them out of the trouble area and disperse them when tempers had cooled. It appeared to be working. For three blocks we marched, away from the tension spot, urging people to drop off at their homes as we passed, hoping to march until exhaustion calmed feverish nerves. For some inexplicable reason the police, slowly following the line of march, appeared to panic and started firing their service revolvers into the air. Order then gave way to confusion and chaos. Why did the police do it? Rationality is not a common quality in time of war. Nor is it unusual for the peacemakers to be accused by both sides of betrayal.

Yet, CORE's role will not be forgotten by Harlem. No other civil rights organization was on the streets during the first few nights of the rioting, counseling sanity. No other dedicated itself to a mission of mercy, caring for the injured and the hysterical.

In Bedford-Stuyvesant the CORE chapter played a similar role of peacemaking and first aid.

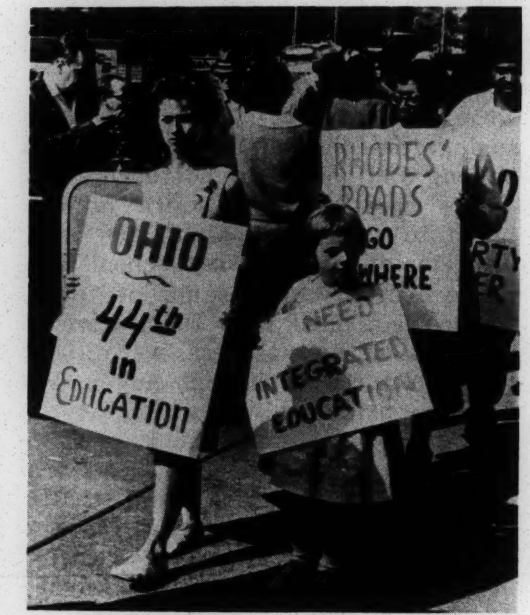
In South Jamaica, reported the Herald Tribune, "Negroes and whites alike say that trouble was averted because of some remarkable cooperation between the police officers and civil rights groups. Stanley Hamilton, chairman of South Jamaica CORE, had noticed in Bedford-Stuyvesant that when policemen congregated conspicuously, it seemed to create tension. Mr. Hamilton told Captain McAuley that such congregating might be a good thing to avoid in South Jamaica and the captain agreed."

In Rochester, in conjunction with the local NAACP and other civil rights groups, Rochester CORE organized teams which visited the trouble spots. On the Joseph Avenue block, which was most damaged, the CORE store front with its "Freedom Now" sign in the window, was the only one intact after the looting.

In Jersey City, in addition to peacemaking, CORE engaged in negotiations with the mayor, seeking redress of grievances and relief of tensions.

It is to be hoped by all rational individuals that the nightmare is now at an end. The job of rational people, however, has just begun. A respite gives our cities an opportunity to match the work that needs to be done with the unemployed youth who need work to do, to launch a crash program of rehabilitating old housing and providing new, to clean up the debris-littered streets and alleyways of the ghetto, to provide new recreational facilities for youth with time on their hands, to speed up programs for quality integrated schools, and to begin to build communication and rapport between traditional enemies who must become friends—the police and the residents of the ghetto. If city officials fail to take this opportunity, however, and if they follow a do-nothing policy, they will be inviting a recurrence of the riots.

WIDOW OF CORE VICTIM PICKETS



Accompanied by her young daughter Janice, Mrs. Joanne Klunder, widow of Cleveland CORE Vice Chairman Bruce Klunder, joins a civil rights demonstration at the National Governors Conference. Rev. Klunder was killed on April 7 when a bulldozer accidentally backed-up over his prostrate body during a demonstration at the construction site of a school in a segregated neighborhood. As a consequence of the tragedy a biracial committee has been appointed and, under a new school superintendent, headway is now being made against de facto segregation.

RIGHTS LAW FLOUTED IN RURAL LOUISIANA

by Ronnie Moore

These burned planks constitute the remains of Faith Hope & Charity Hall, headquarters of CORE's registration drive in Hammond, Louisiana, after it was burned to the ground on the night of June 27. They also constitute graphic evidence of how the civil rights law is being violated in rural Louisiana where we are engaged this summer in an intensive voter registration drive.

In the little town of Jonesboro, which remains completely segregated, our civil rights workers were met with violence and intimidation. After our initial meeting with community leaders, Mike Lesser and I were ambushed on our way back to Monroe by three carloads of whites. One car got in front of us and the other behind. Swamps border the highway. Our chances of survival appeared slim. However, we managed to make a U-turn, at 45 miles an hour, bypass the two cars which had been behind us and, at speeds of over 90 miles an hour, to return to our Jonesboro headquarters and safety.

About two weeks later, on July 29, on a night when all lights had been turned off allegedly to repair power lines, hooded Klansmen with torches, escorted by a sheriff, marched through the Negro community. That same night a mob of about 100 whites armed with rifles converged on the parish jail where 20 of our rights workers were imprisoned. The mob finally dispersed after CORE alerted the FBI.

During the three preceding days, a total of 39 rights workers had been arrested for picketing the library and for standing-in at the municipal swimming pool. Subsequently, other members of our staff were jailed. Parents of some local demonstrators were arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

We are countering these acts of intimidation by both direct action and lawsuits. A $500,000 damage suit has been filed against Pro-Tem Mayor D. J. McDuffie of Plaquemine who threatened Spiver Gordon, Tolbert Harris and other CORE testers by raising a bottle and threatening: "The first black . . . that steps into this cafe, I'll knock his brains out!" In St. Francisville Bob Hurwitt, a rights worker, swore out a warrant for the arrest of Teddy Martin, a former sheriff who had attacked him and later shot at a car of prospective registrants.

* * *

In New Orleans suits have been filed by CORE members to desegregate the Wild Life & Fisheries Building, which houses the federal courts and which has "white" and "colored" drinking fountains and restrooms (the building has been picketed by New Orleans CORE), Schwegmann Brothers Giant Supermarkets, which has segregated eating facilities and Charity Hospital.

Farmer Signs Anti-Riot Statement, Declines on Demonstration Moratorium

Following a top civil rights leadership conference on July 29, CORE National Director James Farmer joined with four other leaders in signing a statement "strongly opposing looting, vandalism or any type of criminal activities" but declined to join them in signing a statement urging "a broad curtailment, if not total moratorium of mass demonstrations until after Election Day."

The four other signers were Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of NAACP, Whitney Young of Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of NALC. John Lewis of SNCC declined to sign either statement.

While expressing "our serious concern with the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas," the anti-riot statement made clear: "We wish to draw a sharp distinction between the above-named activity and legitimate protest effort by denied and desperate citizens seeking relief."

NAC Upholds Farmer

Farmer's refusal to sign a moratorium on demonstrations was upheld on August 9 by CORE's national action council, which adopted a statement saying: "Because the deep grievances of the Negro community continue to be present, we continue to demonstrate. Well-organized and disciplined demonstrations must continue as a way to work toward the elimination of these grievances. Only by constant public reminders of the evils that exist will the white majority face these evils and take the necessary steps to eliminate them.

"Demonstrations serve as a way to channel in a militant fashion the justifiable frustrations and anger of the Negro community. A community with no way of acting directly on its own behalf is far more likely to erupt in anger and violence than one which has the opportunity to vigorously demonstrate and whose just demands are met.

"Because proposals of temporary moratoriums can lead to the permanent end of viable protest by the Negro community, we continue to demonstrate. The so-called 'white backlash,' a phenomenon whose appearance has frequented America whenever Negroes have vigorously spoken out on behalf of their rights, will not be mollified by temporary cessation of demonstrations. Indeed, more likely, the vote will be in just the opposite manner from that sought by the moratorium proposers; for, having gained a moratorium by the threat of a Goldwater victory, the white backlashers and their allies, the racists, will seek a permanent cessation in the event of Goldwater's election."

CORE WORKER BEATEN IN JAIL

Pointing to bruises on his face, CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander reported to the FBI that he had been beaten by three prisoners in Hinds County jail, Jackson, Mississippi. Being white, he was confined to the white section.

He had been arrested May 29 in Canton while attempting to take pictures of arrests during the Freedom Day demonstration. Following an attempt by his attorney to get the case into federal court, he was transferred by U.S. marshals from Canton to Hinds County jail. He was imprisoned a full month prior to release on bond.

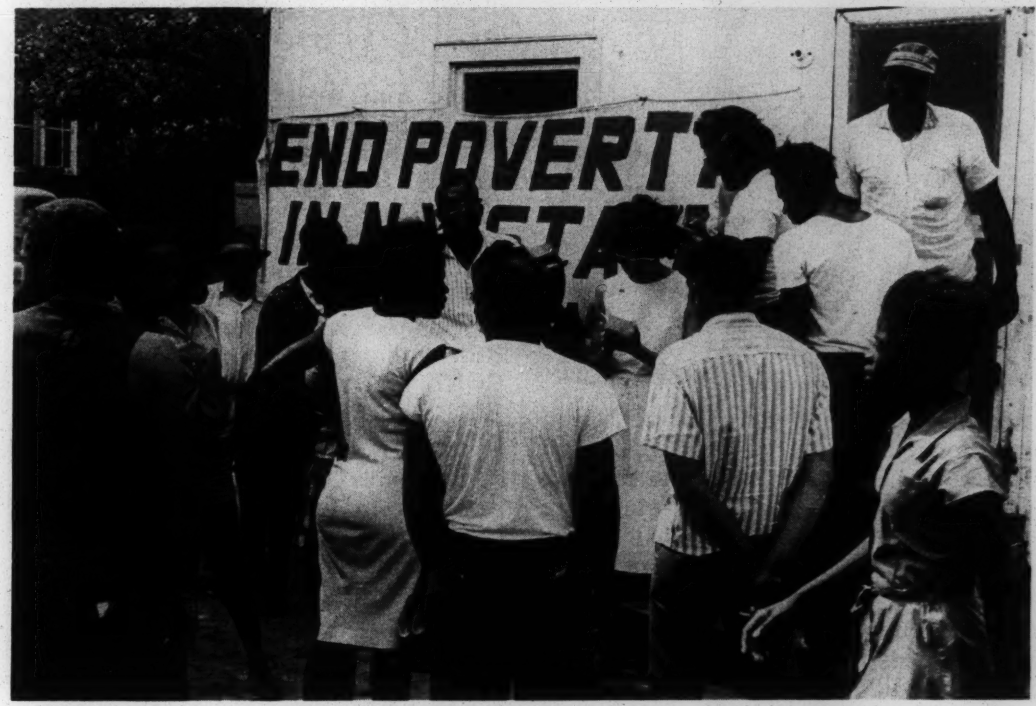
* * *

The conviction of CORE Field Secretary B. Elton Cox for "defaming" a judge and district attorney at an NAACP mass meeting in Baton Rouge in the summer of 1962 was reversed on technical grounds by the Louisiana Supreme Court. He had faced the maximum penalty of two years in jail and a $6000 fine.

First CORE Project on Migrants' Plight

The first action project by CORE to deal with the plight of migratory workers is underway in an eastern Long Island farming area to which 3000 workers, most of them Negro, come each year. Long Island and Suffolk County CORE have assigned two full-time workers for the summer's duration: Michael Raskin and David Thompson. The project is called "Operation Tinderbox" in memory of 15 Negroes who have been burned to death in Hollis Warner shacks. Two Negro children were burned to death in a poultry brooding shed where they lived as recently as this May, only a few days before the county took over the property.

Since the first CORE goal is to help find decent housing for more than 100 families still living in brooding sheds and tarpaper shacks, CORE set up a field office in one of the sheds. But on June 29, county officials brought a bulldozer and threatened to crush the shed. Soon thereafter, they demolished it.



This photo, taken by Richard Robinson prior to its demolition, shows Henry Smith and Delores Quentine (the two persons wearing glasses) signing up seasonal workers for a march on June 27 to the center of Riverhead protesting the refusal of Town Supervisor Robert Vojovoda to discuss the issue of adequate housing. Eight participants were arrested for sitting down at Riverhead's main intersection. Finally, on August 3, Vojovoda agreed to negotiate with CORE.

On June 20, Smith, Raskin and Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE, were arrested for dumping a truckload of refuse in front of Riverhead town hall to protest the lack of regular refuse collections at the migrants' shacks. Regular garbage collections were started two days later. On July 18 a brief picket demonstration forced one landlord, Frank Truckowski, to make much-needed repairs on six houses which he owns.

Raskin was arrested again twice in July, once for sitting-in in the shack of Grady Currence who was facing eviction and once for escorting an official of the State Commission on Human Rights around the Hollis Warner shacks. Lynch was arrested while leading a similar inspection tour by Monsignor Michael McLaughlin of the Roman Catholic Rockville Centre diocese and Hyman Bookbinder, executive director of President Johnson's task force on poverty. Following the tour, Mgsr. McLaughlin described the living conditions as "unbelievable," and Bookbinder commented, "some of the houses are as bad as any I've seen in Appalachia or Harlem." As a result of the CORE campaign and pleas from other civil rights groups in the area, the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors allocated $8000 for hiring an expert to help relocate the families still living in Hollis Warner shacks. Some families finally have been moved but CORE charges that their relocation has been to living quarters which in many instances are too distant, too expensive and inadequate.

RATS AND REFRIGERATOR DRAMATIZE ANTI-SLUM PROTESTS

by Eugene Tournour

Dead rats and an old refrigerator have been used at Chicago's City Hall to render more graphic the anti-slum campaign which is a part of CORE's northern summer project in which 115 tenant councils have been organized.

Over 200 tenants brought four dead rats to City Hall on July 24 and then proceeded to demonstrate outside. Then four women who went inside with Winston Lockett, the demonstration's leader, to negotiate, placed the dead rats in their pocketbooks. One of the women, Mrs. Carol Redmond, deposited one of the rodents on the desk of a secretary to Raymond Simon, the mayor's chief administrative officer, who earlier in the day had issued a statement rejecting CORE's demands. These demands include city employment of 250 jobless slum dwellers for rat clearance. We have organized over 400 unemployed persons who participate in our program.

As part of a picket demonstration a week later, a work brigade of 10 unemployed men moved an abandoned refrigerator from a condemned building on the North Side to City Hall. There, a young girl played inside of it, giving a graphic picture of how children accidentally get locked into iceboxes. Then, a bill was presented at City Hall for transportation costs. In subsequent demonstrations, bills will be presented for all slum clearance work performed on the project including garbage removal and the proposed demolition of a building which the city condemned 14 months ago.

Presently 22 buildings are on rent strike. Landlords have started to make repairs in five buildings.

Our program is led by 30 Task Force workers working out of three community centers. At one of these centers a program of literacy training for children, teenagers and adults has been launched. Instruction on Negro history and the civil rights movement is taking place at all three centers.

* * *

A fair employment agreement negotiated with 14 employers and covering 22 department and drygoods stores in Sacramento, California has been termed "historic" by both daily newspapers.

The Union points out that "the negotiations were initiated by CORE, headed by Aubrey Hammond, president."

THE WIDOW OF A SLAIN RIGHTS WORKER...

. . . Rita Schwerner, reads to Negro children in CORE's community center in Meridian, Mississippi. Hopefully, before too long, she will be doing this and other community center tasks in a brand-new building constructed to memorialize her husband, Michael, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, who were murdered on June 21 near Philadelphia, Mississippi. She has worked at the center since January and, following her husband's death, she has been named a CORE field secretary.

Albert Mayer and Paul Willen, architects and Frederick Rose, builder, together with Jackie Robinson have agreed to head the sponsorship of the new center. The National Council of Churches will help.

The center will include facilities for a pre-school childrens' day care program, an expanded library, a sewing room, game room, workshop and offices.

GET FLORIDA CITY TO ADOPT FAIR HIRING POLICY

For about 10 years there have been attempts by civic groups to get the city of Gainesville, Florida, to adopt a fair system of hiring its some 800 employes. This demand has been won as a result of action by Gainesville CORE.

Following an investigation by the CORE group which demonstrated anti-Negro discrimination in city hiring and a "spoils" system of promotion, a CORE spokesman met with the city commissioners. He was told that it would be three years before the commission even would consider the issue.

So the entire membership of Gainesville CORE attended a city commission meeting, submitted the findings of its investigation and said they were ready to go into action on the issue.

"Apparently the response of the CORE group that direct action would ensue if the city did not show immediate good faith produced these really startling results," reports CORE Task Force Worker Judy Benninger. "The City Council agreed to set up a central personnel office, to post job vacancies and qualifications and to establish a merit system of hiring."

Gainesville CORE now is soliciting Negro applicants in preparation for ensuring enforcement of the new policy adopted by the City Council."

At the height of the controversy, Mayor Howard McKinney publicly referred to members of the CORE group as "Communist dupes." However, following a joint protest from CORE, the NAACP Youth Council and the Student Group for Equal Rights, the mayor denied that his remarks had been directed against CORE.

FREE NINE FREEDOM RIDER-CLERGYMEN WHO CHOSE JAIL

Nine ministers and rabbis arrested during CORE's 1961 interfaith, interracial Freedom Ride for trying to desegregate the Tallahassee airport restaurant, were freed on August 6 after serving 4 days of a 60-day sentence. Having lost their appeals, they had surrendered to go to jail rather than pay $500 fines.

After four days, Judge John Rudd signed an order remitting the balance of the sentence. Their attorney, Howard Dixon, attributed the judge's action to "a realization by city officials that they were gathering a harvest of ill will throughout the country because of the treatment of the clergymen."

The nine are Rev. Robert Brown, Rev. John Collier, Rabbi Israel Dresner, Rabbi Martin Freedman, Rev. Arthur Hardge, Rev. Wayne Hartmire, Jr., Rev. Petty McKinney, Rev. Robert Stone and Rev. A. McRaven Warner.

The airport restaurant became desegregated soon after the Freedom Ride following negotiations between CORE and the Union News Co.

ADOPT A RIGHTS WORKER!

So that the Summer Freedom Program in the deep south can continue after the participating students return to school, more civil rights workers are needed now.

CORE will engage some, but CORE cannot possibly finance the hiring of a sufficient number to carry on the program. Hence, CORE is hereby appealing to its chapters, to unions, to churches and to other civic organizations to ADOPT A CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER. The cost, for an entire year, is only $1300, which includes subsistence. Groups willing to adopt a civil rights worker should contact the CORE office as soon as possible.

Candidates Apply Now!

Candidates for these civil rights workers' jobs should send in their applications now either to the CORE national office (38 Park Row, New York, N. Y.) or to the CORE southern office (2211 Dryades, New Orleans, La.). Preferably, they should be southern Negroes, and, preferably, they should be experienced in teaching and group work. However, these are not prerequisites. The main qualification is wholehearted devotion to the civil rights cause.

UTILIZE PLACES OPENED BY LAW

One minute after the President had signed the civil rights bill, Gene Young, a 13-year-old CORE convention delegate from Mississippi, entered the Hotel Muehlebach barbershop in Kansas City for a haircut. When he was refused, other convention delegates sat-in, forcing the shop to close. Next day, Young got his haircut as did several other Negro delegates.

This was the first test of the law and the start of CORE's nationwide action program to utilize the hotels, restaurants, theaters and other public accommodations opened under the law's provisions. "We cannot allow resistance to build up as occurred in the 1954 school cases," says a testing form sent to all affiliates. "CORE groups can and should begin immediate attempts to utilize the facilities newly opened by law." CORE National Director James Farmer emphasized: "It is not enough to merely test once or twice. It is necessary to patronize newly opened public accommodations regularly so that owners, employes and customers can become accustomed to desegregation and fully accept it."

Testing started as the CORE convention delegates left Kansas City for their homes. CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick, on his way back to Durham, North Carolina, was refused admittance at two motels in Clarksdale, Mississippi and filed complaints under the law. A national NAACP deputation touring the state refrained from testing in Clarksdale, but its members were accommodated without incident in Jackson and Meridian.

Public facilities were tested and found to be generally complying not only in Jackson but also in Birmingham, Danville, Albany, St. Augustine and other cities which have been the sites of major civil rights demonstrations over the past two years. In many smaller communities such as Americus, Georgia, Quincy, Florida, and Greenwood, Mississippi testers were served but then attacked by gangs of white youths. In Greenwood, FBI agents arrested three whites for assaulting two Negroes who had attended a local movie theater.

In some rural communities such as Jonesboro, Louisiana, segregation remains 100% in force and CORE testers have been arrested. In Monroe, Louisiana, 22 Negroes were arrested for attempting to use the muniicpal library, but no arrests were made in privately-run public accommodations, although 40% of them refuse service to Negroes. But in New Roads, Louisiana, tests showed that the library and all public buildings had desegregated. However, in one restaurant CORE testers were charged $20 for a hamburger. They got a receipt and have turned it over to the Justice Department with a formal complaint. The Louisiana testing is proceeding in conjunction with CORE's voter registration campaign in that state.

REJECT GOLDWATER! . . .

COW
CIVIL RIGHTS IS THE

. . . is the message of these pickets, led by CORE National Director James Farmer, at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. Other protest actions on the civil rights issue included a mass march with over 50,000 participants, infiltration of the convention hall by some 200 demonstrators, sit-downs which blocked the exits and a mock funeral complete with coffin for the Republican Party.

CORE demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City will focus on attempts to unseat the segregationist delegations from Mississippi and Louisiana and to seat the Freedom Delegations in their place.

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

98 NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1964 No. 109

First Freedom Day Applicant Is Registered

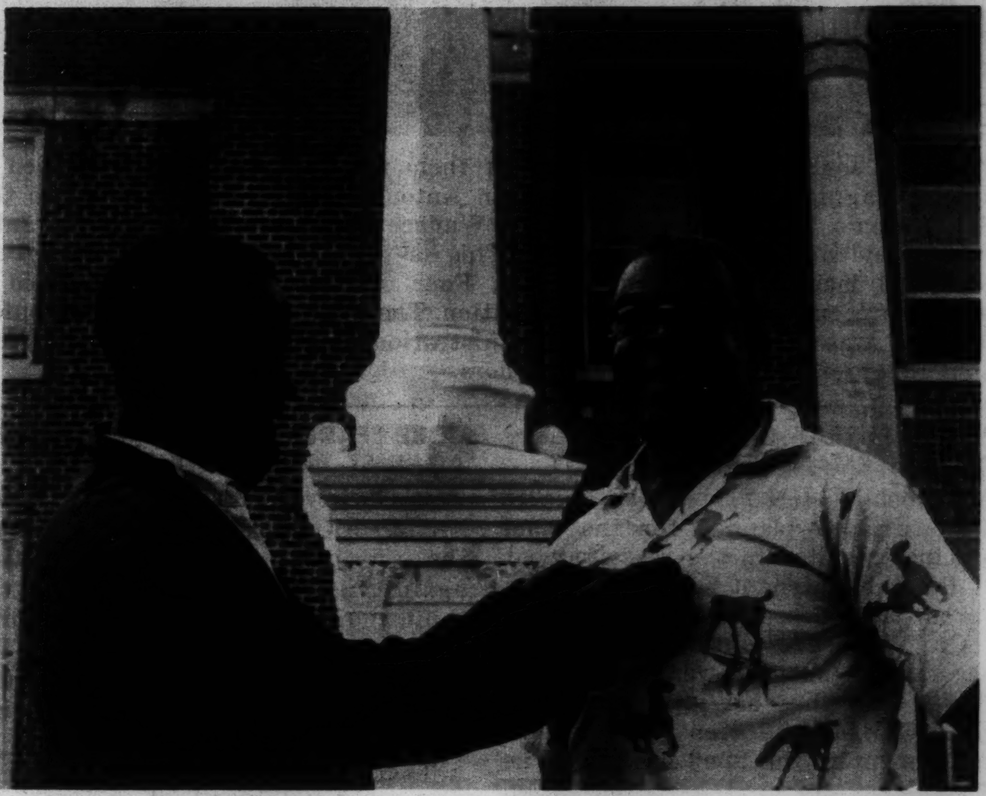

Photo by Ed Hollander

CORE Task Force Worker James Collier pins an "I Am Registered" button on Rev. Melvin Kirkland in front of the Philadelphia, Mississippi, courthouse. Rev. Kirkland, a lifelong resident of Neshoba county, became the first Negro registered of 30 who lined-up and took their tests on Freedom Day (September 14) in this community where three civil rights workers were murdered last June. Upon inquiring at the courthouse, he was informed that he had passed the test. Subsequently, 15 of the others learned that they had passed, whereas 14 were told they had failed.

Rev. Kirkland had been told he had failed on five occasions since 1952 when he first took the examination. A retired clergyman and farmer, he lives only half a mile from Mount Zion Baptist Church, which was burned to the ground on June 15. It was to investigate this church burning that the three civil rights workers had journeyed to Philadelphia on the eve of their murder. Rev. Kirkland met them on that occasion. It was his first meeting with Andrew Goodman, student volunteer, but he had known CORE Task Force Workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner when they first came into the county in April.

* * *

To continue the Mississippi program following the departure of the summer student volunteers, CORE has added 17 Task Force workers to its Mississippi staff. They have been assigned as field organizers, Freedom School teachers and community center directors.

CHRISTMAS BOYCOTTS OVER JOBS IN SEATTLE AND BERKELEY

From Thanksgiving until Christmas, Seattle CORE is inensifying its DEEDS downtown boycott campaign which went into effect October 19 with widespread picketing and leaflet distributions. DEEDS stands for Drive for Equal Employment in Downtown Seattle. Its goal is 1,200 new jobs by next year without cutting into white employment.

"This is the time of year when most businesses make their yearly profits," points out the latest issue of Seattle CORE's newsletter. "This is the time when CORE members can bring the greatest pressure to bear."

The Seattle Daily Times reported: "In the negotiations between civil rights groups and business, nobody has disputed CORE's figures that Negroes hold less than 2% of retail trade jobs, less than 3% of office jobs and only 1% of the jobs in banking, insurance, real estate and related fields. CORE says Negroes spend $12 million downtown annually and Negroes account for 5% of all sales."

The Times article concludes: "One civil rights leader was critical of CORE's present tactics, but acknowledged CORE was facing up to the most basic issue in the Negro's struggle for equality—jobs."

Berkeley CORE's second Christmas boycott of Shattuck Avenue stores which have an unfair employment policy got underway after the Thanksgiving weekend.

Announcement of the boycott was made in letters to 200 Shattuck Avenue employers who do not employ at least one minority group member out of four in all job categories.

Trailways Boycott

A boycott against Trailways buses has been initiated by CORE groups from Washington to New York, because of the company's violation of a fair employment agreement negotiated with CORE a year ago. Mass picket demonstrations outside of terminals and stand-in demonstrations at ticket windows have taken place in New York, Baltimore and Washington. 22 CORE members were arrested for picketing inside the Port Authority terminals. *Write Safeway Trailways in New York urging fair hiring.*

An agreement representing "a mutual effort to provide job opportunities for minority groups" ended a two-month action campaign by Newark-Essex (N.J.) CORE against Hoffman-La-Roche, a major drug manufacturer.

CORE Pickets Remind Southern Governors of Today

WHERE IS DEMOCRACY
WELCOME KKK
CORE
WHERE

While 16 southern governors, some of them wearing sombreros, attended a special staging of "A Night in Old San Antonio" and while, according to the San Antonio News "Governor George Wallace of Alabama sampled his anticuchos and declared with a smile: 'This is good country,'" CORE pickets reminded them of present day issues. Four of the demonstrators carried a coffin representing the death of segregation. The "A Night in Old San Antonio" program was staged by the city administration in conjunction with the 30th annual conference of southern governors.

PICKET THREAT CAUSES TRANSFER OF POLICEMAN WHO KILLED BOY

A Brooklyn (N.Y.) CORE picket demonstration planned for the 92nd precinct resulted in the reassignment of Police Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan "to an undisclosed post."

On "sick leave" since July 16 when he fatally shot 15-year-old James Powell and thus set off the Harlem riots, Gilligan had been scheduled for assignment to the 92nd precinct. The assignment followed his exoneration by a county grand jury and by a police departmental review board.

Regarding the departmental review board's action, Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE, asserted that it "reemphasizes the need for a civilian review board in cases of police brutality." He added that "this is the real issue—not Gilligan." He deplored the fact "that the police department has refused to consider the moral issues of Gilligan's callous attitude toward human life."

Demonstrate at East St. Louis

A group of over 60 demonstrators, led by East St. Louis CORE Chairman Homer Randolph, sang freedom songs and prayed in the desk sergeant's office at police headquarters here.

The demonstrators were protesting the failure to suspend 2 policemen pending investigation of the beating of 19-year-old Willie Ward.

CORE LEADER ARRESTED IN PROTEST AGAINST PRISON LABOR

Roy Twitty, President of Tucson (Ariz.) CORE, was arrested during the group's first demonstration against use of prison labor by the sanitation and park departments. Seized by police as he stood in the entranceway to the city garbage truck garage, he was charged with loitering and trespassing on city property.

That day, the trucks left the garage without their usual load of prisoners. "The refuse collection superintendent decided not to work them only because they were not needed today," explained City Manager Mark Keane.

Tucson CORE had warned that nonviolent action would take place unless Keane yielded on the prison labor issue. Twitty pointed out that at least 100 jobs would be opened by elimination of prison labor.

Supporting CORE's position, the Tucson chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union wrote the mayor: "Prison labor should not take the place of paid employment when there are so many men in Tucson who are willing to work but cannot find jobs."

To spotlight the local unemployment situation, Tucson CORE recently marched on City Hall where the City Council was in executive session and presented a five-point program.

REVERSE CONVICTIONS OF OVER 200 ALABAMA DEMONSTRATORS

The Alabama Court of Appeals has reversed the contempt convictions of over 200 nonviolent demonstrators arrested in Gadsden during the summer of 1963 in a local desegregation campaign led by CORE and marked by brutality on the part of cattle-prod-swinging state troopers.

Accused of violating an injunction against protest marches, the demonstrators had been summarily arrested and jailed without being charged and without bail. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, under an agreement with CORE, handled the Gadsden cases. Habeas corpus writs were denied, but the judge finally agreed to set bail.

"The now famous case of Miss Mary Hamilton arose at the original hearing of the habeas corpus petition, as Miss Hamilton, a CORE field worker, was cited for contempt when she refused to answer questions so long as the prosecutor addressed her by her first name," recalls The Atlanta World in reporting the Alabama high court's decision. "Legal Defense Fund lawyers won a historic decision last spring when the United States Supreme Court held that Miss Hamilton be addressed with a courtesy title, as befits the dignity of all American citizens."

In another recent decision, the Alabama Court of Appeals reversed the convictions of 12 CORE Freedom Walkers arrested for trying to complete the walk started by William Moore, the postman, who was murdered on the night of April 23, 1963. The 12, including CORE Southern Regional Director Richard Haley, had jailed-in for a month awaiting trial.

WILEY NAMED ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

George Wiley, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Syracuse University and a founder of the CORE chapter in that upstate New York city, has been appointed Associate National Director of CORE. He succeeds Richard Haley, who now heads CORE's southern office in New Orleans and directs the staff throughout the south.

"At Syracuse University, George Wiley has become known as 'the militant man on campus,'" said the New York Times in a special biography following the announcement of his appointment. "He was a founder and leader of the Syracuse chapter of CORE. His vigorous activities in the civil rights movement led to his appointment as associate national director of CORE, making him the number two man to James Farmer, the national director."

Election Highlights — North and South

In Quincy, Florida, seat of Gadsden county, where CORE conducted a concentrated voter registration drive throughout the summer, Goldwater placards had been placed illegally both inside and outside the registrar's office. Yet Goldwater won the county by only 190 votes, receiving 4,566 against 4,376 for Johnson. Of the Johnson votes, 4,097 of them were cast by Negroes. The Negro turnout for the county was 92% and in some precincts it was 100%. The first Negro ever to run for elective office in the area, Jewel Dixie, received 1,529 write-in votes for sheriff.

While the county was not quite won for Johnson, the Negro vote—plus the Negro vote in other parts of Florida generally and, specifically, in Miami's Dade County, where CORE had conducted an intensive registration drive, carried the state for Johnson—in contrast to the other deep south states.

In St. Francisville, Louisiana, seat of West Feliciana parish, it was the first time in this century that Negroes had voted. All 36 Negroes who had registered turned out to vote. Only a year ago, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register since reconstruction. A totally small, but relatively sizable, number of Negroes voted in other parishes where CORE has been engaged in registration campaigns.

In Mississippi, where the majority of Negroes still are disfranchised, over 67,000 Negroes expressed their desire to go to the polls by voting in a mock election conducted by the Freedom Democratic Party. They cast their ballots for four Negro Congressional candidates—Aaron Henry, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Virginia Gray and Mrs. Annie Devine. This photo shows Mrs. Devine (flanked by CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond) speaking in Rankin county.

Although Goldwater carried the state of Georgia, Charles Weltner, the Democratic incumbent, defeated his Republican rival by 10,000 votes in the fifth congressional district (Atlanta). A Negro vote of more than 31,000 was responsible. In the fourth congressional district, according to a New York Times survey: "Atlanta political observers concur that the total Negro vote was greater than the margin by which James Mackay, the Democratic candidate, defeated Roscoe Pickett, Republican."

The Times survey concluded that "a massive Negro vote was the decisive or an important element" both "in certain southern and border states . . . as well as in the north."

Other specific examples given in the survey are "the victory of George Grider over his Republican rival, Robert James, in the ninth congressional district of Tennessee (Memphis) and "the third congressional district in Kentucky (Louisville), where former Mayor Charles Farnsley defeated the Republican incumbent, M. G. Snyder." The survey also points out that "the large Negro vote for Senator Ralph Yarborough, Democrat of Texas, was conclusive."

NEGRO CORE LEADER IN WHITE DISTRICT WINS HOUSE SEAT

Despite a last-minute Goldwater leaflet distribution seeking to incite the prejudice of white voters, Archibald Hill, chairman of Oklahoma City CORE, overwhelmingly defeated his Republican, white rival, thus winning a seat in the State House of Representatives.

Hill is a Negro, but the district in which he ran is predominantly white, being comprised of seven all-white precincts, three predominantly Negro precincts and one integrated precinct.

In Cincinnati, "the heavy Negro vote was considered the main cause of the defeat of Rep. Carl Rich, Republican in the first congressional district who was considered unbeatable" and in Indianapolis "the same forces that were at work in the south and elswhere in the north put the Republican candidate for the House out of the running."

In New York State, John Pillion, the only congressman to vote against the Civil Rights bill, was defeated. Rep. George Meader of Michigan and Ben Jensen of Iowa, who also had voted against the bill, were defeated.

PICKET NATIONAL REALTORS CONVENTION

Los Angeles CORE picketed the 57th annual convention of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, at which the realtors' president, Ed Mendenhall, boasted of having "loaned" its California affiliate $100,000 for passage of Proposition 14 in the election.

Placards carried by the CORE pickets in front of the Biltmore Hotel said: "Los Angeles Realty Board—Teacher of Bigotry," "Proposition 14 Makes California a Sister to Mississippi" and "November 3, 1964: California's Day of Infamy."

Proposition 14, adopted by a vote of 3,656,712 to 1,893,942, in effect repeals the Rumford Act, a state fair housing law which had been in effect for a year. The proposition's constitutionality is being challenged in the courts by the NAACP. Federal housing funds for California have been suspended.

The first demonstration against Proposition 14 took place here two days after Election Day when over 300 persons participated in a torchlight parade to City Hall. Addressing the demonstrators from City Hall steps, Arthur Silvers, chairman of Los Angeles CORE, placed blame for the proposition's passage "on the California Real Estate Association, the most organized bunch of bigots that exist in the State of California."

The president of the California Association, Art Leitch, received a special award at the opening session of the realtors' national convention.

DEMONSTRATE IN CANADA AGAINST AWARD TO BIASED U.S. UTILITY

What probably was the first CORE demonstration in Canada was conducted in Montreal on November 13 by 32 pickets from CORE groups in Syracuse and Utica, New York.

They picketed the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, where the World Congress on Public Relations was presenting an award to the Niagara Mohawk Power Corp., major upstate New York utility, "for presenting the best public relations image." The two CORE groups have been campaigning to get Niagara Mohawk to adopt a fair employment policy. Only 8 of its 1500 employees are Negroes.

The pickets journeyed to Montreal by auto. They were delayed a half-hour at the border, when Canadian immigration officials detected the picket signs in the cars.

ARREST TWO NEGOTIATING TEAMS IN AAA JOB DRIVE

The arrests on "trespassing" charges of two Detroit CORE negotiating teams within a week spotlighted the American Automobile Association's resistance to a CORE fair hiring campaign which started a year ago.

The two teams included five persons each. The second arrests occurred five minutes after the local AAA office closed for the day. The negotiators were sitting in the building's lobby. Those arrested were Mrs. Gloria Brown, chairman of Detroit CORE, Mrs. Selma Goode, Mrs. Janice Rosenfeld, Charles Russell and Delano Esselman.

Outside the building was a mass picket line including Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, nationally-known civil libertarian, and Rev. James Wadsworth, president of the Detroit NAACP. Detroit CORE has picketed AAA since August. Negotiations started last November, but AAA persistently has refused to submit figures on the racial composition of its Michigan staff. According to a CORE survey, of 2,000 persons employed by AAA throughout the state, only 17 are Negroes.

Mobilize Nationwide Support

Nationwide support of Detroit CORE's AAA campaign was voted unanimously by CORE's national action committee. CORE groups across the country have been urged to follow the lead of CORE National Director James Farmer in writing a protest letter to AAA President Gilbert Phillips and to investigate AAA's employment policy in their communities.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP,
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Act of October 23, 1962, Section 4639, Title 39,
United States Code)

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Marvin Rich, Managing Editor

Chain-In Demands U.S. Protection in Deep South

Ten members of New York area CORE groups (including your editor), each with a placard bearing one letter of the slogan "Freedom Now," chained themselves to the front pillars of the federal building the morning of October 14. Others, with placard-portraits of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi on June 21, stood on the building's steps.

In mid-afternoon, the ten chained to the columns had their padlocks unlocked by other CORE members and re-chained themselves inside the three revolving doors leading into the building. There they remained until the end of the working day. Although the demonstrators were prepared to jail-in if arrested, there were no arrests. The coordinator was Louis Smith, regional CORE Field Secretary.

The demonstration, coinciding with President Johnson's campaign appearances in this area, was aimed at dramatizing CORE's demand for increased federal protection of civil rights activities in the deep south.

These demands were presented personally to President Johnson by members of Bergen County CORE and Newark-Essex CORE as he spoke at a big northern New Jersey shopping center. Members of the groups carried nine coffins to symbolize the total number of persons killed throughout the summer in Mississippi.

In Worcester, ten CORE members sat-in at the F.B.I. office and in Boston, a CORE committee conferred with Representative John McCormack.

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POLL WATCHER MEETS ROSS BARNETT . . . AND BEATING

When Marvin Rich, CORE Community Relations Director, came to Madison, Mississippi, December 3 to pollwatch at the Agricultural Stabilization Committee election, little did he expect to have the "honor" of meeting ex-Governor Ross Barnett and of being badly beaten afterwards.

When Rich went across the street from the polling place to a grocery store to buy a carton of milk, he encountered "a big, portly man in a yellow hunting outfit and big boots who stopped me and asked: 'Where you from?' I said I was from New York and he grunted and looked pained. 'Are you a WHITE man?' he asked me. Then he turned away and walked out. At that point, I didn't know who he was."

The portly man thereupon entered the polling place where, according to Martha Wright, another CORE pollwatcher, everybody addressed him as "Governor." He shouted: "Why don't these agitators go home where they belong!" followed by obscene remarks to Miss Wright. Upon emerging from the building, he got into his Cadillac and a group of young whites conferred with him for about ten minutes.

Then, they approached Rich and told him to re-park his car. He refused until ordered to do so by the deputy constable. Upon returning from the new parking place, which was about 300 yards away, the white youths started throwing rocks at him. Finally, four of them jumped him, started slugging and hit him with a belt buckle. He suffered a broken nose and bruises on his body.

Elsewhere in the county, four CORE poll watchers were arrested on minor charges: George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker and project director, and three CORE volunteers, Elaine DeLott, Euvester Simson and Ann Darden. It was the first Agricultural Stabilization Committee election in which Negroes had run and in the town of Camden, a Negro, Luther Honeysuckle, was elected to the committee.

The center fold of this issue is devoted to stories of CORE community action in the north.

Last Two Florida Counties Register Negroes

As a result of CORE's voter drive in northwest Florida, Negroes have registered in both Liberty and Lafayette counties—the two last counties in the state which had had no Negro registrants.

The photo at left shows three of the 62 Negroes who registered at the Liberty county courthouse in Bristol on December 16. The photo at right is of John Monroe, an 83-year-old blind man who registered.

Five whites tried to intimidate the registrants and CORE Task Force Worker Stuart Wechsler as they stood outside, but there was no incident. One school bus driver was among the registrants, though Negro school bus drivers and teachers had been threatened with dismissal if they attended CORE meetings.

The registration of Negroes in Mayo, Lafayette county seat, took place a month later. Fifty-seven Negroes were registered. The voter campaign is continuing in both counties as well as in other northwest Florida counties where CORE has been working, reports Field Secretary Spiver Gordon.

Fire and Shooting

In mid-December a fire set in COREs northern Florida headquarters in Quincy damaged three of the office's six rooms. Less than three weeks later, 15 shots were fired by nightriders into the Quincy community center. One of the bullets came close to entering the room where two CORE volunteers—Sidney Daniels and Jimmy Card—had been standing.

Both in the case of the fire and of the shooting, the local Department of Public Safety launched an investigation but without results. The U.S. Department of Justice has been urged to supply increased protection for civil rights workers in the area. "The two incidents show that the haters in Florida can be as extremist as those in other deep south states with worse reputations," said Gordon.

CORE COMMUN

In Cedar Heights (Md.) —A Cleanup Campaign

Prince George County (Md.) CORE has initiated a campaign to rehabilitate Cedar Heights, a Negro slum which, literally, is "on the other side of the fence."

It was thus described in a Baltimore Sun feature article and CORE Regional Secretary Louis Smith has characterized the eight-foot high fence dividing Cedar Heights from the white community of Seat Pleasant as "another Berlin wall." Though the Seat Pleasant shopping center is only two blocks away, Cedar Heights residents have to circumvent the fence by a mile-long walk to get there. Following CORE threats of nonviolent direct action, the county commissioners presently are negotiating with CORE on plans to break through the fence.

As for Cedar Heights, the Washington Star said, in reporting the CORE cleanup campaign: "Caught in a tight wedge between superhighways, the small community has become a graveyard for abandoned cars, for every conceivable bit of household junk from boilers to bathtubs."

"Ridding the area of this accumulated junk was the first step in CORE's Cedar Heights Action Program, known as CHAP. Members of the CORE group, the University of Maryland chapter of Students for a Democratic Society and local residents joined in collecting the junk and loading it onto trucks provided by the county commissioners.

Other steps in the CORE program call for paving the streets, most of which are unpaved, low-cost housing to replace the present tarpaper shacks, construction of sewers, sidewalks and playgrounds, school integration and a workable urban renewal program.

"One of the individuals directly responsible for the start of the program," reports the Washington Star, "is Michael Tabor, a 22-year-old social worker who is CORE's chairman for Prince George County."

In Philadelphia —A Program of "Little Schools"

A program of small, neighborhood schools especially geared for pre-school training has been launched by Philadelphia CORE in the culturally deprived North Philadelphia area.

"Philadelphia CORE selected North Philadelphia because two-thirds of the Negro population is compressed into this area where the incidence of poverty is the greatest, schools the worst, police harassmant the most constant and housing the most dilapidated," explains James Williams, chairman of the group.

"Already, two school sites have been acquired, money for three more is available and the first five schools should be in operation soon. Though these first schools are being funded privately, we hope eventually to receive financial support from the Economic Opportunity Program in Washington."

To implement the school program, CORE has formed a state-chartered corporation involving members of civic groups, block councils, churches and individual North Philadelphia residents. Several CORE members are officers of the corporation.

The need for the schools is emphasized by the fact that 91,000 Philadelphia kindergarten children are presently without facilities to receive them and will remain so unless there is a massive building program. The little schools will be located in houses close to the children's homes. But while the emphasis will be on pre-school children, the schools also will provide tutoring and club activities for junior high school students and job counseling for young adults.

WIN AGREEMENT ON STORE JOB COUNT

An agreement on the issue of a store-by-store count of minority group employment in San Francisco department and drygoods stores, ended a dispute which had led to picketing of four stores by San Francisco CORE during the Christmas season.

The agreement is between the United San Francisco Freedom Movement, representing CORE as well as other local civil rights organizations and the Retailers Community Relations Group, representing 34 stores. Their initial agreement had been reached a year ago.

Under the new agreement, negotiated through the city's Human Rights Commission, the Commission will make store-by-store counts every three months and submit the figures to the civil rights groups. Individual firms which do not adhere to a fair hiring policy will be dropped from the retailers' group.

It was the group's refusal to submit a store-by-store count directly to the civil rights organizations, which had led to the pre-Christmas picketing. CORE Chairman William Bradley pointed out that a store-by-store count is necessary "because some of the firms in the retailers' group are hiding behind the progress made by others."

The San Francisco Sun Reporter commented: "In forcing the Retailers Community Relations Group to install a complete program of fair hiring, the United San Francisco Freedom Movement has won an important victory. This victory can be attribtued solely to the direct action and boycott engaged in by members of the movement."

BOYCOTT OF ONE STORE CHANGES TOWN'S JOB PATTERN

A two-year boycott by Oroville (Cal.) CORE of the Barnes Supermarket not only has made that store abandon its lily-white job jolicy, but has changed the employment pattern in the entire town. Negroes now are working at the local branches of Montgomery Ward, the Bank of America and several other downtown stores.

The boycott, bolstered by picketing, had won the support of more than 95% of the non-white community. Finally, following rumors that the store was about to close, management hired its first Negro clerk and the long boycott was ended.

Local CORE members consider the project a demonstration of the effectiveness of community action.

UNITY ACTION

In Trenton & Englewood (N.J.) —For Adequate Urban Renewal

MAYOR HOLLAND REPRESENT ALL TRENTON CORE
DESTROYING CHURCHES VIOLATES OF STAT ST
TRENTONS INTEREST NOT CONFLICT OF INTEREST STNC

In Trenton and in Englewood, New Jersey, CORE groups are engaged in action campaigns aimed at drastically changing locally-drafted urban renewal plans so that they will comply with community needs.

In Trenton, when a group of CORE pickets first appeared at Mayor Arthur Holland's home, they were confronted with two paddy wagons and police dogs, much as they would have been if they had attempted such a demonstration in a deep south community. However, there were no arrests. But on November 5, two CORE field secretaries, Herbert Callender and Louis Smith, and four CORE spokesmen were arrested at City Hall following a hearing on urban renewal and on January 29, five CORE spokesmen were arrested while sitting-in at the mayor's office. These cases are being appealed.

Target of the Trenton protest action is the third and final phase of the John Fitch Way urban renewal project, covering 104 acres in the downtown area. In the first two phases, over half the area went for state and city buildings. The city plans to devote the final phase to high income housing only. CORE urges that at least half of the Phase Three units should be low income housing. An immediate result of CORE action was the city's establishment of an adequately staffed relocation center for the Negro families to be displaced by Phase Three.

While CORE's Trenton campaign did not start until November, the CORE drive in Englewood got underway last June. As a consequence, federal approval of Englewood's urban renewal plan still is being withheld.

Following a complete study of the plan, Bergen County CORE voiced its opposition on grounds that the new housing was to be located in a ghetto area, was inadequate in quantity and was too high-priced.

Next, CORE canvassed individuals and neighborhood groups in the Fourth Ward with a view toward drafting an urban renewal plan suited to the community's needs. The CORE plan was drafted at a widely-attended public hearing, which followed a completely inadequate hearing held by the city. It was then forwarded to the federal agencies inolved. Federal officials arranged a meeting between the CORE plan's spokesmen and city officials, but the latter remained adamant. Federal funds for the city's plans have not been approved, to date.

In Boston —Against Slumlords

"The Congress of Racial Equality, sparkplug of the new drive against slumlords, deserves commendation," said a Boston Globe editorial on January 14. "It should not be—and will not be—put off by more empty promises."

By "new" drive, the editorial referred to CORE's action following a disastrous fire December 30 on Hammond Street, Roxbury, in which four persons perished. Following the fire, CORE issued a statement pointing out that during its investigation of the past year, 73 building code violations had been discovered on the block where the tragedy occurred.

"CORE volunteers have been investigating complaints for a year,' The Boston Globe pointed out in a full-page feature story a week prior to its editorial. "During that time, this volunteer group has recorded 6217 violations of fire, health and building codes in 126 buildings owned by 48 different landlords.

"The CORE workers have gotten some results, but getting a plastering job done in a decrepit property is a major project and virtually all the landlords are still avoiding meeting legal and human standards in the maintenance of their property. CORE is not looking for frills. They just want violations of law corrected."

To ensure that there will be no more "empty promises," representatives of CORE together with a group of Roxbury tenants met with Mayor Collins on January 12 and presented him with a report, "One Year of Promise," which outlined CORE's efforts throughout 1964. Specifically they asked him to instruct city department heads to declare dwelling units with serious violations "unfit for human habitation," to have the Health Department use its authority in this regard and invoke provisions of the Sanitary Code that repairs can be made and billed to landlords and the initiation of a systematic code inspection program in the Roxbury area.

The mayor has promised to make weekly progress reports, "If the reports prove unsatisfactory, we will then demonstrate at City Hall," announced Alan Gartner, chairman of Boston CORE.

IN BRIEF

Rev. B. Elton Cox, leader of a CORE mass demonstration on December 15, 1961, to desegregate lunch counters in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was acquitted by the U.S. Supreme Court on all three counts under which he had been arrested and sentenced to 19 months in jail. The successful appeal was handled by Carl Rachlin, CORE's chief counsel, and Nils Douglas and Robert Collins, CORE attorneys from New Orleans.

* * *

National Director James Farmer flew to Berkeley to personally express, at a mass meeting, CORE's support of the Free Speech movement at the University of California which climaxed on December 3 with the arrest of 784 student sit-inners.

* * *

For the second successive year, as a result of CORE action, blackface was eliminated in the New Year's Mummers Parade in Philadelphia.

YEAR'S DRIVE WINS JOBS IN NEW JERSEY BREWERIES

Last February, West Essex CORE came to the support of Negro brewery workers who, though classified as seasonal employees, worked year-round and performed the same duties as regular employees but for less pay and fewer benefits.

In May, the CORE group picketed the New Jersey Brewers Association, as well as the National Labor Relations Board, which was processing the Negro workers' complaint.

At the year's end, David Anderson, chairman of West Essex CORE, was able to announce an agreement with the Brewers Association which he described as "a significant accomplishment in attaining job opportunities for minority groups in a major American industry."

Under the agreement, the workers previously classified as seasonal, have been given regular status and access to join the unions, which previously had been denied. The unions, Teamsters Locals 4, 153 and 843, cooperated in working out the settlement.

In addition, the agreement established an accelerated program to employ more Negro drivers on beer deliveries to New York. This will be particularly meaningful with Ballantine's, whose total delivery to New York comes from its Newark plant. Other beer firms covered by the agreement are Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and Rheingold.

WIN FAIR JOB PACT WITH MICHIGAN AAA

The American Automobile Association in Michigan has negotiated a fair employment agreement, ending an action campaign by Detroit CORE which started in the fall of 1963 and was highlighted last October with the arrest of two CORE negotiating teams on "trespassing" charges.

First Negro to be hired following the settlement was Francine Turner, a Northwestern High School graduate who had been working in the City-County building as a clerk-typist. According to a survey made by CORE prior to the settlement, AAA throughout the state employed only 17 Negroes in a work force of 2,000.

Under the settlement terms, AAA agreed to give CORE a census by job category, to discuss employment in all its Michigan offices, to meet periodically with CORE on implementation of fair employment and to advertise as an equal opportunity employer.

To Rebuild Louisiana Churches

With materials supplied by CORE and labor volunteered by Southern University and Tulane University students and local residents, two churches burned to the ground near Jonesboro, Louisiana on January 17, will be rebuilt. Both churches—Pleasant Grove Baptist and Bethany Baptist—were used by CORE for voter registration activities.

Coordinating the rebuilding is Field Secretary Jerome Smith, who a few months ago coordinated construction of the CORE community center in Harmony, Mississippi. He has negotiated an agreement on student volunteers in conferences with both university officials and student spokesmen at Southern University in Baton Rouge. It was Southern University students who played a key role in the Baton Rouge freedom struggle of 1960 and 1961. Jonesboro residents already have raised $3,000 to help cover the cost of materials. The churches were valued at about $35,000.

The church burnings came only a couple of weeks after CORE had started testing public accommodations and exactly a month after CORE had won a prolonged campaign to desegregate the library. In fact, the very day before the fires, CORE had conducted tests in which Negroes were served without incident.

The library desegregation took place on December 16. By closing time, 236 Negroes had secured library cards and a few Negroes were still in line. The following day, chairs and tables were removed, but the library was open.

The restaurant-testing started shortly after New Year's. The M & D Restaurant on Main Street served Negroes for th first time—even though the price of milk was found to be 60c. At the Blue Grill, the testers were served, although several members of the Jackson parish sheriff's department who were eating there, got up and went outside until the testers had disappeared.

DESEGREGATE GAINESVILLE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

Thirteen members of Gainesville (Florida) CORE were prepared on January 18 to form a human chain in front of the entrance to a white junior high school if the school board persisted in its refusal to admit Negroes to nighttime vocational classes.

But the action was made unnecessary when four Negro women, who had been turned away a week before, were admitted without incident. CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon accompanied them. The school is only two blocks from their homes. The all-Negro Lincoln School, to which they had been directed the previous week, is three miles away.

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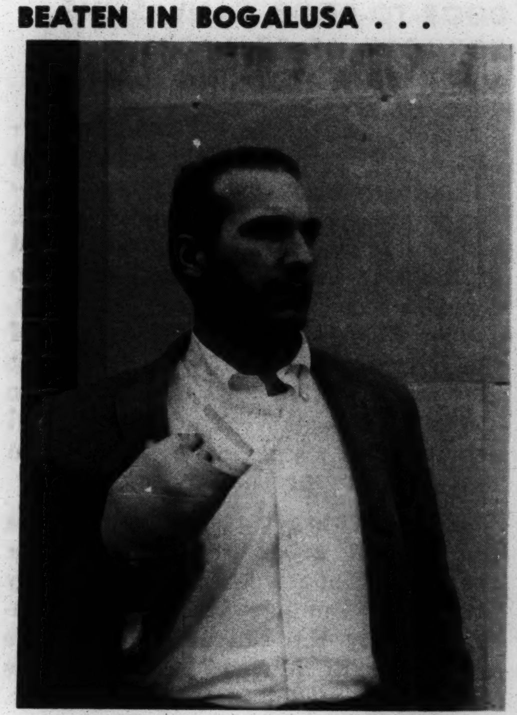
MARCH-APRIL 1965 No. 111

THE LONG, COLD WINTER IN LOUISIANA

Additional students are joining the CORE staff in Bogalusa within the current month to work on voter registration and desegregation of public places.

BEATEN IN BOGALUSA . . .



. . . by a gang of whites on February 3, CORE task Force Worker William Yates suffered a broken hand. It was shielding his head as he curled-up nonviolently on the sidewalk to ward off the onslaught.

This is but one of repeated assaults by white vigilantes in this Louisiana town where Klan terrorism forced cancellation of a meeting to be addressed by former Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas and where one of the meeting's sponsors, Ralph Blumberg, owner of Radio Station WBOX, almost has been forced out of business.

These white gangs are used to maintain segregation in public places in violation of the civil rights law. When Negroes seek service, managers make a phone call and within five minutes the white vigilantes arrive. Presently, not even the restaurants which CORE integrated in January will serve Negroes.

This violence on the part of the whites has given rise to a Negro organization called the Deacons for Defense & Justice, which has a policy of armed self-defense. Many members of this group cooperate with CORE, but while engaging in CORE projects, they agree to remain unarmed and to adhere to nonviolent discipline.

The biggest employer in town, Crown Zellerbach Corp., a paper manufacturer, whose plant is completely segregated, has thus far shunned responsibility in the situation. A 55-man deputation headed by CORE Vice-Chairman Wilfred Ussery recently conferred with top company officials in San Francisco but to no avail. A boycott of the company's products is being contemplated.

SCHOOL BOYCOTT IN JONESBORO

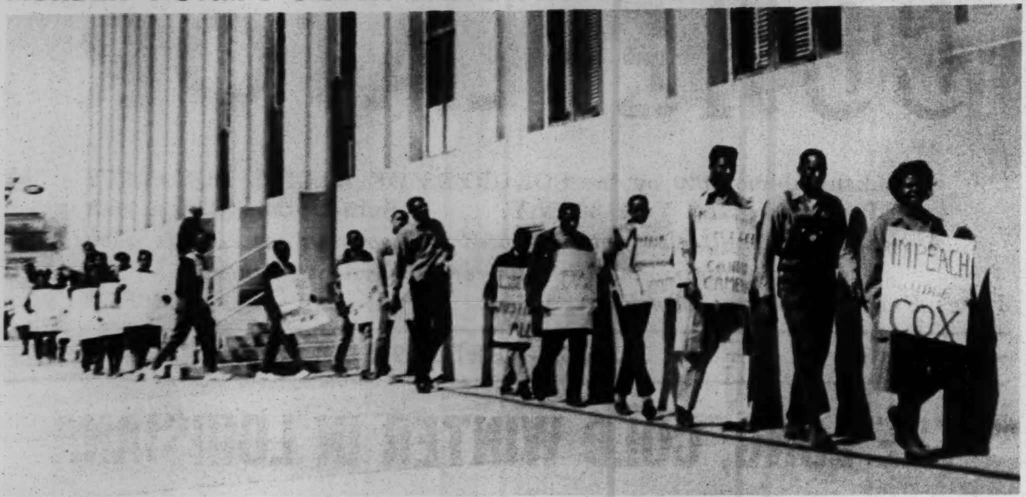
On March 27, the final day of a 2-week Negro high school boycott in Jonesboro, Governor McKeithen (at center) flew there "to avert another Selma" and helped to negotiate a settlement. The strike, supported and coordinated by the local CORE staff, was in protest over inadequate courses and facilities at the Negro high school.

On March 23, CORE National Director James Farmer led a march which climaxed with a mass outdoor rally attended by over 1000 persons. The following day, 350 students marched to the office of the school board.

At present students from the University of Kansas, Syracuse University and Washington University are spending their spring break in Jonesboro starting to rebuild two churches which were burned to the ground in January.

The Kansas students came from a campus where CORE had helped win a 2-day student sit-in. The chancellor reinstated 110 arrested students and agreed on demands to bar discrimination in student housing, in advertising accepted in the student paper and in placement of student teachers.

MURDER VICTIM'S SISTER LEADS PROTEST AGAINST COX DECISION



Barbara Chaney Moss, sister of James Chaney, one of the three civil rights workers murdered last June, is shown leading this CORE-initiated demonstration February 27 at the federal courthouse in Meridian, Mississippi. Chaney's younger brother, Ben, also is among the pickets.

The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the ruling of U.S. Judge W. Harold Cox dismissing felony indictments against 17 Neshoba county officials and residents in connection with the triple slaying. Judge Cox left standing only the misdemeanor indictments.

"Murder is a Misdemeanor in Mississippi," asserted one of the picket signs.

"The demonstrators converged on the building from both sides in groups of three and four," reports CORE Task Force Worker Joe Morse. "After reaching the steps, they pulled picket signs from under their coats and jackets and merged into a single line. If they had displayed their signs on the way, they would have been liable to arrest under a local law for 'parading without a permit.'

"Awaiting us in front of the building were the police chief, a large number of patrolmen and about 150 onlookers. There was considerable heckling and name-calling by a group of white youths, whom police made no move to curb. But there were no incidents and no arrests."

Mrs. Fannie Lee Chaney, mother of James Chaney, led 14 persons in a preliminary picketing of the courthouse the day before the main demonstration.

CORE HELPS GAIN UNION CONTRACT IN NEGRO AREA

Joining forces with Local 876, Retail Employees Union, Detroit CORE has helped to win a contract with Fair Way Supermarket, a store in the Negro community.

"Community support for the picket line was almost 100%," reports Larry Anderson, the CORE group's publicity chairman. "As a consequence of CORE's effort, workers at three other grocery stores in the neighborhood have contacted our employment committee for advice on organizing. Before Fair Way was organized, employees were paid as little as 60 to 70 cents an hour and often worked as long as 60 hours a week."

In January, a CORE picket line at the Food Farm Market persuaded that store to rehire five Negro employees who had been discharged after trying to get Local 876 to organize the shop.

IN BRIEF

CORE Associate National Director George Wiley was among 48 demonstrators arrested March 19 for a sit-down in front of the Chase Manhattan Bank Building in New York protesting the bank's policy of making loans to South Africa. The demonstration was sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, other student groups and CORE.

* * *

An area-wide campaign for equal job opportunities at 168 Alameda county (Calif.) restaurants has been lanched by Berkeley and Oakland CORE with mass picketing of restaurants on Oakland's Jack London Square.

* * *

Aided by CORE chapters in Westchester county and other civil rights groups, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union won an agreement reinstating workers involved in a 2-month hospital strike in the notoriously conservative, white-Protestant town of Bronxville.

DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING, BOYCOTT OF REALTORS MARK FAIR HOUSING DRIVE

Door-to-door canvassing and a boycott of white realtors are involved in a concentrated, month-long, fair housing campaign in Akron, Ohio, where, last summer, the Akron Area Board of Realtors led a successful drive to repeal a local fair housing ordinance.

The Board is the chief target of the boycott. Harold Bragg, President of Akron CORE points out that there are seven local Negro-operated real estate firms which home seekers can patronize during the boycott.

A second target of the campaign is the current urban renewal plan for the predominantly Negro Opportunity Park area. Bumper stickers being distributed by the canvassers say "We Shall Not Be Moved," which in this instance is meant in its literal sense. If the urban renewal plan is put into effect now, with the local housing discrimination prevailing as it is, Negroes displaced will be unable to find suitable housing.

Training sessions for canvassers have been held at the Greater Peace Baptist Church. The city-wide campaign is being conducted by an ad hoc committee, the Committee for Justice and Equality in Housing, with the support of the local CORE and NAACP groups. The Negro community is being mobilized by block captains armed with literature explaining the campaign.

ACTION DRIVE AGAINST UTILITY BRINGS ELEVEN ARRESTS

Eleven members of Syracuse (N.Y.) CORE were arrested in the first week of a campaign of daily sit-ins at the Niagara Mohawk Power Co., big upstate utility.

One of the sit-ins was in the office of Earle Machold, company president. Others were in other parts of the building.

"After months of negotiation and several meetings with Niagara Mohawk, it became obvious that the company was not ready or willing to change its hiring policy and had no intention of doing so," said Fern Freel, Chairman of the Employment Committee of Syracuse CORE.

Leaflets point out that "out of a total work force of 1500 employees, Niagara Mohawk employs only eight Negroes. In other words, only one out of 187 Syracusans employed by Niagara Mohawk is Negro whereas over one out of 19 Syracusans who provide Niagara Mohawk with its income and profits is a Negro."

PITTSBURGH PICKETS DEMAND ACTION ON SLUMS

CORE
DOWN WITH Slums NOW

Pittsburgh CORE recently conducted the first picket demonstration in·its campaign to eliminate health hazards in slum area housing. The picketing took place outside the City-County Building following a fruitless negotiation session between a CORE committee, including residents of the Hill district and County Health Director Herbert Domke.

Frederick Richardson, chairman of the CORE group's housing committee, complained that the Health Department had failed to answer a request to check 25 violations found by the committee in dwellings on Center Avenue, Foreside Place and Clark Street. Domke asserted that the CORE request had been misplaced due to the absence of the chief of the Health Department's central district.

Mrs. Ruth Harley, a resident of Anaheim Street, asked if the Department could act against owners of buildings where children are bitten by rats. Domke replied that the Department "doesn't have the responsibility, money or authority to ratproof a house."

The violations found by CORE were graphically demonstrated to newsmen through a film shown at the group's headquarters just prior to the meeting with Domke.

"Some of the things shown included poor plumbing, ceiling and wall holes, rags stuffed in windows, unvented heaters and roaches," reported the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

As an outcome of the demonstration, Domke has checked the 25 violations disclosed by the CORE group's housing committee. Orders to correct violations have been issued in 18 cases and four landlords have been brought into court.

"While this is a step in the right direction, we feel that CORE is doing too much of the work which should be carried out by Domke and his department," commented Vicki Cooper, secretary of the housing committee. "We will continue to demonstrate until county and city officials assume a role cf responsibility in enforcing housing codes."

Seek Anti-Poverty Boards Which Represent Poor

Name Broader Board in Philadelphia

Following Philadelphia CORE's denunciation and veto of five anti-poverty proposals sent to Washington by the Anti-Poverty Task Force, Mayor Tate has replaced the Task Force with a more representative body, the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. Comprised of from 26 to 32 members, this committee will include 12 representatives of civil rights and labor organizations, including Philadelphia CORE.

In rejecting the five proposals sent to Washington, Philadelphia CORE, as a member of the former body's Human Services Committee, had asserted: "The guidelines issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity state in simple English that poor people are to be involved in the planning, conduct and administration of all community action programs."

Picket "Silk Stocking" Appointees in Buffalo

With placards saying "Maximum Feasible Participation"—a quote from federal legislation establishing the antipoverty program—30 Buffalo (N.Y.) CORE pickets marched in front of County Hall protesting the "silk stocking" composition of the committee established to administer the anti-poverty program here. To prove their contention, the pickets had a map showing the location of the committee members' residences, located in well-to-do neighborhoods.

Requesting that the Office of Economic Opportunity refuse to recognize the Buffalo committee, Luther Burnette, Chairman of Buffalo CORE, wrote: "It's members are predominantly highly placed public officials, business leaders and persons prominent in organized charities. Eighteen of the 21 members are white, none are Puerto Ricans or Indians, nor for that matter are any 'poor whites.' "

Builder of All-White Homes "Unfit" in Baltimore

Protesting the naming of Morton Macht as chairman of the committee administering the antipoverty program in Baltimore, James Griffin, Chairman of Baltimore CORE, wrote Mayor McKeldin: "Mr. Macht, as a builder of new homes, has not offered equal access to those homes to qualified Negroes.

"It is not possible that key persons of the antipoverty program can identify with people of the ghetto if they are connected with discriminatory housing developments which keep the people of the ghetto walled in."

Protests Hold Up Funds for Louisiana

Protests by CORE and other civil rights groups over Governor McKeithen's appointment of Shelby Jackson, ultra segregationist, as assistant director of the anti-poverty program in Louisiana has held up a $132,000 planning grant for that state. Another ultra-segregationist whose appointment to a top anti-poverty post drew protest was John Harding, an Alexandria radio commentator.

"We have had more mail and more complaints about these Louisiana appointments than we have had from all the other states combined," reported an official of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Urge Funds Withheld for North Florida

CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin has wired the Office of Economic Opportunity demanding that anti-poverty funds withheld from Jefferson County in northwest Florida, so long as the administering agency excludes Negroes.

Throughout northwest Florida, where CORE has been leading a voter registration drive, a campaign is being conducted to block both anti-poverty and school assistance funds to localities which discriminate in these two regards.

Fifteen CORE pickets with placards asking "Does the FBI Condone Discrimination?" were arrested in Meridian, Mississippi on February 16 as they marched in front of the segregated Lamar Hotel where FBI Supervisor Joseph Sullivan addressed a meeting in connection with National Crime Prevention Week.

THE ALABAMA MARCH

In this photo, CORE National Director James Farmer is with Martin Luther King in the second attempt to march from Selma to Montgomery. When the march ultimately proceeded, CORE members from many parts of the country were in the ranks. At the concluding rally of some 50,000 persons in front of the Alabama State Capitol, Farmer was represented by COREIator Editor Jim Peck, who, on the occasion spoke in tribute to William Moore—killed two years ago while freedom-walking across Alabama.

During the Selma crisis, CORE chapters in major cities from east to west, joined with other civil rights groups in mass marches and sit-ins at federal buildings urging immediate U.S. action to enforce voting rights and to prevent a repeat-performance of the brutal onslaught by state troopers at the march's outset.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP,
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Act of October 23, 1962, Section 4639, Title 39,
United States Code)

1. Date of Filing: October, 1964. 2. Title of Publication: CORE-lator. 3. Frequency of Issue: Bi-monthly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038. 5. Location of Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038; James Peck, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038; Marvin Rich, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038. 7. Owner: CORE-Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038. No stockholders. 8. Known Publishers, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1% or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions udner which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1% or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation. 10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal Manual (Sections 4355afi 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code). A. Total No. Copies Printed, average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 76,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 76,000. B. Paid Circulation. 1. To term subscribers by mail, carrier delivery or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 61,000, single issue nearest to filing date, 61,000. 2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise, none. C. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 15,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 15,000. D. Total no. of copies distributed. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 76,000; single issue nearest to filing date, 76,000. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Marvin Rich, Managing Editor

ARREST 63 DEMONSTRATORS AT ALABAMA EXHIBIT

While two Alabama state troopers guarding the Alabama tourist exhibit at Chicago's National Boat Travel & Outdoor Show distributed tourism-boosting literature, local CORE members handed out leaflets showing Alabama troopers beating a Negro with nightsticks.

The CORE leaflet distributors stood beneath a marquee reading "Welcome to Friendly Alabama" and close to a large-sized portrait of Governor George Wallace.

"Police moved in when the group, which entered the boat show in small clusters, suddenly formed a line in front of the Alabama exhibit and began singing: 'Ain't Gonna Let No State Trooper Turn Me 'Round,'" reported the Chicago American.

Within five minues, police arrested 40 demonstrators. Outside the building were CORE pickets with placards saying "Alabama Is a Disgrace to the U.S." and "Free Selma First." The following day, 23 more demonstrators were arrested after they chained themselves together and sat down in front of the Alabama booth. "When they refused to leave, a force of 20 officers moved in with bolt cutters to haul them away," reported the Chicago Daily News. The demonstration March 13-14 was sponsored by Chicago CORE.

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EDITOR: Ruth M. Turner
Volume 1, No.1

A CALL FOR POLITICAL UNITY

...The Adam Clayton Powell outrage was one more sign of an obvious fact: There are no rights of black men which white America is bound to respect. Although there may be some who refuse to believe that the situation is as bad as it is, we believe that history teaches us to expect the worst. The treatment of the Japanese-Americans in this country and the extermination of the Jews in Germany warn us of the fate of a minority which politically, psychologically or economically threatens the majority and has no plan to protect itself.

The treatment of Adam Clayton Powell also brings home another point. Black people have no power now that is respected by either the Democratic or Republican party. Even the liberal movement, weakened and powerless, did not see fit to join its only potential ally for social change, the black community, in support of Adam. That failure, coupled with earlier retreats by liberals, insures the confident rule of conservatism for a long time to come.

We have two alternatives - to protest the Powell action indefinitely, or to make plans now so that the next Adam will not be humiliated because he chose to deal with his congressional peers as a proud black man, controlled by no one.

(contd.on pg.2)

BALTIMORE PROJECT - Target City

...The Target City project was started in the Spring of 1966. CORE staff members, Walter Brooks, Project Director, Howard Quander, Stu Wechsler and Mike Flug were the initial team sent in to develop information about the city, make contacts, establish working relationships with the Baltimore CORE chapter and other community groups and lay the groundwork for the opening of an office.

Almost before an office could be established, CORE was asked to assist employees of 2 nursing homes, Bolton Hill and Lincoln Memorial, who walked out in protest of poor working conditions and a 35¢ hourly wage. Out of this first effort was developed the Maryland Freedom Union, an independent union of retail store employees and other workers in low-paying positions, who now have workers in 2 shops under contract providing a minimum wage of $1.25 per hour, paid holidays and shorter working hours. Maryland Freedom Union has the potential for reaching at least 80 other shops in West Baltimore alone if they can receive the necessary resources to pay organizers. In fact, 40,000 workers could be organized by M.F.U. in Baltimore alone.

Soon after the first campaign CORE became involved in an attack on visible examples

(contd. on pg.2)

OLITICAL UNITY (contd. from pg.1)

In response to the many calls
asking for a plan of action, Floyd
McKissick has called for a nation-
al conference to discuss the for-
mation of a "New National Poli-
ical Unity which will truly re-
flect and represent the interests
of black people. We do not see
this as CORE's "baby" alone. We
all on all Black Americans, with-
out regard to party affiliations,
political leanings or social
status, to come together to talk
about our future. The conference
is planned for Feb. 18 and 19,
lthough the hospitalization of
he National Director may force
s to postpone it.

It is not our goal to de-
velop a third party even though
hat may be possible in some
reas. Our objective is a politi-
al alliance of black Americans
hich will be uncommitted to
ither political party and which
ll use its power to protect our
nterests.

Black Americans committed to
his action are actually repeat-
ing history. During Reconstruc-
ion days such conferences were
eld often throughout the coun-
ry. The political unity of black
eople was so effective that the
ower structure called out the
vigilantes to lynch black men
ack into submission. The failure
o seat Julian Bond and the
lynching" of Adam are signs that
istory is bound and determined
o repeat itself. We must act
ow - to implement political
lack power - while there is
till time!

hat YOU can DO.....

., Compile a list of key contacts
in your area from _all_ organi-
zations, social classes and
political persuasions who
should be invited to attend
he conference and submit them
o Lincoln Lynch.

(Cont.on pg.3)

BALTIMORE (contd. from pg.1)

of discrimination so that the community would know CORE was in town and "meant business". This was an attack on segregated PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. As a result of a number of arrests and street demonstrations involving thousands of people, an agreement was signed with a number of restaurantant owners, tavern proprietors, etc., to end discrimination in their places of business. As a result of the publicity surrounding these successful efforts, other meaningful projects began to take shape in the black ghetto. Under the leadership of Antoine Perot, a field secretary from the Midwest, a FREEDOM SCHOOL was established involving some 30 teachers and 200 pupils ranging in age from 8 to 80. Danny Gant, a field secretary, successfully organized a group of WELFARE MOTHERS who called themselves the Baltimore Welfare Recipients Protective League. They confronted the Governor, Mayor and the administrators of the local and state welfare department, with their needs for more money and more dignity. A group of employees of the state and city Highway Departments gained promotions, raises and more respect from their superiors by organizing under CORE auspices. Several HOUSING GROUPS aided by Stu Wechsler conducted campaigns to reduce rents and improve their housing conditions. Alex Hawkins, another field secretary, from the Midwest spearheaded a summer POLITICAL CAMPAIGN which included getting signatures to put a pro-Negro redistricting plan on the ballot. The program also registered hundreds of voters and got out the vote on Election Day.

In November, the Dept. of Labor funded a job-training program around a service station

(contd.on pg.3)

POLITICAL UNITY (Contd.from pg.2)

2. Make plans now to attend the conference in February (or possibly early March).
3. Forward any suggestions or ideas you may have with regard to the conference immediately.

****** ****** ******

NEWS FLASH

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, is in the Neurological Center of the Presbyterian Medical Center, 168th and Ft. Washington in New York City. Mr. McKissick suffers from a slipped disc and an inflamed sciatica - a very painful condition. Doctors say that he will have to be hospitalized for at least two weeks.

******** ******* *****

IT'S ABOUT TIME

Capitol Records has reportedly released a record on a Black Super-Hero (Superman-type) from the planet Ebonite, who defeats white enemies who are evil. Said Lincoln Lynch, when asked for a comment: "It's about time!"

****** ****** ******

NATIONAL CORE MOVES TO THE GHETTO

....In August of 1966, National CORE moved from downtown Manhattan to Harlem. The primary objective of this move was to relate to the black community. CORE staff believes that those who plan programs for the ghetto should live and work there so that program designs will reflect the mood and true needs of the people being served.

In keeping with our goal to work in the community, National CORE plans to officially open its doors to all members and friends at an Open House to be held early in 1967. The new Harlem offices

(contd. on pg.4)

BALTIMORE (Contd.from pg.2)

near the Target City office which has 24 young men in training for a period of six months. The youth, all high school dropouts, will not only learn how to run a service station, but will receive the necessary training to become independent small businessmen. The program, funded for a year, will eventually train 50 young men. The team leaders and project staff are all Baltimore residents with the exception of Danny Gant and Ed Doston who act as liaison between the Target City project and the job-training program.

Target City has also purchased several pieces of property with the idea of opening a printing shop, providing housing for CORE staff and developing some small businesses. Plans are also being made to take advantage of urban renewal and poverty program funds, with neighborhood corporations in charge. The 1967 political campaign is already under discussion. The idea is to develop a real base of power in the second district from which black councilmen may be elected.

Here is an example of the Target City approach: A few weeks ago a group of doctors approached CORE with a request that they picket a Cadillac dealer who refused to hire Negro salesmen. Project staff suggested instead that the doctors get together and obtain their own G.M. franchise. The doctors thought the idea a good one, got some advice from the staff and now are much more willing to make contributions to CORE. This hard-headed, black power oriented approach is typical of Target City and helps to explain its success.

(contd. on pg.4)

NATIONAL MOVES (contd.from pg.3)

will be opened to the public with a new year of programming. National Action Council members and staff will be on hand to discuss history and development of CORE as well as program projections for 1967.

The new offices are located at 200 West 135 St., New York,N.Y. (281-9650). The current staff in the National Office consists of:
Floyd McKissick, National Dir.
Lincoln Lynch, Associate Dir.
Ruth Turner, Special Assistant
Don Smith, Public Relations Dir.
Mrs. Clora Coleman, Dir. of Special Events, and
Genevieve Jennings, Comptroller,
Bookkeeping & clerical sstaff

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CORE NEWS NOTES

1. A reminder: National Convention is to be held on theWest Coast and plans should be made now to save up travel money and the affiliation fee of $100. for 1967.
2. McKissick's testimony at the Ribicoff hearings on cities is being prepared for prtinting. If you would like to order copies, write the National Office, attention of Public Relations.
3. At long last, Lou Smith has some help on the West Coast. Alex Hawkins from the Midwest recently engaged in Target City, Baltimore, will leave for the western region very shortly.
4. We need up-to-date addresses and names of your chapter members so that they may receive all National CORE mailings. Please get yours in today!

(contd.on pg.5)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR VISITS MEDWEST & WESTERN CORE CHAPTERS

....LINCOLN LYNCH recently returned from a 6 week field trip to the midwest and west coast CORE chapters. He left from Cleveland on Nov. 5 where he kept a speaking engagement. From there he traveled to Boston, Minneapolis and Madison, Wisc. He debated with students at the University of Wisconsin en route to the West Coast; he also briefly visited Chicago CORE. Mr. Lynch arrived in Seattle on Nov. 11 and worked with the CORE people until the 14th. He arrived in Los Angeles on Nov. 15 where he worked for 2 weeks. During the week-end of Nov. 18-20 more than 50 people, CORE members and others, participated in intensive training workshops in San Bernardino, Calif. which Mr. Lynch and Lou Smith helped lead. The sessions were part of a 5 week training program sponsored by CORE and Scholarship Education Defense Fund.

During the first few weeks of December he traveled to northern California and worked with CORE people in San Francisco. From San Francisco he moved on to Washington and Oregon and returned to New York City in time for Christmas. During his visits in northern California he addressed the students at Reed College, Portland.

The purpose of Mr. Lynch's field trip was to visit CORE chapters, to work with them and to assist in clarifying CORE's position on black power, self-defense, Vietnam, etc. In addition, he delivered a series of speeches, participated in workshops and conferences dealing

(contd.on pg.5)

CORE NEWS NOTES (cont.from pg.4)

5. Silver CORE lapel pins are now available in the office. Only $1.00 each. Order yours today. Also Black Power buttons at 25¢ each.
6. Money is still a problem. Lack of funds prevents hiring field workers to staff local chapters and the initiation of vital programs. CAN'T YOUR CHAPTER DO SOMETHING THIS YEAR?

****** ****** ******

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ON CORE STAFF

....In September, 1966, CORE worked out an arrangement with Columbia University whereby graduate students work in the New York CORE offices during the school year, October through May. Six students and one supervisor joined the staff in October under a special community organization program and they devote three full days each week to CORE. This job is part of the students' field experience toward earning graduate degrees in community organization. All the students requested placement in CORE and ascribe to CORE's philosophy. They are primarily interested in seeing social work move more aggressively into social action and organization of the poor.

These seven additional staff persons in New York CORE are devoted to the development of constructive programs so that the six major social goals outlined in CORE's Black Power concept can be realized. For example, 2 organizers are working with parents in Harlem involved in a school controversy where black parents are demanding a voice in the school's program to guarantee quality education for their children. Two other workers are organizing youth groups in the

(contd.on pg.6)

LYNCH IN WEST (contd.from pg.4)

with the problems of black people visited special CORE programs like Operation Bootstrap; talked with people in Watts, Oakland and dealt in other areas of major concern such as assisting with the Black Political Conference to be held on the West Coast late in January. National CORE hopes to be able to send more field secretaries into local chapters in 1967.

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CORE CALENDAR HIGHLIGHTS

Dec. 18 - Appearance of Floyd McKissick on the David Susskind TV program in N.Y. and a follow-up appearance on Jan. 8 resulting in excellent reviews.

Jan. 3 - National Chairman, Will Ussery, issued a call for a 2 day Black Conference in San Francisco to be held Jan.27 and 28, to assess the swing to the right in that state and the political future of black people in this country.

Jan.6-8 - Lincoln Lynch, Assoc. National Director, represented CORE in Washington at Powell ouster and anti-HUAC campaign.

Jan. 16 - Floyd McKissick announced plans for a National Conference scheduled for Feb.18 - 19 to discuss the need for and structure of an independent black political alliance (see editorial).

Jan. 24 - McKissick admitted to Columbia Presbyterian Hosp. for at least two weeks.

(contd.on pg.7)

COLUMBIA STUDENTS (cont.from pg.5)

Bronx and Brooklyn. Another is organizing welfare clients to assert their rights in benefits due them. Another worker is organizing tenants and block associations in Brooklyn.

****** ****** ******

CORE ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING A SUCCESS - Jan. 26, 1967

Members of the Advisory Committee reviewed the programs and policies of CORE and concluded: We unanimously support CORE's programs and policies and in particular, wish to lend our voice in support of CORE's current direction.

****** ****** ******

FOREFATHERS OF BLACK POWER

PART 1 - MARCUS GARVEY

The Garvey Movement - 1916-1923

Marcus Garvey is often referred to as the Leader of Black Nationalism in America primarily because of his organization of the largest group of Negroes on a pro-black issue in the history of this country. "Black Moses" was Jamaican born and influenced by African Nationalists.

Garvey moved to Harlem in 1916 and spread the philosophy of African Nationalism through the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Much of his program was accomplished through street rallies, speeches and a weekly publication, "The Negro World". Within a few years Garvey had a following estimated at two million. He also attempted to build Negro businesses. One major venture was the Black Star Steamship Line which was to be used to transport Negroes "Back to Africa". These ventures were short lived.

In 1923 the Garvey Movement was crushed by whites and Negro "Leaders". The technique used was conviction of Garvey on charges of fraud which resulted in his imprisonment. His sentence was commuted in 1925 and he returned to Jamaica for a short while before leaving for London where he spent the rest of his life.

Garvey Nationalism consisted of two main premises. First, the supremacy of African civilization which he believed was the first of all world civilizations to develop beyond the primitive stage, and to attain greatness which was destroyed by the Europeans. Second, the African race was not inherently inferior, but oppressed, and once that oppression was thrown off, the black man would rise again. Garvey's program called for organization and unity of all black men as a key factor to acquisition of power. Education, by black men was seen as essential. Garvey also advocated the belief that the Negro is the most liberal and charitable of all God's creatures; this led to his defeat by the Europeans.

Garvey's concise goals are very much relevant to CORE's new direction:

1. To champion a Negro nationhood by redemption of Africa.
2. To make the Negro race-conscious.
3. To breathe ideals of manhood and womanhood into every Negro.
4. To advocate racial self-determination.
5. To make the Negro world-conscious.
6. To point to all the news that will be interesting and instructive to the Negro.

(cont.on pg.7)

CORE CALENDAR (contd.from pg.5)

Jan. 26 - National Advisory Comm. meeting, James Farmer, Chairman.

Jan.27-28 Lynch in San Francisco to represent CORE at 2 day conference.

* * *

MARCUS GARVEY (contd.from pg.6)

7. To instill racial self-help.
8. To inspire racial self-love and self-respect.

The Garvey Movement died after his incarceration in 1923 and Garvey died in exile, in London in 1940

* * *

We have been asked to announce a forthcoming conference of the National Education Assn. to be held in Washington Feb. 9-10. Subject: Treatment of minorities in American textbooks. Write N E A, 1201 - 16th St.,N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, for further information.

* * *

WE WELCOME LETTERS TO THE EDITOR, YOUR IDEAS FOR PROGRAMS AND GENERAL REMARKS. PLEASE ADDRESS THEM TO RUTH TURNER IN CARE OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE.

CHAPTER NEWS

NEW ROCHELLE CORE

A new project is taking shape in New Rochelle, New York. CORE, under the leadership of Mal Williams, has joined hands with the local branch of the NAACP and other community organizations to block the discriminatory use of federal funds in an urban renewal project.

The guilty parties are Macy's Dept. Store and the building trade unions. At present there are no black skilled employees among the electricians, plumbers, steam fitters and rodmen (reinforcers) who have contracts to build a new Macy's Dept. Store, a part of a 25 million dollar urban renewal plan in New Rochelle. Direct action is being prepared and all metropolitan chapters are being alerted. It looks like another round in a familiar fight.

* * *

SEND IN YOUR CHAPTER S NEWS. WE KNOW THAT A LOT OF CHAPTERS ARE REALLY GETTING INTO THE COMMUNITY AND DOING A JOB. BUT SINCE WE CANNOT AFFORD A CLIPPING SERVICE ANYMORE, WE HAVE TO DEPEND ON YOU TO LET US KNOW WHAT'S HAPPENING.

* * *

CONGRESS OF
CORE-LATOR
RACIAL EQUALITY
working to create a society in which all men are equal

200 WEST 135th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030
281-9650

FLASH

Adam Clayton Powell May Tour for CORE

Those trips to Bimini by our National Director, Floyd McKissick and National Chairman, Wil Ussery, were not pleasure trips. Although Floyd, still recuperating from a bad back, enjoyed the sun, the purpose was to offer support to Powell in person and to attempt to enlist his support for CORE.

Powell apparently recognized that CORE support has been sincere and was helpful in getting him the largest plurality (86%) in his career on April 11. Floyd and Wil's presence in Bimini also showed him that the issue of his treatment by Congress makes him a national issue, not just a New York one.

Powell offered an agreement. He would make a speaking tour of the major cities in the U.S. under CORE auspices. Although things are not yet final, plans for the tour are being worked on now.

Muhammed Ali-Possible Convention Attraction

Muhammed Ali has tentatively agreed to appear at the CORE 1967 Convention. Plans are to recognize the champion for his courage in sticking to his principles in the face of attack and persecution by racist America.

CORE IN THE FIELD

Ike Reynolds Calls for Summer Volunteers

Ike Reynolds called today for summer and year-long volunteers to build real "black power" in Louisiana. Deadline for applications is June 20.

Ike writes: "We have both summer and year-long projects needing volunteer assistance. Volunteer civil rights activity is at times a dangerous and dirty business. If you're looking for something clean, safe and middle-class, don't write the CORE Southern office

Before deciding to join our summer program, decide on the type of work and the type of people with whom you would like to become involved. Read our brochure carefully and if you feel that you can be of some help in implementing any of the programs and would like to work in one of them, contact us at once.

What Volunteers Can Do

We're looking for people that are interested in the following programs:

1. Agricultural and Economical
2. Education
3. Political
4. Welfare

These programs should obviously interest students who are majoring in social work, education, political science, agriculture and business. We must be quick to point out that we are not excluding students in some other field or non-students from taking an active role in any of our programs.

Volunteers can be assigned to work areas where we have staff or experienced local people. There will be no more than five or six persons in any given parish (county). The present plans call for us to work in ten parishes which means that we'll not need more than fifty-five (55) people. Those persons selected to work in Louisiana will be asked to report to our New Orleans office on June 20th.

The basic requirements are:

1. 18 years of age or over for everyone that comes from another state.

2. Good health with a doctor's statement to that effect.

3. Self supporting. Each person should be able to provide $10-$15 per week for eight weeks.

Louisiana - cont'd.

The Louisiana Problem

In 1960, Louisiana with a Negro population of 1,039,207, ranked fifth in the nation in a breakdown of Negro population by states. This represented a 17.8% increase in the Negro population over the past decade with the bulk of the increase centered in northwest Louisiana, where we will concentrate our efforts this summer, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans metropolitan areas.

CORE's Success Story

Last year, CORE became involved in eleven elections in which we either put up or supported candidates. CORE candidates won six elections and another is being contested in the courts. This shows a "win" record of at least 60%. Because of this success, CORE will place a great deal of work in building a political base in northwest Louisiana where the chances of success are greatest.

How CORE Organizes in Louisiana

1. Canvassing: door to door canvassing neighborhoods to explain CORE programs and to talk to people about local issues.

2. Meetings: neighborhood and mass meetings will be held to encourage participation in the programs. These meetings will be forums for discussions of community issues. Meetings will be broken down into small groups for free and less inhibited discussion so that more people will feel free to participate.

3. Visiting: the word will be spread by speaking at churches and clubs, bars, street meetings and pool room discussions. We also will visit private homes and talk with people in an effort to make them feel that they as individuals are important to the success of any program.

4. Printed material: printed material from the ADA, COPE, SEDF and similar organizations will be used. We will also use films in the educational, agricultural and political programs if they can be found.

5. Follow-up: where local people are already engaged in programs that we have helped launch we will merely supply additional help that they need or want.

6. Orientation: each volunteer will receive two days of orientation on the problems in the state on a parish by parish basis during the first two days and will receive two additional days on-the-job training before being assigned to a parish.

"If we are able to involve and train local people to recognize their problems and organize to carry out some programs to change their dismal lives," concluded Ike's report, "we will be successful."

You owe it
to yourself
to try

BLACK
POWER

If you don't
you'll never
know how great
you really are.

CORE AND VIETNAM

CORE played a prominent part in the successful April 15 Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the largest peace demonstration ever seen in this country.

Floyd McKissick, National Director, was one of the featured speakers at the New York rally which was attended by more than 400,000 people. CORE groups from Baltimore

CORE and Vietnam - cont'd.

Cleveland, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Long Island and Detroit as well as all boroughs in New York were among the marchers.

CORE had also helped in organizing for the giant demonstration. Don Smith, Ron Clark, Joycelyn McKissick and Ruth Turner from the National office helped out as part-time or volunteer staff. Harlem and Brooklyn CORE organized large contingents of black youth. Floyd's early support of the Mobilization made it possible to involve other big names. The CORE ad on Vietnam which appeared in the New York Times and this week in Muhammed Speaks also helped to create the climate for the massive protest against the war.

GUEST EDITORIAL: IS CORE GOING NATIONALIST?

No one would even dream of asking such a question a few years ago. When one saw a civil rights demonstration, there would be a few black men in it and a lot of willing white hands. We even had such absurd situations assail white picket lines fighting discrimination, with a black leader and in the ghetto.

The civil rights movement was based on the idea that specific white persons were discriminating against black people. It was felt that the way to fight them was through direct non-violent action of both blacks and whites. Morality was on our side. The discriminator got a bad press. A concession was eventually wrung out of a white man. His racist system and his power remained unchanged.

CORE, the leading exponent of non-violent direct action, began to grow in the Nineteen-fifties. The Freedom Ride and the Sit-In focused attention on crass forms of racial discrimination. It won for CORE an awful lot of adherents. Unfortunately the elite character of these tactics attracted too many whites and too few blacks.

All special interest groups have always found it necessary to adopt measures that would keep them together. Unions bar employers. Democrats don't run in Republican primaries. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies have a certain word in their title so that you won't be confused about who is sponsoring it. None of this in any way implies hatred of any other group.

It is only when black people, who very definitely have a special interest, try to unite, that the canard of hatred is used. They then become "racists." Their desire to run their civil rights organizations, make the decisions and build a movement responsive to black people's needs is labelled as "black nationalist."

Racism in America is a phenomenon which virtually all whites are a party to. Black people are thoroughly justified in being suspicious of leadership of their cause coming from the oppressing group. If this attitude makes them into "bad Indians" instead of "good Negroes", then black people will assume this role.

Nobody respects a powerless bum. Maybe they should. But they don't. It is only power that is respected. Black people in their communities and their organizations must develop power to get their point across to other power groups. Like a union they must acquire the weapons to negotiate and bargain. This is what Black Power is all about.

-----Ollie Leeds.

ST. LOUIS: POSSIBLE CORE CONGRESSMAN?

St. Louis CORE, long in the forefront of the civil rights battle, faces a new challenge.

Bill Clay, militant Democratic committeeman and CORE activist, is the leading contender for the new congressional seat created by reapportionment. But Clay, long active in civil rights, also faces a year in jail and a $1,000 fine, resulting from criminal contempt charges. Clay is now a prime target of the St. Louis power structure.

15 CORE members, including Curtis, Norman Seay, Lucien Richards, Roberta Tournour and Clay face jail and fines for their part of demonstrations around Jefferson Bank and Trust in 1963.

St. Louis - Cont'd.

Clay has been told that his political future could be bright and he would be let off easy if only he apologizes for his part in the demonstrations. He has refused.

The battle is so important that Gene Tournour, North Central Regional Vice Chairman, and field secretary Danny Gant are giving full time to the fight. Plans are to mobilize the whole community to support the 15 and to take advantage of a political chance of a lifetime in St. Louis. Thus far $8,400 has been raised by the community under the leadership of a Negro sorority.

THE FINANCIAL PICTURE: STAFF SACRIFICES CONTINUE

"The money coming into CORE now would be just enough to pay our present staff and operating expenses," reports Comptroller Jan Jennings, "if we did not have to pay on that enormous back debt. As the result the staff has given up their pay week after week."

At the present time CORE owes the staff $40,000 in back salaries. The financial picture looks even more grim if one looks at funds received from chapters from January through March 30, 1967.

Detroit, Mich.	$375.84
Brooklyn, N.Y.	172.31
Tri-City Washington	35.50
Madison County, Ill.	13.44
Ann Arbor, Mich.	100.00
Newark-Essex, N.J.	172.00
	$869.09

"The money received from chapters in the first three months of 1967 just about covers our expenses of one day. We're just going to have to do better than that." We agree.

LEXINGTON CORE

CORE Investigates the Investigators

Not too long ago, a S.O.S. call came to the National office from Julia Lewis, South Central Regional Chairman. As the result of CORE the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was finally sending in a team of 50 staff people into the city of Lexington, Ky. to see if the 75 institutions and agencies receiving federal funds were living up to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The local chapter, chaired by Ronald Berry, needed the support of the National office to make sure that the federal investigators did not miss anything.

Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Director, visited the Lexington chapter March 15 through 17. He held a press conference, visited educators and the administrators of the State Hospital, met with the investigators themselves and addressed CORE members and supporters at a church meeting.

They should have found what they should have been looking for. Federal funds were being used to perpetuate the system of white supremacy in the city and in the county. In order to dilute black numerical strength which could serve as pressure to make the board live up to its obligations, the school board is using Northern tactics. They are trying to incorporate the city school board with the one in the county, thus cutting down on black percentages and representation. We can expect this kind of power move in other cities as local pressure to enforce the federal law increases.

Lincoln's trip to Lexington points up the fact that the National office is prepared to visit as many chapters as humanly possible. Lexington CORE, recognizing the financial burden on the organization of making such visits, paid for Lincoln's trip down and back and assumed all expenses while he was there. We wish it were not so, but chapters will have to be willing to assume this financial responsibility in exchange for servicing at least for the time being.

"CHEER UP. THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS ARE THE HARDEST."

NAC MEETING

On April 21-23 the NAC met in Cleveland. Recommendations coming out of the meeting concentrated on the need for much better communication within the organization, but particularly between the National office and the NAC. Also high on the list of priorities was much greater emphasis on chapter development and the setting up of a "skull session," a conference in which pressing issues facing the organization and the movement as a whole could be discussed. Date set for the conference is May 21-23. The Rabinowitz Foundation has contributed $2,500 for the program.

FRANK ROBINSIN DEAD
(CORE Field Staff - So. Carolina)
Died: March 27, 1967

Frank Robinson was a vulnerable man. He was vulnerable, being unable to say "no" to anyone asking for his help at any time. He was vulnerable in being unable not to be involved in the poverty and injustice he saw around him.

One thing he died of was an inability to say "no" even to those who turned on him, undermined him and frustrated him. Conversely, he was unable to say anything but "no" to the bigots and hatred of the world.

He died, at 49, a victim of the same outrageous neglect and exploitation that killed Bessie Smith and countless numbers of anonymous black people, the calculated neglect, or the refusal of adequate medical attention by Jim Crow hospitals. What better way to get rid of "Sumter's biggest black communist agitator" than to insure his death by neglect, and then be able to say "he would have died anyway."

Frank Robinson's great gift was his ability to care about and communicate with all kinds of people. Henry Miller has described, in The Rosy Crucifixion, the kind of communication that was typical of Frank:

> "Talk is only a pretext for other subtler forms of communications. When the latter are inoperative, speech becomes dead. If two people are intent upon communicating with one another, it doesn't matter in the least how bewildering the talk becomes. People who insist on clarity and logic often fail in making themselves understood. They are always searching for a more perfect transmitter, deluded by the supposition that the mind is the only instrument for the exchange of thought. When one really begins to talk, one delivers himself."

That Frank did; he gave of his soul mind and body to the point of oblivion.

-----Jacki Clipsham

A. J. MUSTE: WARRIOR FOR PEACE

(National Advisory Committee)
1885 - 1967

I remember sitting next to A. J. Muste the day before he died, and wondering how any man his age could take it. There he was at 82, hammering away at forging the Spring Mobilization, the biggest peace demonstration ever. He was keeping peace among the peace forces one day, speaking on his experiences in North Vietnam the next, staying up long hours with the best of the young folks, and in general, reminding everybody of what a lifetime of commitment means.

I did not know him well -- a fragile old man with wispy white hair who always looked as though he would crack of the wind blew too hard. I know that he took part in the meeting of the National Advisory Committee January 26 and was one of those who gave the most support to CORE. I know that he cared about CORE as part of his caring for peace. And I know that the world would be much better off if there were more like him.

-----Ruth Turner

STAFF NOTES

Correction

In the last issue of The CORE-Lator we failed to mention that Mrs. Marge Rogatz of Long Island has been serving as a full-time volunteer staff member and special assistant to Floyd and Lincoln for nearly a year. Our apologies to Marge who has done a fine job.

A Great Loss

Clora Coleman, main-stay of the organization through thick and thin, left CORE's staff March 31. She has accepted a position with the New York Medicare program.

Clora has stated that she left at this time only because she felt that CORE was really moving forward and her long postponed decision would not be detrimental to the organization. She is remaining Chairman of the Special Events Committee, a group of ladies who will be sponsoring fund-raising affairs for CORE, primarily in and with the black community. The Committee has already sponsored a very successful Cocktail Party and is planning now for a Book Party June 11, for author John O. Killens.

Clora cannot really be replaced. As Wil Ussery, National Chairman, has put it: "Without Clora we would not have made it." We wish her the best and are thankful that she is not going to leave the CORE family.

Promotions

John Zippert and Stu Wechsler were recently promoted to field secretaries. John is responsible for the very successful sweet potato cooperative in Opelousas, Louisiana, and Stu is working on political action in Baltimore.

Core Southern Staff In Danger

Northerners, even CORE people, tend to think sometimes that the dangers of the South are a thing of the past. Our staff in Mississippi and Louisiana are in real danger now because they are without transportation.

Due to our financial situation, which remains critical, we had to turn in the late model cars which the staff have used to carry on CORE work and escape Klansmen. Ike's staff of 11 have only two cars to cover the state.

Can't your chapter make a contribution? Buy a late model used car, hustle a used car from a wealthy supporter or something.

At Last: Help For the West Coast

Alex Hawkins, field secretary from the Mid-West and recently at CORE Target City in Baltimore has been transferred to Los Angeles to help Lou Smith cover "one third of the country."

The immediate assignment for both Lou and Alex is to contact all chapters on the West Coast, informing them of the upcoming convention in Oakland, and making convention arrangements in cooperation with National Chairman, Wil Ussery.

JOHN O. KILLENS' "SIPPI"

John Killens is one of the best known members of the CORE National Advisory Committee. His newest novel "Sippi" will be published June 19, by Trident Press. The CORE Special Events Committee (see page 6,) is sponsoring a Book Party in the author's honor on June 11. The party will be held at The Sculpture Studio, 202 E. 77th Street, 4-7 p.m. and donations are $7.50 (for which each guest receives an autographed copy of the book, refreshments and entertainment.)

CORE also plans to sell "Sippi" and will receive a percentage from the sales of the book. Start taking orders now for some Green Power to support Black Power.

SEATTLE CORE

A revived Seattle CORE has sent press releases, photographs and clippings about a successful Negro History program in their community. What is your chapter doing?

NEWS NOTES

McKissick Tells It Like It Is

People are raving about a speech that National Director Floyd McKissick gave to the Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington April 20. Floyd says he cannot

News Notes - Cont'd.

understand it. "I hit them over the head and they seemed to like it." Could it be that even newspaper editors respect a man who tells the truth?

CORE in Oregon

A CORE chapter is forming in Albina, Oregon. A group of young black students have asked for help in organizing a chapter in the slum suburb of Portland. One of the prime movers if Richard Bogle whose grandfather was executed in Jamaica BWI while fighting for Jamaican independence.

Columbia Students Have Successful Year

CORE student staff from Columbia School of Social Work are winding up their year at CORE. Toye Brown assigned to the People's Board of Education and Sidney Jones working with the parents' group at PS 36-125 have represented National CORE in the most important school fights of the year. Other students David Feingold and Tom Adams at Brooklyn and Fred Newdom and Calvin Brown at Bronx CORE have also supplied manpower for youth, welfare and housing projects. According to Valerie Jorrin, the unit's supervisor, the school is pleased with the results of the first year and will assign six more students to CORE next fall.

New York Constitutional Convention

Lincoln Lynch and Marge Rogatz have been responsible for the preparation of an extensive memorandum of CORE's views on the Constitutional Convention which will be given to all key persons in attendance. At this moment CORE will have been the only civil rights organization to have prepared a position paper.

The Next Vietnam?

The New York Times reported on April 12th that five U. S. "Rangers" have landed in Bolivia to "train" guerilla forces. Is this the next "Vietnam" where black men will be called upon to die?

Can It Happen Here?

Did you know that Title Ii of the McCarran Act gives the American Government the authority to establish concentration camps for dissenters and those who threaten the general peace? To those who say it will never happen here, let us only recall the fate of the Japanese during World War II, who probably never believed it would happen either.

Did You Know?

"In 1960, 72 per cent of all white households enjoyed basic amenities of sound housing, hot running water, and the availability of an automobile and a telephone. Only 35 per cent of non-white households had the same.

WE WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CORE-LATOR. SEND NEWS AND IDEAS TO:

Ruth Turner
CORE
200 W. 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

281-9650

Special thanks to David Feingold and Ollie Leeds for assistance with this issue.

FOR SALE FROM THE CORE STORE

Constructive Militancy - McKissick testimony to the Ribicoff Committee on Urban Affairs @25¢

__________copies   Total $__________

Reprint of McKissick article in The New Republic, December 3, 1965 @ 10¢ each

__________copies   Total $________

CORE Membership Handbook @10¢ each

_________copies   Total $________

CORE Black Power Buttons @25¢ each

_________copies   Total $_________

CORE Black Power Posters @ 25¢ each

_________copies   Total$_________

CORE Black Power Stamps (postage)
@ 1 sheet (100) $1 each

________ sheets   Total$_______

For Sale (Cont'd)

CORE Silver Lapel Pins
@1.50 each

______pins Total$________

Total Equality Bumper Stickers
@25¢ each

________stickers Total $_____

Books and Records

Freedom Ride - Jim Peck
@$1.00

____books Total$______

Our Faces, Our Words - Lillian Smith @$3.75 hard cover
$1.50 paper back

_______books Total$_______

Pictorial Story of Baltimore-CORE Target City @$1.00

______books Total$______

Jazz Salute to Freedom
@$3.50

_______records Total$_______

Lillian Smith - Our Faces, Our Words - Narrative @$3.50

_______records Total $_______

We Shall Overcome (March on Washington @$3.98

_________records Total$_______

Free Material

_____CORE 1967-8 Active and Associate Membership Cards

______CORE Membership Envelopes

______CORE Posters

____Join CORE

____Freedom Now

____Total Equality

Pamphlets

_____All About CORE
_____This is CORE
_____Cracking the Color Line
_____The Right to Vote
_____CORE Rules for Action
_____Birth of a Voter
_____Why Didn't They Hit Back
_____Sit-In Songs

ORDER BLANK

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National CORE
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New York, New York

Please send me the items checked on the list. I enclose a total of $____________for by order.

____
Name

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Chapter

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Address Phone No.

____
City State Zip Code

CORE office Address (if different from above)

____
Address Phone No.

____
City State Zip Code

FLASH BULLETIN

CONVENTION IS ONLY DAYS AWAY

PLANS FOR A CHARTER TWA JET HAVE NOT WORKED OUT(BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF CHAPTER RESPONSE) BUT WE HAVE INFORMATION THAT A ROUND-TRIP FARE TO THE WEST COAST IS AVAILABLE FOR ONLY $200. SINCE THERE ARE ONLY A FEW WEEKS LEFT, CHAPTERS ARE REMINDED TO START GETTING THEIR FUNDS TOGETHER NOW.

THIS CONVENTION WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST CRUCIAL IN THE HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION. CHAPTERS ARE ENTITLED TO THREE DELEGATES EACH TO REPRESENT THEM.

MORE INFORMATION WILL FOLLOW.

CORE

24TH
NATIONAL CONVENTION

BLACK POWER:
A
BLUEPRINT FOR SURVIVAL

June 30th - July 4th, 1967
Oakland, California

CONVENTION

CONGRESS OF
CORE-LATOR
RACIAL EQUALITY

Hello

Brothers

and

Sisters:

Welcome to Oakland!

We hope your deliberations at the 24th National Convention will be productive and that your stay in this city will be a memorable one.

This issue of the CORELATOR is written especially for the Convention. In it are messages from CORE's leaders and highlights of the many activities in which CORE has been engaged during the past year. Together they present clear evidence of CORE's direction and CORE's health.

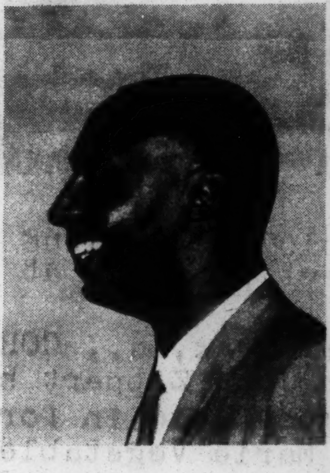
The delegates in Oakland will chart the course for next year. We hope you will heed the theme of this Convention and design aggressive, responsive, viable programs to achieve

BLACK POWER: A Blueprint for Survival

FROM THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN...

In the past year, CORE programs and activities have been brought forcefully to the Black grassroots from Harlem to Watts. CORE has continually worked to reveal racism in this society and appeal to people to overcome this tragic aspect of the nation's history. Many people have gotten the message. However, the vast majority of Black people have yet to be reached. This is our task at CORE for the year ahead and many years to come. CORE must provide the significant vehicle for calling Black people together to deal with the issues that affect their destinies. CORE must initiate discussion in the Black community with every man, woman and child about the racist nature of this society and the alternatives for survival.

The mind of the Black community must be tuned to Black Survival and Achievement. Mobilization of resources must be aimed at similar goals. CORE is in the position to educate and organize Black people. At this convention, let us construct a schedule and timetable for taking our Blueprint for Survival to Black people on every level, everywhere.



Wil Ussery
National Chairman

* * * * * * * * *

THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR SPEAKS

Fate has made it possible for us to get together another year. The economists and the Wall Street Journal predicted our demise and said we would not survive financial and other problems. I feel deeply knowing that we have been able to come thus far, knowing that we stand in a unique position as a civil rights organization today. We have turned the tide. We have made a mockery of the prognostications of those people who predicted the worst for us. We have made the slogan Black Power into a program destined to rescue Black people from destruction by the forces of a racist society which is bent upon denying them freedom, equality and dignity.

The time has now come to move from mobilization-getting people to do a specific thing, to organization--bringing people together under a permanent structure to work unceasingly for the development and achievement of self-determination. To achieve this, we need:

1.) economic power
2.) political power
3.) improved self-image
4.) militant Black leadership
5.) the enforcement of federal legislation, and
6.) mobilization of Black consumer power.

Working to develop this six-point program will be less dramatic. It requires a disciplined mind, a disciplined body and a committed soul. Purposeful and analytical thinking is required now that our priorities have been set. We must tackle these priorities with our limited finances step by step, building towards our objectives with determination, thought and skill.

Each of us must realize we are advocates of the Black people of this country and it is our obligation to serve and represent Black people no matter how great the personal sacrifice. Without such commitment, we cannot claim to represent the Black masses.

Floyd McKissick
National Director

This convention is dedicated to

National Director, continued

the survival of Black people. It is dedicated to the organization of Black people for power. We cannot let personal differences nor regional differences deter the course of history. It is the destiny of Black people to participate fully as total individuals in the development of a world that is free.

Our priorities are clear. Let us get on with the job!

* * * * * * * * * *

BLACK POWER ON THE MOVE: HIGHLIGHTS OF 1966-67

For CORE, the year 1966-67 has been a year of trial and yet, a year of triumph.

Many notable highlights come to mind when we attempt a summation of CORE activities this year. First, a word about the Staff: In spite of the inability to meet payroll, in spite of the fact that many have had to function under impossible conditions, the Staff both in the National Office and the Field stuck with the organization and worked manfully to build Black Power and rebuild CORE.

In no particular chronological order, we recall the range and variety of requests the National Office answered from different groups of Black people seeking our services and the programs of CORE people across the nation...

* * * * * * * * * *

The Bogalusa March to Franklinton around schools and Voter Rights.... The successful political campaign throughout Louisiana which resulted in the election of Black people to office for the first time since Reconstruction.... In Tallulah and Bogalusa, CORE is helping the community in its efforts to run Black people for Sheriff and all other offices. Black candidates are running in six La. parishes and providing the groundwork for Black political action and leadership.... CORE field secretary, George Raymond, is running for the Mississippi State Assembly from the 4th District, which includes Canton, Miss.... Black political Power in the deep South means CORE is working with Black people to create a new tradition in the South--a tradition where Black people play a major role in political decisions.

Employees grading & packing sweet potatoes at La. Co-op

In Opelousas, La., CORE task Force worker John Zippert has achieved the impossible in forming the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op which now has 375 families enrolled. Income of the Co-op has increased significantly and the members now plan to diversify into pecan nuts and other vegetables...

* * * * * * * * *

The successful meetings of the Advisory Council, chaired by former National Director, Jim Farmer... The CORE testimony to the Ribicoff Senate Hearings in Washington at which the National Director made a masterful presentation. This was testimony developed by the Staff after consultation with interested individuals, not backing off one inch from our position on Black Power....

* * * * * * * * *

Highlights, continued

The Powell case...From the moment that Congressman Powell became involved with the racists in Congress, CORE was by his side. In all subsequent maneuver, CORE has stood by Congressman Powell, giving him all the help and support at our command. The National Chairman and the National Director visited our Congressman - in exile - in Bimini to give advice and played a most important part in his relection...

* * * * * * * * * *

Black Power in Baltimore Target City.... Demonstrations around housing, union recognition, public accommodation, and discrimination in many other areas took place throughout Baltimore until the Fall. Walter Brooks and the staff of the Target City Project did an outstanding job, keeping CORE before the residents of Baltimore and expanding the Target City Project. In developing Black economic power, Target City obtained Dep't. of Labor funding for the training of a large number of unemployed school drop-outs in the operation and management of gas stations. MFU - Maryland Freedom Union - gained victory after victory in nursing homes and retail stores and is now organizing Black service workers at Johns Hopkins University....CORE's concept of Black independent unions, within or without the AFL-CIO, has received the top official endorsement of the Negro American Labor Council....Steel workers at the Bethlehem complex at Sparrows Point, Baltimore sought CORE's help to obtain non-discriminatory upgrading. Jim Farmer and the National Office participated in a March on Washington with 350 workers, mostly Black males, and met with the Secretary of Labor to seek cancellation of defense contracts if Bethlehem does not meet their demands.... Freedom School classes were held for Black people of all ages.... Politically, the Black vote began to be registered and mobilized and proved to be crucial in Gov. Agnew's election. A Black independent political organization is emerging in the Second District in a coalition with U-Join....The local chapter is being rejuvenated and the time is not far distant when National Staff can be transferred from Baltimore to other areas knowing that the local staff will be able to carry on the Target City Project independently.

McKissick receiving 1st dollar at Target City's gas station training center.

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Black Power in Watts....Operation Bootstrap, a community development program in which Black people lead in the rebuilding of their own community, is a program model for CORE. It is organizing Black people and providing viable programs to obtain Black Power for our brothers in Watts.... Hundreds of community people have been involved in training programs in a variety of vocational and management skills, including, for example, key-punching and power sewing.....On Aug. 1st, Shell Oil is turning over its entire training center to Operation Bootstrap, including $157,000 worth of equipment. In this program, two classes of 45 students each will immediately begin training as attendants, mechanics, body & fender men, etc. and training in management skills with also be given....A dress shop has just opened in Watts to sell dresses made by Boostrap trainees and a cooperative dress factory is now being planned....Bootstrap has recently leased land at $1.00 a year in the burned-out area where ghts, continued

a complete replica of an African village is being constructed. The village will provide a cultural center for the area and will include stores selling African items and a restaurant specializing in Soul and African Foods....

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The affiliation program with the Columbia School of Social Work... Six social work students majoring in community organization were placed with CORE for their year's field assignment. Two were assigned to the Bronx Chapter, two to the Brooklyn Chapter and two worked out of the National Office. These graduate students played a most important part in taking CORE to the grass-roots of their communities. In the Bronx they worked on youth problems and welfare problems; in Brooklyn they helped to develop a comprehensive housing program and a program involving local businessmen in making job opportunities available to young people. The two students in the National Office worked intensively on educational problems in New York, specifically with the People's Board of Education and at I.S. 201 and more recently, in the highly successful boycott at P.S. 125-36. Our only regret was that the National Office was unable to employ them on graduation....

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State Constitutional Conventions... The National Office developed a comprehensive position paper which has been placed before all the delegates to the New York State Constitutional Convention. With CORE's help, Baltimore CORE member Lloyd Taylor was elected as a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention....Cleveland, Ohio is a tinder box. The Cleveland Chapter which has worked long and hard has asked that the target city approach be applied to Cleveland. The National Office has prepared such a proposal and it now awaits funding from the Ford Foundation....

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The mammoth Vietnam Day Marches in New York and San Francisco. The National Director addressed 300,000 marchers in New York... In a related matter, CORE has strongly supported the position taken by the Heavyweight Champion of the World, Muhammad Ali, who refused to be drafted while Black men are being killed in this country as a matter of form. The courage of this fighter cannot be overestimated. In recognition of his stand, CORE will make a special award to the Champion at the Convention....

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Black Power on the March on the West Coast...Within the year there have been two conferences, one in San Francisco and the most recent in Los Angeles. CORE was represented at both. The National Director played a significant part in the Los Angeles Conference. Bill Bradley, Western Regional Vice-Chairman, was instrumental in creating the Afro-American Institute which is a coordinating group of Civil Rights organizations in the Bay area. The Institute has already obtained a re-evaluation by the Hotel Trade Union of their position with respect to Black people....

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Our brothers in St. Louis have recently served a jail term for fighting segregation in employment dating back two years. They have just begun to fight. The National Office has assigned a Field Secretary to help. Keep a lookout for the name of St. Louis CORE member, William Clay for Congress. Chicago...When the fight for open housing in Chicago bogged down, Bob Lucas took up the torch and led a group of some 500 Black brothers and sisters into the white hell of Cicero. He continues to build his Chapter centered mainly around the ghetto and the powerless youngsters who are its victims.

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Highlights, continued

Special Purpose Fund. After our sad experiences with SEDF, in spite of almost insuperable obstacles and many disagreeable difficulties, the National Organization now has a tax-exempt arm. The CORE Special Purpose Fund, unlike SEDF which is a special organization, is a part of CORE and is able to receive funds to be used for tax-exempt purposes. It is controlled by your Organization through the NAC and the Steering Committee....

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The National Director and others took part in the recent conference at Suffern, N.Y., the purpose of which was to draw the Civil Rights movement closer together. Some progress was made and it is hoped that in future meetings, the cooperation which we seek may be achieved.... Conversations are taking place which, if successful, and subject to the agreement of the NAC and the Convention, may lead to a merger of the two most militant Civil Rights organizations in the U.S.

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A new research organization, The Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) has been formed under the presidency of Dr. Kenneth Clark to provide the necessary research for the civil and human rights movement in many varied areas in order to equip us to fight the status-quo in a more efficient manner. The first fellowship has been awarded to Roy Innis, Chairman of New York Harlem CORE, the regional representative of the National Organization and a member of the NAC..... Brooklyn CORE has received anti-poverty funds to run 12-week programs in Voter Registration and Heritage Reading.

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The eyes of the world are more and more on Africa. Afro-Americans must become better acquainted with the Mother Continent and more sensitive to the important African issues. To this end, steps are being taken to develop a strong and close alliance of communication with progressive African States, partly to explain our position on issues and seek their advice, but more importantly, to establish a real international Black Brotherhood. The National Director has been invited to participate in the International Conference on Apartheid and Discrimination in South Africa to take place in Dar es Salaam, Tansania from July 15th through July 28th.....

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In 1966-67 the National Director made several notable appearances before news media, including "Face the Nation" with Stokely Carmichael, Roy Wilkens and others, i.e., The Teachers Union in Detroit, and an appearance in Washington for the Association of Newspaper Editors. He also played a significant role in the recent documentary on the Civil Rights Movement which was done by NBC....

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There have been innumerable abusive anonymous calls to the office. They have gotten so bad that the police have had to be called in and an investigation is under way to determine the origin. A few weeks ago dynamite was found in the downstairs office. Obviously, we will have to tighten our security - but it seems that we must be doing something right.

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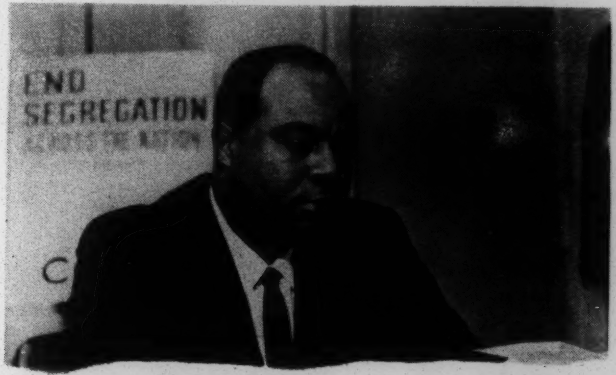
MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

As CORE delegates gather for their 24th Annual Convention, I take this opportunity to extend greetings, both personally and on behalf of the National Advisory Committee which I have the honor to serve as Chairman.



nal Advisory Com., continued

one of its recent meetings, the Advisory Committee unanimously adopted a resolution, part of which follows:

> "We take this opportunity to salute CORE on its 25th Anniversary. We unanimously support CORE's programs and policies and, in particular, wish to lend our voice in support of CORE's current direction, working deep in the Negro ghettos of the nation, organizing the Black communities into a potent social, economic and political force."

These sentiments are shared by many in the nation. Many others, however, of weaker commitment, are running like scared jackrabbits, because CORE's present thrust separates the sheep from the goats. At last we have gotten over the illusion that within the foreseeable future Black folk will be loved and accepted by the nation as brothers. At last we are zeroing in on the jugular vein of racial oppression.

The people of the Black ghetto, America's colonial territory, must achieve the necessary power - psychologically, economically, and politically - to compel respect and to bargain from a position of strength. It is only thus that Black men and women will be able to walk with dignity and equality in this land.

There is no other organization besides CORE which has even the remotest possibility of providing that thrust today.

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SOME ISSUES FACING THIS CORE CONVENTION:

TARGET CITIES... despite the ups and downs, the Baltimore Target City Project has been a successful venture. Cleveland is now making a bid for one, if they can get foundation funds...Should we continue these experiements?

CORE CHAPTERS...these completely autonomous units have been declining rather than increasing in numbers and strength. they be saved? Should they be saved?

CORE NATIONAL STRUCTURE...is in a financial depression comparable only to that of the Thirties. Can its financial base be switched to the grass roots? Can it give direction to the Black Liberation Movement? Can it build a Black Mass Movement? Has it got the leaders who can do it?

RIOT-STOPPING AND ANTI-POVERTY... more and more CORE chapters have undertaken summertime anti-poverty programs. Are they designed to organize the Black community, to achieve Black Power...or are they merely RIOT-STOPPING games paid for by the MAN?

THE DRAFT...what will CORE do to bust the draft's attack on the Black man other than pass another resolution?

THE VIETNAM WAR...what will CORE do to stop the attacks on innocent Vietnamese other than pass another resolution?

SCHOOLS, JOBS, HOUSING...are they passe as issues for CORE direct action?

DIRECT ACTION...is it like segregation, dead or dying, while we talk and talk and talk about Black Power?

BLACK POWER...defined, digested and done in...will we develop somer operation programs at this Convention to implement this magnificent, unifying and brilliant slogan?

BLACK POWER...how are we going to put together the Blueprint for Survival?

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Teena Potter, Ollie Leeds
Printing: Courtesy of Bronx CORE

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ESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THIS CONVENTION:

CONVENTION NOTES:

A BLACK MANIFESTO

CORE

FLOYD B. McKISSICK
offers Solutions
and Programs

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
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CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

Floyd Bixler McKissick was born March 9, 1922 in Asheville, North Carolina. Attended public schools of Asheville; graduated from Stephens-Lee High School in 1939. At the age of 12 in a boyscout uniform, he received a vicious beating from a white policeman in Durham, North Carolina. At that time, he vowed to become a lawyer and fight the kind of oppression to which he was subjected.

Attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Joined army shortly after Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. Served in European theatre. Married, four children. Graduated Morehouse College; graduated University of North Carolina Law School. Among first Black People to sue for admittance to the University of North Carolina Law School.

Admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1952, the United States Supreme Court in 1955. Licensed to practice law in the District of Columbia and North Carolina, as well as before the Federal Communications Commission, Federal District Court of Appeals, United States Court of Appeals and United States Customs Courts, as well as the United States Supreme Court. Also experienced with bankruptcy and receiverships.

Beginning 1960, he led the sit-in movement in North Carolina—his law office, at one time, handled more than 5,000 demonstration cases.

1963—elected National Chairman of CORE by acclamation.

1966—March—appointed National Director of CORE.

Mr. McKissick is the principle spokesman for the Black Power concept in America today. On these pages, he discusses the nature of oppression in America and points the way toward the creation of a society in which Total Equality through Black Power can become reality.

A BLACK MANIFESTO—CORE

McKISSICK OFFERS SOLUTIONS AND PROGRAMS

"America stands at the crossroad today. These are times of crisis. The long, hot summer is upon us and, because of the crisis, I have postponed a scheduled trip to Africa to the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, which will be held in Lusaka, Zambia. This Press Conference is being called today so that I may share my views, as a Black Leader.

History will likely record the explosions of this summer as the beginning of the Black Revolution. The criminal connotation of the term "riots" will be erased. They will be recognized for what they are—rebellions against oppression and exploitation. It would be hypocritical for me to pretend otherwise.

A few days ago, certain Civil Rights Leaders issued a statement condemning their Black Brothers for resorting to violence. They stated: "We who have fought so long and hard to achieve justice for all Americans, have consistently opposed violence for redress. Riots are ineffective, destructive and badly damaging to the cause of civil rights and the entire nation."

We believe that it is unfortunate that our brothers felt it necessary to condemn Black Men for rebelling against that which oppresses—that they found it opportune to decry the violence of the victim. It is fruitless to condemn without offering solutions and it can only force Black People to question those who condemn. The African proverb which applies is: "He who is the best friend of my enemy cannot possibly be my friend." (It is insane logic to condemn the raped for becoming pregnant and it is insane logic to condemn the oppressed for the crimes of the oppressor.)

It is naive to assume that the "cause of Civil Rights" to which our brothers refer, is still relevant to Black People. The Civil Rights movement was regional in nature—it was principally limited to the south, was non-violent in method and was primarily dedicated to the acquisition of equal legal status for Black People. The tactics and philosophy of the civil rights era can take us no further along the road to Total Equality. New methods must be found: A new era must begin.

There was the time—not very long ago, when America could easily have avoided the kind of violence happening today. Those in power could have acceeded to the demands of the Black Population and moved to end exploitation and oppression. But they did not and now they must pay.

White Americans insist upon viewing the problems of Black People in a vacuum, outside of their historical context and with little comprehension of the total problem. They continue to condemn men who will not accept condemnation: Men who will not accept condemnation because they know they are right: They know that they are justified. They know that every standard—ethical, religious, and moral—supports their right of revolution.

Some Americans attempt to rationalize that these rebellions are caused by "Lawless Elements in Society" and that the looters are habitual criminals. Statistics clearly show that most of those arrested during these outbursts were arrested for the first time: That is not indicative of habitual criminal behavior.

Concepts of crime need to be reexamined. The system is quick to condemn and kill an eager 15-year-old Black Looter who cannot afford to buy a transistor radio: It is quick to condemn a hungry thief who would not eat without his stolen bread. But it is not so quick to condemn the tycoon who deals to keep prices high and wages low—or the landlord who neglects dangerous and shabby tenements for which he collects high rents.

No—for these crimes have a certain glamour in a capitalist society: They are the crimes of the successful, the crimes of the elite. And they are condoned.

The man in the ghetto is literally the victim of crimes every day of his life. And the courts and the government offer him no recourse.

The economic and social crimes that are tacitly approved, kill and loot as surely as a sniper. They do it more slowly and there is rarely blood to be seen, but ghetto people are just as dead and just as surely robbed.

If a man is beaten on the head every day of the year, I cannot condemn him for picking up a rock one fine day and throwing it at his tormentor. I cannot and I will not.

Many white people have blissfully assumed that the goal of Black People—as a group—is integration. They have assumed that there is one man or one organization or one philosophy which speaks for all Black People and they, white Americans, have assumed that they could pick the man and the organization; that Black People would meekly follow.

They have assumed that Presidential Commissions comprised of white politicians, and a few handpicked "Negroes" could give them a real insight into the ghetto and its ills. It is too bad that the President did not see fit to assign some Black People with strong ties in the ghetto, to his commission. Then, perhaps, he would learn the truth.

White Americans fail to realize that if there is any one goal for all Black People, that goal is self-determination—the right to control one's own destiny.

There are, in fact, in the Black

Community, many divergent views and philosophies. We will briefly explain the principle philosophies adhered to by Black People in America, in an attempt to educate white America and afford white America a better understanding of Black People in this country.

1. *Integrationists:* The goal of the integrationist is absorption into the mainstream of American life. They are amply represented by the traditional civil rights organizations. We will not waste much time discussing their goals and philosophy, for the integrationists and their leaders are well-publicized.

2. *Garveyites:* The followers of the late Marcus Garvey. Significantly, the contributions of this great leader are generally ignored by American History textbooks. He spearheaded the "Back to Africa" movement. Garveyites believe that the true home of the Black Man is in Africa and that all efforts should be directed to his ultimate return. Their hope is the establishment of a nation, on African soil, where Black People will be free. Although the movement receives little publicity, they number as many as the integrationists.

3. *Muslims:* The Muslims are primarily a religious group. They are members of the Nation of Islam. Their belief is that it is impossible to trust the white man and they prefer to move to a separate state, within the United States, where they will be free of the corrupting influence of white society.

The Muslims have tremendous influence in the ghetto, although their membership lists do not reflect this great influence. The Muslims have propagated a political idea which has wide influence—the concept of separatism.

4. *Reparationists:* The reparationists believe that America owes civil damages for the blood, sweat, tears and agony of our forefathers. These reparations to be paid in money, land, or both.

The reparationists, like the Garveyites, have had increasing influence among American Black People. Their influence has grown rapidly, particularly since 1954.

5. *The Black Masses:* The Black Poor of the ghetto (affiliated and unaffiliated) are represented in all of the above mentioned groups. All are nationalistic in varying degrees and express their nationalism in divergent ways.

Particularly the young people view the ghetto as a colony, controlled, dominated and exploited by the white society. (That society which is represented and typified by the white merchants who exploit Black People by day and flee to their safe suburbs at night.)

This Black Bloc—the vast majority—has been segregated, not by choice, but at the insistence of the powerful white majority. They have learned that integration is not possible in this society and the only alternative is for Black People to exercise the power over their own destinies.

One must realize that for more than three hundred years, the seeds of despair and injustice have been growing. Insults and humiliation have been heaped upon the Black Man. Even since the Emancipation Proclamation, white adherance to the constitution in its true meaning, has been negligable, and has continued to frustrate the Black Man in his aspirations.

Even today, the same injustices are heaped upon Black People. The white cab driver who will not pick him up; the white cop who calls him "Boy" even though he's forty-five; the white truck driver who leeringly refuses the right of way; the white peddler who makes advances to his wife; the self-conscious white man who will not discuss the racial differences and problems with him; the white liberal who says: "You go my way—or else;" the lies we are continually told by whites.

The courthouse, where heavier penalties are meted out to Blacks than whites, for comparable crimes —by white judges; the newspaper company which refuses to deliver papers in the ghetto; the dairy that refuses to make house to house deliveries of milk in Black Neighborhoods; the state agencies that refuse to enforce the housing codes, the sanitation codes, the health regulations; the white suburban matron who calls her fifty year old Black Maid "my girl;" the labor leaders who give lip service to Black People, but not justice and jobs.

Add to the daily, hourly hurt, the ingredient of a dominant society, a majority culture, that is sick with the infection of violence—and Black Youth is forced to lash out. Television, radio, motion pictures, all the mass media, spread the gospel of violence: Matt Dillon, Bonanza, The Man from UNCLE, all excite the American youngster's taste for violence—and that youngster will respond, whether he is Black or white.

Songs and paperback books glorifying the "Green Berets" and encouraging militarism in American youth fan the fires of ghetto despair. Unless America is prepared to accept the violent consequences— Black Youth must be given realistic alternatives.

Black People seek to control the educational system, the political-economic system and the administration of their own communities. They must control their own courts and their own police.

One must recognize that the capitalist system is not relevant to the masses of Black People. They are not allowed to participate fully in that system—merely as consumers who provide that 10% margin on which that system survives. Consequently, they are losing faith in that system.

The aims sought by each of the groups previously described are achievable. The question is therefore: Is the society ready to make the changes necessary to meet the needs of the oppressed? The day has come when society, to protect its very existence, must make these changes. In the light of recent developments, this fact ceases to be debatable.

The city, state and federal governments have used extraordinary means to suppress these revolts—constitutional rights have been disregarded and laws suspended. They must use extraordinary powers to alleviate the conditions which cause the revolts.

The ability of America to do so is unquestionable. Any nation that can afford to spend $66 million daily on a murderous war in Vietnam can afford many times that amount to aid the suffering and oppressed. America cannot afford not to: If America again ignores its responsibility to the Black Population—we will be faced with increasing year-round violence and destruction.

If we continue on this collision course, whites as well as Blacks will lose dollars. Whites as well as Blacks will lose their homes, their neighborhoods, and their communities. White people as well as Black People will lose their lives. There will be no victors.

White liberals will side more and more with white racists. They will be, and are, puzzled, dumbfounded; they feel personally rejected. They will find themselves more and more on the defensive, more and more puzzled as to what can be done, what can be said, what they can stand for.

Polarization is best faced with honesty and candor. Nostalgic longings for the past will not undo the present. But polarization offers one hope—honest dealings between equals. And it is clear that today's polarization has been in part the product of yesterday's dishonesty. Black People will no longer tolerate even a benevolent Massah of an urban plantation.

As this country foists its evil upon the Vietnams of the world and as Black People rise up year after year, not even America will be able to stand the brunt of the rebellions: Not even America will be able to survive the wrath of the world's oppressed. We can only hope that America awakens in time and changes drastically: We can only hope that this world disaster will be averted.

We have attempted to define the problem. We have catalogued the various philosophies. We must develop programs designed to answer the needs and desires of each group of Black People.

Without doubt, all Black People who do not have jobs, want jobs; they want full employment regardless of their various philosophies. Therefore a program designed for full employment is needed—now.

The Department of Labor should develop a crash program for full employment. If they do not already know who is unemployed, they should find out. When they have found out, they must find employment—in government or private industry—for those who need jobs.

If jobs are not available, then the government can provide a living allowance for those in need, until jobs are available. Black People who receive this allowance must not be treated as less than full citizens: They must not be submitted to the same indignities and humiliations suffered by those currently on welfare roles. This allowance is justly theirs: It is long overdue.

Our answer for the Black Man is: *FREEDOM OF CHOICE.*

Integration: Black People who desire integration should have the full right to be integrated into American life. This means that the full force and power of American society should be brought to bear to assure this right to all Americans. This also means that white society must deal with every white individual, every white corporation—and *severely*—when one stands in the way of a Black Man seeking integration.

Like the need for employment of all Black People—full and fair enforcement of the law is necessarily the goal of all Black People—regardless of their philosophy.

The Garveyites: Nothing is wrong with the idea of returning to Africa, if one desires to go. The problem of many Black People who embrace this philosophy is that they do not have the fare to get to Africa.

Secondly, many do not have the finances to buy land or a home upon arrival.

Thirdly, many do not have the skills necessary for living a successful and productive life—either in the United States or Africa.

From the point of view of the African States, it is desirable that many Afro-Americans return to their homeland. Many African nations seek Americans with certain basic skills in order that the individual be productive both to himself and the developing country to which he returns.

A program so designed could promote good will with African nations and would help many Black People construct a new life in Africa. This is not a new idea. This is a Zionist concept: Israel the example.

The Congress of the United States should develop legislation to: 1. Provide educational training in line with the technical requirements of the African countries. A Black Man, upon completion of training, should be provided with transportation and funds to purchase land so that he can begin a new life. Certainly, if men cannot live together, they should have the freedom—and the opportunity—to live separately.

We now do manpower training on a limited basis, provided for by an Act of Congress. With a little imagination, an Act can be drafted to accommodate the objectives outlined above. Private funding could likewise assist in developing parts of the program in the United States or in Africa—in cooperation with the African Nations involved.

Reparationists: Reparationists believe that Black People comprise a nation within a nation. Few Americans think in these terms. Many frown upon the idea because such an admission on the part of white America would automatically entitle Black People—legally—to benefits they cannot now possibly enjoy.

Of course, the American Indians are recognized—constitutionally—as forming a nation within a nation, and America has blatantly disregarded every commitment made to this great nation.

The concept of reparations is not novel. This country has paid damages to many other countries for acts committed in times of war, and damages incurred in times of peace. The Marshall Plan set a splendid precedent which could be invoked domestically.

A Marshall Plan could also be extended to African nations who want help—with no strings attached—as an added aid to the Garveyites.

If America exerts all its influence within the United Nations to allot territory in Southwest Africa in which Afro-American reparationists can settle—another part of the problem will be solved. This would be supplemented with an adequate living allowance, at least for long enough for those returning to become established.

Muslims: The Muslims, as a religious group, believe in separation from the white man's society. They seek land, within the continental limits of the United States.

Once again, this is not new to the American scene. It was the Mormons that moved westward to establish the State of Utah. They created their own government, schools and industries. Having done so, they were gobbled up and forced to become a state, by a young America—already greedy.

Another precedent for this is the idea of Land Grant Colleges, established during the early years of this country. As with the Demonstration Cities Act, with land the government now owns, or could acquire, new cities can, in fact, be built to be owned and controlled by Black People—with technical assistance coming from the government and private industry, to develop the resources where these people live.

There is plenty of land available in the United States which could be used for this purpose. Seventy per cent of all Americans live in urban centers—the inner cities are spreading—they are becoming Blacker every day.

The land space now occupied by the urban centers is only .7% (seven tenths of one per cent) of the total land area in the United States. Almost none of the remaining 98.3% is owned by Blacks. Adequate land could easily be provided on which the Muslims could settle.

Residents of Existing Urban Communities: Many Black Americans have no desire to leave their communities. They simply want them to be livable. Under the present system, they do not have the facilities to make them livable.

Ownership of the land area in places such as Harlem must be transferred to the residents of Harlem—individually or collectively. Existing governmental programs such as the Demonstration Cities Program, the Federal Housing Authority, the Commerce Department programs, along with contributions from private industry, must be coordinated to accomplish this end.

Ownership of businesses in the ghetto must be transferred to Black People—either individually or collectively. Possibly some of the present absentee owners can be retained by the government as technical advisors to the new owners.

Attached to this program can be the "Communiversity," or other training agencies where people can be taught to operate various types of businesses. All government facilities in the ghetto must be run and operated by Black People. For example, the Post Office, Judiciary system, Police Department, Welfare Department, Board of Education and all other such agencies. As technical assistance can be given to Africa, technical assistance can be provided for Black Americans.

In any such areas of the United States, we seek private capital from industry, foundations, etc., to make available—immediately—five million dollars—along with technical assistance for the establishment of a major Black University—staffed and run by Blacks; concentrating its curriculum on Black History, Black Culture and a collection of historical information pertinent to Black People.

This is not unprecedented. The Schomberg Collection now rests in Harlem on 135th Street—a tiny model for a great project. Even that tiny beginning is being criminally neglected by the New York Public Library—which is responsible for its maintenance.

Many other minority groups—religous and ethnic—have established their own centers of learning—dedicated primarily to the teaching of subjects pertinent to their history and culture. Yeshiva University and Notre Dame University are only two examples.

These groups were afforded the opportunity to establish their own universities because they were accepted by the system. We were not.

Our university would include a Theatre and an Art Drama Center. This school would welcome all people who want to learn of our culture.

All of these demands must be met—all segments of the Black Community must be honored. The President of the United States called upon Black People in America to end the rebellions: He asks much of a people in bondage. He asks that they relinquish their natural rights as men. In return, he offers nothing.

We call upon the President of the United States and the Congress to demonstrate their good faith by immediately complying with the following demands:

1. Release all political prisoners—Now. By that we mean, those seized during the recent rebellions. Halt their prosecution.
2. Kill the Anti-Riot Bill—Now.
3. Resubmit the Urban Rat Control Legislation to Congress and pass that bill—Now.
4. Grant Muhammad Ali his right, under the First Amend-

ment to the Constitution, to practice his religion as a minister of the Muslim faith, and as a conscientious objector. Restore the title of Heavyweight Champion of the World to Muhammad Ali—the only rightful champion.

5. Increase funding of Office of Economic Opportunity programs by at least $10 billion. Make sure that this money reaches the poor Black People of the ghetto—not the poverty bureaucrats.
6. Reinstate all of the Black Power professors of Howard University—those men who were dismissed because they dared to counsel and work with Black Students opposed to militarism and the sickness of American society—because they dared to believe in academic freedom. Reinstate the students who were also dismissed.

These six demands can be met with little effort and no sacrifice on the part of America. Immediate compliance would demonstrate to Black People that white America is beginning to awaken and is ready to face reality. Immediate compliance would indicate a willingness to embark on the larger programs so desperately needed.

If these demands are ignored—it will be reaffirmed that white America has no interest in the Black Population: It will be further evidence that the only cure is revolution.

Although the *CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY* primarily represents Black People who intend to stay in urban communities and acquire Black Unity and Black Power, we stand ready, willing and able to serve as a coordinating agent to assist all Black People, of any philosophy.

There is a vacuum which needs to be filled; a voice which needs to be heard: No major Civil Rights organization has even attempted to meet this need. More than ever, in this time of crisis, we stand for this.

In the last few generations, great problems have been solved. Such dilemmas as splitting the atom, developing the hydrogen bomb, initiating space exploration and installing television satelites, have been conquered.

Such great achievements have been mastered as preventing and curing polio, saving severed limbs, even developing artificial hearts: In spite of all of this, that most crucial, most dangerous and destructive disease of all has not been cured—racism, that infectious disease of the mind. More important, no serious attempts have been made to conquer that national epidemic.

CORE has projected, in this paper, an outline for progress—specifically aimed at curing our hate-ridden society. We have available, more detailed and specific programs, which would attack racism in this country and, if adequately funded and fully implemented, could alter the future of America from its present self-destructive course.

Problems provide opportunity for greatness. America has the resources, the manpower, the potential for greatness; but it is plagued with a near-sighted self-interest which could be its destruction.

America must learn from Detroit that it can no longer afford a Vietnam.

This country must change—all the human resources of intellect, initative and imagination—Black and white—must be utilized fully in this endeavor.

This problem can be solved: If America has the commitment, it will be solved.

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Copies of this statement may be purchased at 25¢ each by writing CORE
200 West 135th Street, New York

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

I enclose $——————as a special gift to help the National Congress of Racial Equality in its efforts to implement the programs outlined in the testimony.

NAME ——————————————————

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CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

IT'S GOING TO BE AN EXPENSIVE SUMMER . . .
BUT THE DIVIDENDS CAN BE IMMEASURABLE.

(Bogalusa, Louisiana, April 20, 1965)

Bogalusa has nearly 27,000 residents; is located in the black belt 60 miles due north of New Orleans and just across the river from Mississippi. Its chief industry is the paper mill of Crown Zellerbach.

The Klan operates openly, headquartered in a fire station across the street from Bogalusa's City Hall; it burns crosses, flogs local Negro residents and CORE workers. The Klan prevented former U. S. Congressman Brooks Hays, a racial moderate, from speaking there last January.

CORE workers report similar conditions throughout the state. In Ferriday, Louisiana, Frank Thomas, Negro, 52, was burned to death in his small store this winter. He was covered with gasoline by white men who then set him and his store aflame. No arrests have been made for his murder. His only offense was that he stood up to the Klan.

A small band of CORE workers has been keeping hope alive in Bogalusa and a score of other towns. In Jonesboro, CORE is coordinating the rebuilding of two Negro churches which were burned to the ground in January after CORE held voter registration classes there. In Clinton, a Freedom School, organized and staffed by CORE, conducts classes in all areas; one of the most successful classes is in Negro history and the discussion is now lead by the older students. In Monroe, local members of the Negro community, working in cooperation with CORE, submitted an excellent, detailed plan for economic and social improvement for the entire city—not just the Negro population.

We are proud of our program and staff in Louisiana and similar projects being carried throughout the South by CORE. Our summer program will also help to keep hope alive in the blackbelt of Mississippi, the Carolinas and northern Florida.

CORE's work in the South will focus on every area of discrimination and segregation; we are working to develop local leadership and local organization. Southern CORE leaders do not want to speak for the community—we try to help the community speak for itself, for this is the most crucial step to achieve full human rights. But this program and direction are difficult.

This summer our regular staff will be joined by 400 student volunteers. These volunteers need training in non-violence, voter registration and community organization procedures. They must have cars and fuel to bring people to the registrar's office. (In many areas, traveling on foot is an invitation to death.) They need supplies for the Freedom Schools and community centers.

The two-way radio system for Louisiana (to prevent a repeat of last summer's tragedy when two CORE staff members and a volunteer were killed in Mississippi) will cost ten to twelve thousand dollars, alone; costly, but necessary. It's going to be an expensive summer, but the dividends can be immeasurable.

Please help the CORE Southern Summer Program. Mail your check **today.** The need is urgent.

Sincerely,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director, CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

(We are listing CORE's 1965 Southern Summer Program projected expenses so that you will know where your help is going.)

Training of summer staff workers & volunteers	$ 5,000
Subsistence 220 full-time Louisiana staff workers	50,000
Subsistence 20 full-time South Carolina staff workers	5,000
Subsistence 20 full-time N. Florida staff workers	5,000
Subsistence 35 full-time Mississippi staff workers	8,000
Southern Regional Headquarters, Communications Centers	10,000
Housing, 50 parish bases, Freedom Schools, Community Centers	30,000
50 two-way radios, plus walkie-talkies	15,000
Telephone (Including WATS lines)	12,000
Maintenance, 50 cars (gas, oil, leasing, insurance, etc.)	30,000
Books, office supplies, equipment, etc. for parish bases, Freedom Schools, Community Centers	25,000
Program Materials	5,000
Legal expenses (including bond)	40,000
Special emergency expenses (medical, etc.)	25,000
	$265,000

CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038

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ctor

Callis Napolis Brown

Callis Napolis Brown is the National Community Director of the Congress of Racial Equality in New York City. CORE, at present, is considered to be one of the more "respectable" militant organizations and an advocate of the Black Power movement. Mr. Brown was interviewed in his office on November 8, 1967. Apparently, CORE is not only an organization for the advancement of Negroes, but also for the "liberation" of all oppressed minority groups. CORE feels that the only way to resolve these impending problems is to first re-distribute the wealth of the nation.

INFO: What are the objectives of CORE?

Brown: The objectives of CORE are to organize the black communities into a tight and disciplined group, for six purposes: (1) the growth of Black political power, (2) the building of the Black economic power, (3) the improvement of the Black self-image, (4) the development of Black leadership, (5) the encouragement of federal law enforcement, (6) the mobilization of Black consumer power. Another objective of CORE is to have the wealth of this nation re-distributed, so that Black people as well as the Spanish speaking people and all the oppressed people in this country are able to participate in the "affluent society". We feel that the "affluent society" does not mean that total employment will eradicate poverty. But we feel that people should be able to spend all that they want to spend without keeping themselves within the confines of the budget.

INFO: In your opinion, what is the fastest, most efficient way of improving the school system of New York City?

Brown: The best way to improve the schools of New York City is to put people who are in the majority in particular neighborhoods in control of their respective school boards. For example, in Harlem, where Blacks and Puerto Ricans comprise the majority, Blacks and Puerto Ricans should be in control of the school board. Blacks and Puerto Ricans should be in responsible authoritative positions in the school systems. We can take this and go into other boroughs of New York, and any ethnic group who composes it should be in control.

INFO: Do you have any social legislation to be brought before Congress?

Brown: At present, we do not have any legislative proposals going before Congress; we are in the process of drawing up and working on certain proposals which we will present at a later time. These proposals will involve housing, education, and particularly a redistribution of the nation's economy.

INFO: Could you elaborate a little on your ideas about housing and employment?

Brown: We feel that at present, the housing situation is not what it could be. Some Black people have been permitted to move into certain areas in New York and in other areas across the country, which before have been prohibited. However, we do not feel that the influx of Blacks and Spanish speaking people into these areas is enough to warrant the "clapping of our hands". In employment, all that we have experienced thus far is an aura of tokenism. We feel that with this aura of tokenism, employers have exploited not only the person employed, but he has also exploited the community in general. When he has hired a person in a particular position which previously had been denied a Black man, it is likely that he hired him for the purpose of showing him off to the community, or just making a show-piece out of him. A person who works under these set of circumstances learns to recognize the purpose for the employment, and usually leaves.

INFO: Could you elaborate a little more on the housing problem?

Brown: In housing, we feel that open occupancy was not at a peak which was representative of America. We feel that there is a lot to be done with open housing. I feel that right now Blacks and Puerto Ricans generally should be able to move in any area or in any appartment building in any particular territory that is available to him, not because of his ethnic background or his skin color. I mean available to him as a human being. But then we have to consider other factors also and those factors are that (1) this person has been denied equality in education and equality of employment. And by financial suppression, he may be denied admission to these areas. But we can take equality employment, equality in education and upgrade the same. These people would be able to move into any area of their choice. But irrespective of the fact of their financial background, if these people want to move there, then they should be able to move there.

INFO: What groups is CORE associating with, or wishes to associate with at the present?

Brown: CORE is an autonomous national body, and we are interested in working with any group which is for the preservation of man and for the liberation of man. We are not in this battle alone. We recognize the fact that we cannot win this battle by ourselves. So, we will join hands, and we are joining hands with certain organizations which are interested in preserving and liberating the Blacks, Puerto Ricans and all oppressed people in this nation.

INFO: In what areas can CORE do the most good?

Brown: Right now we feel that our primary area of approach is the re-distribution of wealth. We feel that we must restructure national policy so that Blacks and other suppressed minorities will be able to move into the American "affluent society".

We feel that those who must close the gap between subsistance and living with consumer credit should be allowed to enjoy affluence, rather than poverty. We do not feel that total employment will eradicate poverty for total eradication only goes to the effective poverty, not to its cause. No matter how many anti-poverty boards or anti-poverty programs we have, this is not enough to eradicate poverty. One can be employed for as many as seven days a week, but if his pay check is committed at the end of that week, then he is still in a state of poverty, whether he is Black, Spanish, or White. But I think that the one thing that we must do to eradicate poverty is to restructure the economy, and this means restructuring national policy.

INFO: Looking at the present situation realistically, what is the best method of introducing your ideas into the government?

Brown: First of all, I think that we are going to have to get more Blacks and Puerto Ricans who compose the oppressed minority into the politcal arena. We will have to have more Black and minority groups to represent us in Congress, in the State Legislatures, in City governing boards, and in any area where there is political influence. These people who have experienced the hardships of oppression are better able to understand the problems which persist in their communities. With this rationality in mind, we feel that if these people who understand the problems encountered by those who are still oppressed and those in oppressed areas then these people will be able to put through the necessary legislation to eradicate the problems of poverty, and work towards the re-distribution of wealth in the nation.

INFO: Do you feel that the recent elections in Gary, Indiana and Cleveland are a significant step towards your goals?

Brown: I think that the elections represent milestones in our quest for political power in the American society. This will enable many Blacks, many oppressed people to run for political office with confidence of winning. This will also give them the confidence that they need in order to found their petitions and candidates. And we feel that with the success of these candidates, many Blacks and oppressed people, by running for office, will tend to undertake their responsibility to other oppressed minorities, and work toward the eradication of the problem which confronts us now.

INFO: What is the duty of people who represent a minority group in society to change their status? Is rioting the answer, or is it the Martin Luther King attitude that one should take?

Brown: I don't think that it is either attitude, but I think that it is the responsibility of those who hold public office to run that office in a fair manner, and treat all people, irrespective of color, as men, women and children. I do not think that the color of a man's skin should determine his capacity or capability to do a job. I think that it is the internal man which determines whether he is to do a job or not. If he has the qualifications, then I think that he should do that job. I think that as far as Black people who hold office are concerned, they are responsible for the Black people. This is in contrast to the White politicians whose responsibility is to the White people. We must go back through the period in history from the point of slavery up to date. From this we will recognize that Black people especially have been the victims of oppression all their lives. And if a Black man is in a position to eliminate the burdens carried by his people or to eradicate problems surrounding poverty, it is his duty to do so.

INFO: Would you define Black Power?

Brown: I defined Black Power when I first started: the objectives of CORE. This does not imply racism and violence, neither does it mean that we are calling for a separate state or requesting a separation from Whites. We are requesting power. Integration, for example, is not the answer. Integration seeks a privelege. We are demanding the right to hold power, just as the White man holds power. Another question that you may ask is: what do the Black people want? My answer to that would be, Black people want everything White people have and everything they hope to get.

-Interview conducted by TOM POST

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Civil Rights Activity and Reduction in Crime Among Negroes

FREDRIC SOLOMON, MD; WALTER L. WALKER, MSS, WASHINGTON, DC;
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JACOB R. FISHMAN, MD, WASHINGTON, DC

Introduction

IN THIS PRELIMINARY report, data are presented on a possible reduction in crime among Negroes in certain cities during periods of organized community action for civil rights in those cities. The existence of such a phenomenon has been remarked upon by leaders of "direct action" civil rights groups in several communities. Yet, to date there has been no documentation of this phenomenon except for newspaper accounts of the one-day "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" of Aug 28, 1963.

According to the *Washington Evening Star*, there were only seven "major crimes" recorded by the District of Columbia police in the 24-hour period ending at 8:00 AM on Aug 29, 1963.[1] The *Star* noted that during the same time period in the previous week, there had been 19 such crimes. Thus, reported major crime in Washington apparently dropped 63% for the day of and the night after The March.

Somewhat more surprising is an article which appeared in the *New York Times*. A reporter spent most of August 28th in Harlem and then wrote a story about the serious but happy mood that seemed to pervade Harlem on that day.[2] The story in the *Times* concluded with the following:

> Police cars patrolled Harlem's streets all day, thinking it would be a big day for robberies, with so many Negro residents away from home, for the trip to Washington.
>
> But in the evening, the desk sergeant of the 26th Precinct reported no robberies or other crime.

It has been our opinion that in the long run, the effects of the civil rights movement on the self-image and social behavior of the American Negro will be as important as the movement's direct effect on segregation patterns. Two of us have already written extensively about the student civil rights demonstrators themselves—their attitudes, behavior and motivations, and the psychological significance of antisegregation activities in their life histories to date.[3-5] The present paper represents the initial phase of an inquiry into possible community-wide "side-effects" of the civil rights movement.

Data will be presented which, in a preliminary way, tend to document the existence of an association between well-organized direct action for civil rights and a substantial reduction in crimes of violence committed by Negroes. We shall discuss the findings, their limitations, and their implications and shall offer some thoughts about further research.

Historical Note

The historic Niagara Movement in 1905 was the foundation for a national organization whose declared purpose was to wage a war against racial injustice, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Since its inception, the NAACP has sought the support of both Negroes and whites in an effort to mount an effective protest against lynching, unfair characterization of the Negro in the news and entertainment media, job and housing discrimination, and segregated public accommodations.

Submitted for publication July 17, 1964.

An earlier version of this paper was read before the 41st Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, March 20, 1964, Chicago.

Center for Youth and Community Studies, Howard University. NIMH Career Teaching Fellow in Psychiatry, College of Medicine (Dr. Solomon); Senior Staff Associate, Center for Youth and Community Studies (Mr. Walker); Instructor in Psychiatry, The Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, Johns Hopkins Hospital (Dr. O'Connor); and Assistant Professor of Psychiatry & Neurology, and Director, Center for Youth and Community Studies, Howard University (Dr. Fishman).

Reprint requests to Howard University College of Medicine, Washington, DC 20001 (Dr. Solomon).

Almost from the very beginning, the NAACP sought redress for racial injustice in the nation's courts. Citizen participation in NAACP efforts was invited largely in the area of fund-raising to support the enormous costs of litigation. There was very little the lower-class Negro citizen was asked to do, personally, to strike a blow for his rights.

During the World War I period, the National Urban League began its work of helping Negro immigrants from the rural South adjust to urban living. This organization typically worked on two levels. First, attempts were made to educate and train Negroes to live in an urban setting. Almost every segment of the Negro community was involved in teaching, learning, or fund-raising. Second, the Urban League undertook to negotiate with employers in an effort to open new opportunities for Negroes. Although the Urban League has been, in a sense, a "grass-roots" organization it rarely has urged it constituency to mount a public protest against prevailing systems of injustice.

It has been said that the work of the NAACP and the Urban League has laid the economic, legal, and educational groundwork for the present civil rights movement. The 1954 Supreme Court decision and the successful adjustments to urban living made by many Negroes serve as testimony to the effectiveness of their efforts.

However, it is not the use of legal skill, negotiation, or education which is the focus of this paper. We are concerned here with the process of direct action which began on a large scale in the 1955 Montgomery, Ala, bus boycott, found new expression in the student "sit-in" movement; was dramatized by the "Freedom Rides"; and continues to express itself in the street demonstrations and voter registration efforts of today. What is direct action? Whom does it involve? How does it differ from other civil rights activities?

In the context of the so-called Negro Revolt, direct action is a nonviolent confrontation between the prevailing power structure of the community and an emerging center of power which demands changes in the legal, social, political, and economic fabric of the community. The main thrust of direct action has been via nonviolent public demonstrations, civil disobedience, economic boycott, and various actions designed to test the legality of local laws and customs.

Direct action involves different segments of the Negro community, depending on the particular technique being used. Economic boycotts and voter registration campaigns often directly commit a majority of the Negro community to the effort. Sit-ins and street demonstrations traditionally involve college-age Negroes, but there is mounting evidence that a wider segment of the Negro population is becoming directly involved in these especially active forms of protest.

Those members of the Negro community not directly involved in direct action are often indirectly and vicariously involved nonetheless. The violent reactions of whites, that is often the price of direct action, strikes close to home. Friends and relatives are often directly involved. The "battle plans" are drawn up in the Negro areas and are often public knowledge there. Negroes are often questioned about the movement by their white employers. There is strong community pressure to actively join in the "fight for freedom."

Contrast, then, the community involvement characteristic of a direct action movement with that of a local community's involvement in a battery of NAACP lawyers fighting a legal battle in the Supreme Court in Washington. Clearly, the average man sees himself as more immediately involved in a direct action, where willingness to be counted is the major requirement for participation, than he is in a legal battle that requires long years of professional training for participation in the front line.

Methodology

For three cities (two in the Deep South and one in a border state) data were collected from various sources, including official crime reports, medical records, newspaper accounts, and individual interviews with residents. Originally, a systematic attempt had been made to obtain relevant and reliable crime records from 16 cities, 12 of them Southern. This was largely unsuccessful because of a number of problems. For example, two cities with crucial roles in the history of the civil rights struggle had changed their crime reporting criteria and the organization of their reports from year to year within the period in which we were interested. In another city, a Negro colleague of professorial rank in a local college, was denied access to the police reports which he had seen on the shelves of the public library just the day before. A general problem in the crime statistics which we *were* able to obtain was the absence of racial breakdown in most of the data.

Two central crime information agencies were contacted for their help—The Uniform Crime Reporting Section of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and The Crime Information Center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. They were of limited assistance; and we have drawn some inferences from data from several cities; but we have found only one Southern city with the kind of published crime reports that would be maximally useful to us in this research, and that is "city Z." Using an alternate approach, we have obtained hospital emergency room statistics and other relevant data from a small town which we shall call "town X," and we have a fairly reliable picture of developments there. Finally, via interviews, we collected some important anecdotal material which describes direct interaction between delinquent gangs and a young civil rights leader in "city A."

In evaluating crime data our focus has been upon major crimes committed by Negroes, with special emphasis upon aggravated assaults. There are several reasons for this focus. Local police departments report major crimes to the FBI under the heading of "Part I Offenses." (Other offenses in this category aside from aggravated assault are homicide, manslaughter, rape, robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft. Minor offenses, such as drunkenness or gambling are much less uniformly reported by police departments and are not considered accurate indices of local crime pictures.) Of major crimes against persons, aggravated assault is by far the most frequent, so that variations in the number of assaults from year to year (or month to month) are likely to be statistically more meaningful than would be variations in homicide or rape, for example. Furthermore, aggravated assaults frequently result in some kind of medical attention to the victims; so medical personnel in hospital emergency rooms may keep records that may usefully supplement what appears (or does not appear) in police reports. Finally, as the FBI *Manual on Uniform Crime Reporting* states, assaults are a fairly sensitive "index of social disorder in a community."[6]

Of course, one must always keep in mind that, except for homicide and armed robbery, *all* crime statistics are reflecting merely the top of an iceberg of unreported crime. It has been suggested that most criminal acts never come to the attention of the police.[7]

There is another problem in doing a study of this kind. There is a paucity of written material about the chronological development of direct action for civil rights in various geographical areas. There is a great need, we feel, for someone to chronicle the contemporary history of these developments. For our part, we have relied upon the *New York Times Index* for cities Z and A, an unpublished document written by college students detailing developments in town X, and interview material for all three communities.

City Z

City Z is a large industrial and educational center located in the Deep South. The city has had a reputation for being "progressive," within the confines of segregation. Many of the city's Negro college students come from the North. The city has a well-established Negro middle class. Although the police force is interracial, the Negro officers customarily restrict their arrest power to Negro suspects.

The civil rights movement in city Z, according to local citizens, began in 1960 primarily as a student movement in response to the initial sit-ins in Greensboro, NC. However, the white community's reaction to the students' increased pressure for equality soon welded the whole Negro community (and its established leaders) into a unified force in support of direct action.

Two economic boycotts of downtown stores with segregated facilities and employment practices were nearly 100% effective in terms of participation. In the Christmas season of 1960 and again at Easter of 1961, reportedly no more than a handful of Negroes could be seen shopping downtown on any given day. In response to this boycott by the whole Negro community, as well as in response to numerous public demonstrations by students, the major downtown stores finally did upgrade employment opportunities for Negroes, and all their lunch counters were desegregated by the end of 1961. There was virtually no organized civil rights protest activity in 1962, in sharp contrast to the extremely active years of 1960 and 1961. (Late in 1963, public protests resumed, focusing upon segregated eating places.)

Crime statistics included in city Z's annual police reports reflect trends which suggest that civil rights activities may be related to a reduction of crime within the Negro community. The general police and crime activity over the four-year period 1959 through 1962 is reflected in Table 1.

This indicates that city Z's slow increase in population was matched by a roughly proportional increase in patrolmen. Major crime has also increased in the city's general population.

Various direct action protests were common occurrences in city Z in 1960 and 1961; there were no such activities in 1959 and very few in 1962. Table 2 shows that in 1960 the number of Negro vs Negro assaults coming to the attention of the police decreased 31% from the 1959 figure. During 1961, the Negro vs Negro

TABLE 1.—*General Police and Crime Activity, 1959-1962*

	1959	1960 *	1961 *	1962
Population	487,000	Data missing	Data missing	504,000
Police-patrolmen	519	519	538	541
Total Part I Offenses (major crime)	16,809	17,290	19,414	20,431

* Years of sustained civil rights activity.

TABLE 2.—*Aggravated Assaults (Known Offenses, by Race)*

	1959	1960 *	1961 *	1962
Negro attacks Negro	531	371	373	536
White attacks white	85	79	100	101
Negro attacks white	8	9	13	19
White attacks Negro	5	5	5	9

* Years of sustained civil rights activity.

assaults remained at this low 1960 figure. However, in 1962—a year which saw civil rights activity in only one month—the annual rate for Negro vs Negro assaults returned to the 1959 figure.

Aggravated assaults within the white community did *not* vary in the same manner as did the Negro vs Negro assaults. On an annual basis, the figures for cross-race assaults are too small to be particularly noteworthy.

The known offense data concerning aggravated assault cases are reported not only annually but also on a month-by-month basis. Such figures would appear useful in making a closer inspection of the possible relationship between variations in civil rights activity and changes in Negro crime rates. These *monthly* data, however, are not broken down by race, as were the *annual* data reported in Table 2. Therefore, any inferences from these data of an association between civil rights activity and assaults by Negroes must be based on the knowledge that whites account for only a small proportion of the total reports of aggravated assault. For the period 1959-1962, only 16.5% of the reported and recorded assaults were attributed to whites; thus, in any given month, one might assume that Negroes account for about four out of five of the "known offenses" in the aggravated assault category.

It is of some interest to note, as in the top line of Table 3, monthly averages for assaults in city Z. In the period 1959 through 1962 there were 16 months in which newsworthy civil rights protest activity occurred (15 months in 1960 and 1961, one month in 1962). The average number of assaults in these "civil rights months" was 39; the average number of assaults in "noncivil rights months" was 52, one third higher than in the "civil rights months."

Of all the 48 months from 1959 through 1962, only three had less than 30 reported assaults. These were the months of October, 1960 (27), November, 1960 (23), and January, 1961 (25). It turns out that this period (October, 1960-January, 1961) was an especially significant one in terms of the history of city Z's civil rights movement. We have already noted the successful boycott of downtown stores which occurred from about December 15, 1960 to January 15, 1961. But this was preceded by a peak of mass activity in October and November, 1960. Mass arrests of demonstrators and the confinement of the city's civil rights leaders both took place during these two months of unusually low rates of assault.

TABLE 3.—*Aggravated Assaults (Known Offenses)*

	1959	1960 *	1961 *	1962
Monthly average (all races)	52	38	41	59
Annual assaults by negroes	539	380	386	575
Annual assaults by whites	90	84	105	110
Annual grand total	629	464	491	711

* Years of sustained civil rights activity.

It is also interesting to note that, except for the period just mentioned it was largely in the warmer months of 1960 and 1961 that most of the civil rights activity took place. Crime, especially assault, is at its greatest during the warmer months. The months of May, June, and July in both 1960 and 1961 were all months of civil rights activity, whereas these same months in 1959 and 1962 were inactive, as far as direct action for civil rights is concerned. The average number of assaults in these civil rights months, compared with these noncivil rights months was 46 vs 56.

Certain anecdotal material from interviews appears relevant to the process by which the direct action for civil rights might have affected a violence-prone segment of the Negro community in city Z.

In 1960 and 1961, a student civil rights leader decided to spend as much time as he could in poolrooms and bars talking with lower-class Negroes about "the issues" over which the civil rights groups were then doing battle with the "white power structure." Although his success in gaining really active recruits was limited, he discovered several surprising things. First of all, virtually everyone in the bars and poolrooms was well acquainted with all the details of the sit-ins and boycotts as they occurred. Secondly, the two issues of mistreatment by the police and segregated employment were very meaningful ones to these people, and they found common cause with the civil rights demonstrators over them. Thirdly, and most impressive, a sense of the hope and of the power of organized direct action began to creep into the lives of these ordinarily rather hopeless people. This is illustrated, somewhat humorously, in the following incident which the student observed from a distance. One afternoon during the boycott, a bartender became verbally abusive to a patron who was apparently speaking rather loudly. Some of the other patrons told the bartender, "Let him talk! Let him talk!" When the bartender persisted and became even more abusive, all the customers joined in telling him, "You better let him talk or we'll *all* leave." The bartender let him talk.

The student placed this incident in the perspective of a "definite change of attitude" in the lower-class people with whom he had chosen to acquaint himself. During the period of direct action civil rights activity, "a 'cat' would have something to live for—not just a five day week, then get it off his chest by getting drunk on Saturday night."

City A

Our second city, designated city A, is in the Deep South not far from city Z. It has a population of

60,000, virtually no Negro middle class, and a reputation for police brutality and unequal administration of justice. Details of the crime picture are not available from its Police Department. City A is brought up here only because the young leader of the civil rights movement there has been quite successful in converting members of delinquent juvenile gangs into nonviolent workers for civil rights. The leader was interviewed several times, and his reports were corroborated by others familiar with his work.

The leader's work with the gangs grew out of necessity, not design. Soon after he had begun organizing meetings and protest marches and had come into conflict with the police, he discovered that his group's activities were receiving unasked for "protection" of a violent sort. For example, young people from delinquent gangs would "protect" a civil rights meeting in a chruch by standing outside throwing bricks at white policemen. Soon the civil rights leader —a former seminary student—was able to persuade the delinquents that they were needed instead as guards *against* violence, assigning them the job of "policing the area to make sure no violence occurred and to make sure nobody was waiting outside who should be inside at the meeting."

Over the next two years, about 200 members of four different gangs of out-of-school, out-of-work Negro teenagers received some training in nonviolent techniques and have become rather effective workers for voter registration, thus aiding the regular members of the local civil rights group, most of whom are in school or have jobs. Reportedly, delinquency among the gang members has diminished markedly, although sometimes the civil rights leader has had to personally "cool off" gang wars and personal rivalries to avert the bloodshed that used to be the order of the day.

Town X

Town X, which has a population of less than 20,000, is situated in a rural part of a border state. The Negro population is about one third of the total. The town is controlled by a small number of wealthy whites who are adamant segregationists.

At the time of the Civil War, at least half of the Negroes were enslaved, and town X was the major slave trading center for the area. Geographical factors have made the city isolated, and even today it lacks a train service. In the 1920's the city became a "Company town" in which almost the entire labor force, white and Negro, were employed by one firm. After the second World War, however, various factors caused the decline of the "Company," so that early in the 1950's its machinery finally ground to a reluctant halt.

This alteration in the economic status quo produced a meteoric rise in unemployment. A federal report in 1962 described the town as "economically distressed." Despite the founding of numerous small industries during the last ten years the unemployment rate among Negroes is still between 30% and 40%. The new factories, being obligated to the city council, apparently preferred white workers, and as more and more Negro job applications were ignored, the first stirrings of racial unrest were heard in the community. For the Negroes benevolent exploitation by a small group had been replaced by total inattention. The disintegration of the Company had removed the barriers of social structure which had, for years, kept the Negro community in a state of enforced "contentment." A Negro adult from town X summed it up recently: "At one time we coloreds here used to admire the whites and look up to them. But, then something happened—I don't know, everybody was out of work—and they didn't look so good any more."

Later in 1961, members of several interested organizations visited town X to investigate conditions there as they affected Negroes. Gradually, the local chapter of the NAACP (which had been virtually inactive for years and was composed mainly of middle-class Negroes) was superseded by the formation of a local committee for nonviolent direct action. Early in 1962 demonstrations took place which were met with resistance from the white community. Throughout the year outside help continued to arrive in the town, and further sit-ins and picketing took place. About 90% of those arrested for misdemeanors in 1962 civil rights activities were so-called Freedom Riders from outside town X. Because of some disagreements within the local movement, the winter of 1962-1963 was quiet and relatively uneventful.

The spring of 1963 heralded the arrival of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) officials and members of student organizations. The local nonviolent action group was under new leadership, and demonstrations were in active progress by May. A mass arrest took place, which highlighted the movement in the national press. In June, the Negro community had an explosive reaction when two teenagers were sent to reform school for illegal demonstrating. Prior to this incident, some local leaders had experienced difficulty in raising crowds to demonstrate; but now, they had to beseech them to remain in their homes, lest violence should ensue from inadequately planned demonstrations. An army of police reinforcements occupied the town and the situation resembled one of martial law for much of the summer. Gradually, the mutual fear of violence eased, and negotiations were resumed. Demonstrations were suspended in August and September while a temporary compromise was being worked out.

Perhaps the most important single fact about the movement in town X is that it was conducted almost entirely by *lower-class* Negroes. After the pattern of most revolutionary movements, a few key leaders were middle class. But, in fact, most middle-class Negroes remained aloof from the action, and by their passivity incurred hostility and contempt as "Uncle Toms," with the result that their property was sporadically damaged by angry youngsters on the periphery of the movement.

Because of the longitudinal nature of the civil rights action outlined above (five months of maximal organization in 1963, some activity in 1962, none in 1961), town X was thought to be a propitious place to investigate the incidence of crime among Negroes in temporal relation to the movement. For the purpose of the study it was decided to investigate the period of May through September for the years 1961, 1962, and 1963. It is felt that this period reflects the situation in terms of a progression from virtual inactivity to explosive action. This progression seems to be reflected in data on major crime in the town. The police reports of town X for the months of May through September show that the number of Part I Offenses recorded during this five-month period in 1963 was 31, a very low figure. During this period in previous years, records show 49 reported offenses in 1962 and 73 in 1961. By way of contrast, the number of reported offenses in the four months *before* direct action began in 1963 and in the three months after it had subsided, showed approximately the same crime rate as the previous two years (see Table 4). Unfortunately, these figures do not include reports of assaults, and there is no racial breakdown, although it is known that Negroes ***normally account for about 50%*** of the arrests for "major crime" in town X.*

Because the relevant police records with racial breakdowns are unavailable, we thought of studying the Emergency Case records of the General Hospital in an effort to estimate the number of injuries resulting from assaults by Negroes during the time periods in question. Table 5 shows the incidences including those arising from racial rioting and police violence. The last line in Table 5 is corrected to exclude these cases, and represents the "routine" number of cases treated. Both tables exclude assaults perpetrated in the local labor camps, as it is felt that those were essentially nonconnected with the movement. We were told that the Negro migrant workers, who come to the area during the summer months to harvest the crops, would not associate themselves in any way with the movement, and, in fact, stayed away from the town because they were "scared." (Parenthetically, it *is* interesting to note that the incidence of assault among the migrant workers showed no appreciable change. Indeed a slight increase was apparent, whereas the "routine" cases from local Negroes diminished sharply).

TABLE 4.—*Town X Part I Offenses (Murder, Robbery, Burglary, Larceny)*

	1961	1962	1963
May-Sept	73	49	31
Jan-April	38	49	35
Oct-Sept	21	31	30
Total (annual)	132	129	96
Total adult arrests by the police force—all offenses	(Data missing)	386	429

While it is felt that these figures do not represent the total number of assaults, they would seem to reflect a fairly constant proportion of the incidences and thus be suitable for our purposes. The one Negro physician in the community quite independently supported the accuracy of the trend shown in these hospital records in stating that "during the summer of 1963 I stitched only three or four cases, when in other years I would have seen a dozen in the same period of time."

Many local leaders were interviewed in conjunction with the study, and their anecdotal impressions are of some interest. For example, the Public Health Inspector, whose duty it is to control the spread of venereal disease, particularly among crime-prone lower-class Negroes well known to him, observed: "Many of the contacts I sought, who would normally have been in jail, were living at home or could be found with their friends."

One of the principal Negro leaders estimates that there was much less crime in general: "People became interested in the movement, and were reluctant to do anything to jeopardize its progress. Most of the 1962 arrests were Freedom Riders—not locals. By 1963 there was a unification of common interest, and people who before were indigent and depressed, suddenly found that they had something to live and fight for."

Another local movement leader had anticipated trouble from the "winos" (alcoholics) and for this

TABLE 5.—*Town X Emergency Room Cases—Assaults by Negroes*

	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Total
1961	1	7	7	2	4	21
1962	1	4	0	7	1	13
1963 All cases	0	1	4	4	1	10
1963 "Ordinary" cases	(0)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(1)	5

This table represents the number of injury cases arising from assaults by Negroes in town X, which were treated in the Emergency Room of the local public general hospital. The figures include only assaults which occurred within the city limits and do not take into consideration the assaults perpetrated by members of the migrant labor force (see text). The bracketed figures in the last row are corrected to *exclude* assaults directly connected with civil rights action—eg, injuries incurred during clashes with the police. The period represented is May through September of 1961, 1962, and 1963.

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* An examination of Magistrate's Court's gross records of people arraigned on a variety of crimes indicates a similar trend. In the summer of 1962, 53% fewer *local Negroes* were arraigned on the various charges than were arraigned in the summer of 1961. The summer of 1963 saw a slight rise in the total, in that a reduction of only 25% below the 1961 figure was apparent. It is fair to assume, though, that the reason 1963 showed more cases than 1962 is that a substantial number of disorderly conduct and trespass arrests took place as part of 1963's civil rights effort by local Negroes. (The 1962 civil rights arrests, it will be recalled, were largely of people from out of town, though that year's efforts were obviously watched by the local populace with avid interest.)

reason she felt that they should not be included in the protest marches. However, she was surprised to find that with special attention from the sober and more responsible members, they behaved themselves admirably and turned out to be exemplary, if somewhat passive, demonstrators. A student leader attests to this and quotes the case of a young alcoholic who had a long history of arrests. "He apparently was accustomed to being in the County Jail, but while the movement was strong and active he never was in trouble, although he continued to drink." When the student returned to the town later in the year, months after all activity had ceased, he met the man leaving the jail; he had just been released and was heading for a bar.

Many factors may influence this apparent decrease in the incidence of crimes involving personal violence. Most of the local people quoted above mentioned that a temporary ban on retail sales of alcohol and the imposition of a curfew were important inhibitors. One reliable report, however, indicates that "bootlegged" alcohol was readily available for anyone who wanted it. Group identification and interest in the Cause, strengthened by the persuasion of the leaders, were the factors most commonly selected for mention. One leader said that during the marches "We found ourselves breaking ranks to intervene in sidewalk scuffles and family squabbles, so that there may well have been more than an indirect influence."

The civil rights struggle in town X was not totally devoid of incidental violence. A student civil rights worker, who spent the summer in town X, indicts a small splinter group for the violence which did occur in the early summer of 1963. "There was a great deal of interest during early July in the movement from this group—young, violent types. As soon as the police had a permanent hold, and the movement continued to threaten to demonstrate but never did, they provided the biggest lobby to continue demonstrations, even at gun and bayonet point, and constantly threatened to act on their own if the movement itself would not. They spoke to us often about this, because we (the college student staff) also wanted to resume demonstrations. They never carried out any of their major threats, although one assumes that they were the group responsible for the various crimes related to the movement from the Negro ward," such as throwing bricks at policemen and attacking the property of whites and so-called Uncle Toms.

Nevertheless, there are certain factors in town X that make it quite suprising that *more* violence did not occur. Among the lower-class Negroes of town X, there is a great contempt for the local police force. Arrests and jail sentences do not carry any social stigma; imprisonment is merely something unpleasant which must be endured. On one occasion during the summer, a group of jeering Negroes surrounded a white policeman who had drawn his gun, and dared him to shoot. The same attitude of sullen hostility was in evidence toward the dogs which were used occasionally by the police. (The dogs were returned to their kennels, we understand, when it became clear that they had failed to have the desired effect on the demonstrators.) In other words, town X could be considered a "tough" town with a "tough" population of unemployed Negroes, many of whom became actively involved in direct action programs for civil rights. The fact that crimes of violence apparently *decreased* during this tense summer would hardly have been a predictable phenomenon.

Comment

The material we have presented raises many questions, certainly raises more questions than it has answered. We hasten to state categorically that the findings are suggestive, by no means conclusive.

There seem to us to be four areas that warrant discussion and exploration:

1. To what extent are the data reliable?
2. Assuming the data *are* reliable and suggest a diminished incidence of crime committed by Negroes during periods of direct action for civil rights, what are the possible explanations for this relationship?
3. What implications might all this have for an understanding of violence in populations of the poverty-stricken and socially disadvantaged?
4. What further research is indicated to shed light on the effect of organized social movements on the behavior of lower-class populations?

We have already remarked that probably the majority of criminal acts go unreported and that collection of crime data by police departments is often quite unreliable. One can never be sure what factors, including chance, may be operating to influence the crime reporting process. Even when one finds a police department (such as the one in city Z) that prides itself on its crime reporting, there is still much to be desired in the uniformity of crime reporting from city to city.

Nonetheless, even taking these limitations into account, it is interesting that the statistics we have collected show the definite trend that they do, and that supplementing the police statistics with hospital Emergency Room records (as we have done in town X) reveals the same trend. It is possible to argue that this apparent trend is based on a change in contact between the police and the Negro community. Perhaps the police were so busy with civil rights demonstrators that their contact with or recording of crimes of violence within the Negro community was altered; ie, their attention and concentration of forces were elsewhere. Or, perhaps, during economic boycotts Negroes are more careful to shield crime from the eyes of the police and white authorities. If these be so, any drop in crime rate is more illusory than real.

While these are real possibilities, there is at least ancedotal evidence to the contrary. During periods of "racial tension" in the South, the police force generally pays particularly close attention to the Negro sections of town and keeps a close vigil for potential violence of all kinds. Furthermore, where we have been able to supplement police data with medical information, as in town X, the incidence of medically recorded injuries resulting from personal violence has shown a decrease during civil rights activity.

Obviously, it would further strengthen the case for our hypothesis if we could present parallel data from comparable communities which have had no direct action civil rights programs. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to obtain appropriately comparative data.

Assuming for the time being, then, that the reduction in the incidence of crime was *real,* not merely apparent, how might this be explained?

Perhaps when there are important events upon which the attention of any community is focused there is distraction from the forms of behavior which might otherwise lead to crime. Is the reduction of crime in these instances an epiphenomenon of the focusing of group attention on unusual public events? (There are some reports, for example, that crime in Washington, DC was reduced somewhat during the period following President Kennedy's assassination. Would the same have been true of the 1962 Cuban Crisis or of a World Series?)

Or, perhaps the explanation lies in a deterrent effect of the increased number of policemen on patrol during periods of protest, or the potentiality of such an increase. In city Z, at least, this "deterrence" could not have been a large factor in the sustained diminution of assaults during 1960 and 1961. The major form of protest during that time was an economic boycott which did not involve the local police very extensively.

There is some sociological and psychological data that might suggest a basis for the possible existence of a causal relationship between organized direct action for civil rights and reduced crime among Negroes. A long-term effect of segregation upon lower-class Negroes has been a blocking off of their social and self-assertion—economically, socially, and psychologically.[8,3,5] Open expression of their resentment against second class status has been blocked off in both South and North. We would agree with other authors that this damming-up of resentment is one reason for the high incidence of crime among lower-class Negroes[8,9]; this is further supported by the fact that the vast majority of violent acts by Negroes are directed toward other Negroes. To put it another way, one might say that for the lower-class Negro, avenues have been closed off by the social structure, so that violent crime against members of his own race is one of the channels of least resistance open to him for the expression of aggression. When he becomes aggressive *against segregation,* the Negro's sense of personal and group identity is altered; race pride partially replaces self-hatred, and aggression need not be directed so destructively at the self or the community. The concept of "prosocial acting out" has been set forth elsewhere[3,4] to describe risky, aggressive, somewhat impulsive actions which the actor sees himself taking "for the good of society." These actions are thus distinguished from the diffuse lashing out against social institutions that characterizes "antisocial acting out"—although in some cases, the psychodynamic roots of the two types of behavior may be quite similar.

When large scale direct action civil rights activities are launched in a community, the leaders face a herculean task of community organization. The members of the community must be recruited, trained, and organized into a disciplined, nonviolent army. Networks of communication and transportation must be arranged, for large numbers of people must be united behind a single effort. It is the pooling of resources, the setting up and certifying of goals, priorities, and methods in a community effort to produce social change that draws neighbors together in an organization whose very existence would tend to discourage crime (particularly crimes of violence against each other). If the community organization process is successful, each man, through the combined strength of his and his neighbors' efforts, can have that seat at the "community bargaining table" that has traditionally been denied him. Each man learns that possibly his personal welfare and certainly the welfare of the movement requires unity in the Negro community. As a result of the need for unity, people begin to know their neighbors and their neighbors' problems. A spirit of common concern pervades the community and serves to discourage crimes of violence.

The data we have presented do not indicate any long-lasting effect of organized civil rights activity upon the crime pictures of city Z and town X—although seemingly permanent gains have been made with the juvenile gangs of city A. In looking at the crime data from city Z and town X, it is clear that after the major civil rights action had ceased, the number of reported crimes by Negroes returned fairly promptly to the frequency that was customary before the "movement" began. It is impressive, though, that a reduced crime rate for Negroes was sustained in city Z for two full years before going back up to former levels. Furthermore, when crime rates returned to frequencies comparable to earlier years, there was no "rebound phenomenon" of a net *increase* in violence which (had it occurred) might have been attributed to frustration of hopes which had been "stirred up" by the civil rights movement. Indeed, in city Z the 1962 frequency of assaults by Negroes is somewhat *below* what one would expect in view of the increase in population over 1959.

It is apparent from these data that direct or vicarious participation in the partial successes of civil rights direct action movements did not solve all the problems of violence-prone, socially disadvantaged Negroes. In recent months in town X, for example, the leaders of the civil rights movement have becomes less and less interested in equal access to public accommodations but increasingly adamant about obtaining federal relief of poverty and unemployment in the area. Whether civil rights leaders across the nation are feeling a continuing responsibility to plan for and press for improvements in the life conditions of the low-income Negro is a question that cannot be dealt with here, although there are several recent signs pointing in this direction.† This shift in emphasis by civil rights groups represents an increasingly sophisticated awareness of the multifaceted nature of the problems faced by Negroes, both North and South. In spite of successes in the South, however, the direct action civil rights groups have been largely unable to organize the socially disadvantaged Negroes of the North —perhaps because they have been perceived by the residents of Northern Negro slums as being mainly interested in public accommodations and voting rights. At this point in time, the deprived Northern Negro is cynical about the value of a public accommodations law or the right to vote. He lives in areas of the country where there are few statutory or semilegal sanctions to prevent him from eating at a lunch counter, going to a movie, or voting. Yet, he is still denied equal employment opportunities, good housing, and respect from police officers. The Northern slum Negro sees himself as still not being "free," and until effective methods are found to combat his problems, he will often choose between the unfortunate alternatives of either accepting his fate or lashing out with hate and violence. In our opinion it seems unlikely that the civil rights groups will be able to effectively organize the socially deprived Negro in the urban North; it may instead be the black "hate" groups that will be successful, unless substantial efforts are made to relieve the social and economic deprivation of the Northern Negro.

This brings us to our concluding remarks. We feel it should be emphasized that if our findings are verified, there is then a very strong argument that the kind of community organization and psychological mobilization inherent in the civil rights struggle may be of prime importance in the development and implementation of various crime prevention programs and "anti-poverty" programs. It would appear that such programs—which, after all, are often aimed at lower-class Negroes—could learn a great deal from the interactional and motivational processes involved in the direct action civil rights movement. Yet, surprisingly little research has been done or is being done on just *how* the movement functions and the process of its development. The study of process requires a multidimensional approach including both that of statistical reporting and anecdotal observations. This technique requires considerable further development. It is our hope that the need for such research will have been made more apparent by this presentation.

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† For example, in November, 1963, the "militant" Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) held its annual leadership conference on the theme of "Food and Jobs." The meeting was held in Washington and featured conference-workshops with federal officials on the subject of existing programs that could possibly be of aid to the rural Negro in the South.

Summary

Data are presented which suggest a substantial reduction in crimes of violence by Negroes in three cities during periods of organized protests and "direct action" for civil rights in those cities. The findings are based on official crime reports, medical records, newspaper accounts, and interviews with residents of the three communities (two cities in the Deep South and one in a border state).

It is hypothesized that Negroes release long dammed-up resentment of segregation by asserting themselves (directly or vicariously) in direct action for civil rights. Such emotional expression, when it occurs in a framework of community organization may reduce the need for aggressive outbursts of a violent sort, thus reducing the incidence of such crimes.

We note that further research into the functioning of the civil rights movement may produce fruitful implications for programs to prevent crime and battle poverty.

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The Congress of Racial Equality and Its Strategy

By Marvin Rich

Abstract: The idea for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was originated by James Farmer in a 1941 memorandum calling for personal nonviolent direct action to end discrimination, and by a group of University of Chicago students who staged the first successful United States sit-in in 1942. Early chapters of CORE were college-centered because of the demands on time involved in its training projects and in the sit-ins and picket-lines themselves. CORE's early demonstrations took place mainly in the North and were mostly aimed at increasing public accomodations for the Negro. In the 1950's CORE expanded rapidly, forming chapters throughout the South and widening its membership to include representatives of all social classes. It also widened its goals by working for improvement in Negro employment and housing conditions. By 1964, CORE had an income of $900,000 and a professional staff of 137, as well as a solid nucleus of CORE chapters throughout the country. The dramatic sit-ins and Freedom Rides organized by CORE have had visible results in civil rights legislation and in increased public accomodation for Negroes. Its future efforts will be concentrated on training its burgeoning numbers of new members and on working for the improvement of Negro living conditions, voter registration, and employment. To accomplish its new goals, however, it will continue to employ its characteristic nonviolent direct action methods—Ed.

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A FEW of us try harder. A few try not at all. Yet the story of CORE is the story of an effort—sustained and sustaining—to put ourselves out of business.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

James Farmer started it all, in 1941, when he went home again to his native South. He walked up the steps to the "crow's nest" reserved for Negroes in the local movie theatre. Perhaps for the first time, he fully realized that though he believed "Jim Crow" was wrong, he and most of his friends were actually supporting it by their daily actions. He wrote a memo posing this dilemma and called for the formation of a dedicated group of individuals who would combine mind and body in an effort to take personal nonviolent direct action to end discrimination.

This memo was widely circulated among student and religious groups, liberals, pacifists, and socialists in the spring of 1942. One such group was composed primarily of University of Chicago students. One Sunday afternoon following a session, the group wandered too far from the campus and was refused coffee at a restaurant. They tried to negotiate with management, but were unsuccessful, in spite of the fact that Illinois law forbade discrimination. They then began the first race relations sit-in in America. They were successful in changing policy. The first CORE chapter was formed out of Farmer's memo and this incident. Ever since, CORE chapters have been adapting the techniques of nonviolent direct action to different sections of the country and to different forms of discrimination.

The first CORE chapters were college-centered. They included as members students, teachers, ministers, and trade unionists. They were small and elitist. Only a very few individuals were willing to make the sacrifices of time, energy, and reputation demanded of CORE members, for chapters usually met every other week, and committees met on the alternate weeks. There were negotiating sessions with management, training sessions for new members, and workshops before major actions. Then there was the radical nature of our action—picket lines and sit-ins—and the ever-present possibility of arrest. But if the chapters were small, they were also inclusive. It requires discipline and some training to sit-in and to respond to insults with good will. It does not require an advanced degree. CORE chapters have increasingly involved persons from every walk of life in their membership and in their leadership.

The first CORE chapters were located in the North and concentrated on public accommodations—yes, two decades ago throughout the North many restaurants, bowling alleys, skating rinks, and barber shops refused to serve Negroes. There were some experiments with interracial housing co-operatives and some successful efforts to open up job opportunities. But the main thrust was in public accommodations and in the North. It was in the late 1940's and early 1950's that CORE moved into the border states of Maryland, Missouri, and Oklahoma. It was only in the middle 1950's that the radical idea of direct action was able to secure a base in the South as a whole.

As time went on the emphasis in the North turned increasingly to jobs and to open-occupancy housing. The housing efforts included efforts to negotiate with realtors and to open tract housing in new suburbs to meet the needs of individual Negro families. This approach represented the largely middle-class base of these early CORE chapters. The effort to secure jobs, on the other hand was primarily centered on semiskilled occupations in consumer-oriented industries which were amenable to CORE-type pressure. Successes in this field inevitably drew in more Negroes with a working-class background and subtly changed the character of the middle-class and predominantly white Northern chapters. In the South, almost from the beginning there was a far higher percentage of black members, even though the first emphasis was upon public accommodations.

GROWTH AND EXPANSION

CORE had grown in the early 1940's. However, the groups were small. They had many student members who graduated and moved away. Further, many had been formed to combat a specific instance of discrimination and, once this was eliminated, they would often disappear. In the 1940's and early 1950's there was no paid staff, and CORE was entirely an organization of volunteers, but, by 1956, the organization began to develop a nucleus of solid chapters and a trained staff. In the late 1950's, CORE developed a series of summer training institutes for leaders of local groups. Those who participated in these institutes were to play important roles in the 1960 student sit-ins.

CORE staffers negotiated at the national level with the variety store chains involved in the 1960 sit-ins and provided workshops at the local level for the thousands of students. These efforts helped the organization to secure the allegiance of many in every section of the country and to secure firm roots in the upper South. The 1961 Freedom Rides, which were initiated, financed, and organized by CORE, brought CORE to the hard-core areas of the South. Today, CORE has a membership of over 80,000. It has approximately doubled in size and budget every year for the past five years. Thus, in the year ending May 31, 1959, CORE's income was $62,000. Five years later the income was $900,000. There are now 124 chapters affiliated in every section of the country. In 1959 there was a staff of seven. Today there is a professional staff of 137.

SOME RESULTS OF CORE ACTIVITY

The sit-ins and the Freedom Rides were dramatic, and they were successful. Within a year of the first sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, more than 140 communities had desegregated at least some restaurant facilities. Most of these were of the chain variety and department stores and could thus be readily identified by the Negro shopper who wanted service without embarrassment. The Freedom Rides secured the Interstate Commerce Commission order which made possible effective enforcement of the Boynton decision. Further, CORE followed up with the Freedom Highways campaign, in the spring and summer of 1962, which opened the Howard Johnson and Holiday Inn chains, so that by 1962 it was possible for a Negro to travel from one end of the country to the other with dignity.

The successes of these campaigns brought into CORE thousands who wanted to share personally in bringing about the civil rights revolution. They have taken action individually which has brought about change. They negotiated with management, leafleted, picketed, and sat-in. And then, they have used the newly opened facilities. That first cup of coffee and that first hamburger have tasted better than any others for thousands. For these people, talk by columnists, politicians, and some civil rights leaders of returning the civil rights struggle to the courts and the legislative halls and out of "the streets" is a way of saying that they are not needed or wanted, that they are to be relegated to the status of dues-payers. This status they will no longer accept.

Direct action plays an important role for the country as well. The Emancipation Proclamation, the First, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments have been the "law of the land" for some little time. Most Northern states have had civil rights laws for more than eighty years, and these laws have been strengthened since World War II. And, yet, these laws are as honored in the breach as in the observance. The nonviolent activists know that their demonstrations which caused people to say: "Aren't they going too far, now?" also brought about the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They know that Act is as strong as it is only because of their pressure in the streets of Birmingham, Greensboro, and Jackson. When they went to talk to congressmen they could say: "It really happened in America; it happened to me." Zev Aelony told his congressman about facing a death penalty in Americus, Georgia, on a charge of insurrection. Jerome Smith could tell of being brutally beaten in McComb, Mississippi, while law enforcement officials looked on. And the congressmen responded by strengthening the bill. And the American people have responded—reluctantly, slowly, hesitatingly—but they have responded. When forced to make a choice between making a mockery of the American creed and making it a reality they have chosen the course of equality. Surely, there has been a backlash. It used to be called prejudice, but now there is a new term. But most of the American people and their representatives have chosen to go forward. We in CORE believe that when forced to make a choice, they will continue to make the choice for progress.

The willingness to sacrifice of CORE members has also played an important role. The first sit-in students who actually served their full jail terms in the 1960 sit-ins were members of Tallahassee CORE. The first of the Freedom Riders to serve their full jail terms rather than appeal were members of New Orleans CORE. After the first bus of Freedom Riders was burned in Anniston, Alabama, a second bus proceeded to Birmingham only to be met by a mob. Here Jim Peck, editor of the *CORE-lator,* was brutally beaten. Walter Bergman of Detroit CORE is still partially paralyzed three-and-one-half years later as the result of the injuries suffered then. It was a CORE member, William Moore, who was ambushed and murdered at night on an Alabama highway in April of 1963. A few months later the vice-chairman of Cleveland CORE, the Reverend Bruce Klunder, was killed in a demonstration against the construction of a segregated school. And then CORE staff members James Chaney and Michael Schwerner and their student companion Andrew Goodman were abducted and murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi, on the night of June 23, 1964. The sacrifices and the determination to go on in spite of them have struck a responsive chord throughout the nation. The fact that three of the four CORE leaders who have given their lives are white has re-emphasized the essential interracial character of the organization.

There are other forms of sacrifice and commitment. CORE Task Force members live on a meager $44.89 every two weeks, are occasionally cold or hungry, often harassed by local registrars, police, and night riders, and frequently discouraged. They must win the confidence of a people whose only protection is their seeming apathy. CORE Task Force members have picked cotton and worked in tobacco fields to win the confidence of local people and to earn a few dollars for a new shirt. They have given years of their lives while friends have taken the first steps on more rewarding careers. Their day-to-day dedication and sacrifice have played a decisive role in the growth of CORE.

FUTURE GOALS AND PROBLEMS

But the new recruits who have been attracted to CORE because of its militancy, its dramatic successes, and the desire to share in the sacrificial struggle have also brought new problems. Their very number has made it difficult to train them in methods and in the philosophy of nonviolent direct action. When a staff doubles in size each year, very few can have had much training themselves. This past year CORE began a series of area training conferences. In the coming year these will be augmented by larger institutes as well as by regional workshops on specific problem areas.

During the past year CORE has emphasized in the North and in the South a program of community service to develop community roots, indigenous organizations with the ability to help themselves economically and politically. In the North there has been door-to-door canvassing in the sprawling urban ghettos to determine the complaints that most concern the people themselves. This has led to major programs to secure housing-code enforcement through rent strikes, demonstrations before the offices of building commissioners and mayors, and tours of the slum buildings with community leaders. It has also led to successful demonstrations to secure play streets and traffic lights. These kinds of demonstrations, if effectively followed up, can lead to permanent and significant community organization. In Mississippi, Louisiana, and northern Florida, CORE has developed a series of community centers that not only house the voter registration offices, but also have libraries, game rooms, sewing classes, and art activities.

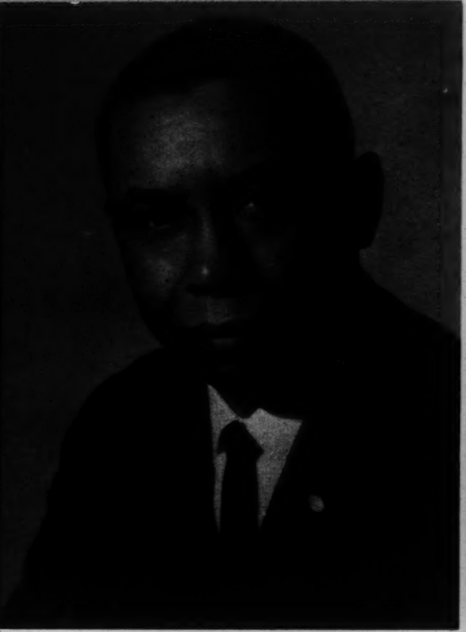
The voter registration efforts of the past have begun to pay off with significant numbers of new registrants in most of the Southern states—excluding Mississippi and Louisiana. For example, during the past two years CORE staffers in South Carolina have co-ordinated registration drives that have put 31,000 Negroes on the books—this in spite of the fact that for most of the year the registration books are open only one day a month and in spite of prolonged slowdowns by some of the registrars. The voter registration effort which has been part of CORE's Southern activity since 1956 is now firmly rooted in the North as well. In part, this has been a natural outgrowth of the effort to service local communities more effectively. It has also been an outgrowth of the effort to defeat Goldwaterism. Soon, the national organization will establish a political action department to co-ordinate and develop local action programs.

The struggle for an increased share in the economy continues to receive major effort. CORE works under the assumption that there cannot be fair employment unless there is relatively full employment. However, we also know that even in a full-employment economy there need not be fair employment. Negroes could and probably would be the last hired and the first fired, confined to the menial and the dead-end jobs. So CORE continues to work to end discrimination by employers and unions. Our major concern has been among consumer-oriented industries where we can be most effective and to secure unskilled and semiskilled jobs where the largest reservoir of unemployed and underemployed manpower is available. There have been some notable examples of success. The First National Bank of Boston, after several weeks of picketing and previous months of negotiations, moved to hire Negroes. We believe that this will mean approximately 1,000 jobs. To do this the company re-evaluated its personnel policies and changed requirements for many jobs. For example, they decided that a messenger really didn't need a high school diploma. In New York, we were able to get the A&P to reverse a long-standing personnel policy and agree to hire hundreds of full-time Negro employees, whereas they had increasingly resorted to part-timers. These victories point to a concern and a direction. To use direct action effectively with primary manufacturers, such as steel and aluminum, will be more difficult than with consumer-oriented companies, but not impossible.

CORE has changed to meet new situations and new demands. It will continue to do so. However, it will also continue to emphasize nonviolent direct action methods which involve people from every status level, to be interracial and interreligious, to be national in scope, youthful in membership and outlook. We believe that it will continue to be the cutting edge of the civil rights movement.

CONSTRUCTIVE MILITANCY

a philosophy
and a
program



Presentation by

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality
to the
Executive Reorganization Sub-committee
of the
Government Operations Committee

SENATE HEARINGS
Thursday,
December 8, 1966

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY
working to create a society in which all men are equal

Dear Reader:

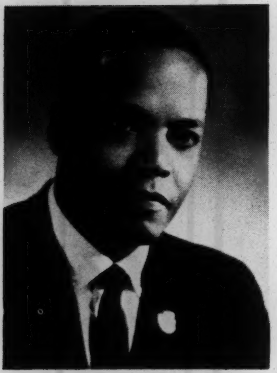
We presented this document to the Senate Sub-committee "in the spirit of crisis and a spirit of fragile hope." Although we had made such presentations many times before, most recently at the White House Conference on Civil Rights, we felt that it was imperative to tell the truth again, in the hope that Congress, seeing the urgency, would act.

The urban crisis cannot be resolved unless the problem of the black ghetto is solved. Urban communities cannot continue to exist with powerless, isolated ghettoes in their midst, for they will explode out of frustration and hopelessness. We must rebuild men, not merely rehabilitate buildings. To that end there must be a reconstruction of the institutions of the ghetto concerned with the bodies, souls, and minds of the men and women who live there.

The programs contained within this testimony are designed to provide for an orderly transfer of power to a heretofore powerless community, so that they themselves can seek to make the changes needed.

We welcome your comments and suggestions.

Very truly yours,
Floyd B. McKissick
National Director


Lincoln O. Lynch
Associate National Director

Wilfred Ussery
National Chairman

CONSTRUCTIVE MILITANCY

a philosophy and a program

INTRODUCTION

The central cities of this country are disaster areas—the debris is mounting, the walking wounded everywhere. For weeks you have been listening to the catalogue of this crisis, much as the legislators of the 18th century in the plague cities, studied the lists of the dead. It is true; death is everywhere: the death of the body, the death of hope.

I am no longer certain that we can turn the tide. . . . God knows we must try.

There is no time . . . there is no time to talk of half-measures, no time to prosecute wars, no time to lash back at the angry poor, no time to moralize about an integrated utopia . . . there is no time. The seminars must end, the conferences conclude, our wisdom must now be shaped into specific weapons of change. It is in this spirit—a spirit of crisis and a spirit of fragile hope that I come before you today.

I will talk about many things—of entire institutions of our society that are crumbling in the central city. I will talk about the black American—the mass of black Americans—paralyzed in poverty, unmotivated, suspicious of the white man's promise, blooded on the streets of Los Angeles and on the streets of Saigon. I will talk of racism through the entire American fabric—a racism that *cannot be changed by law alone.*

And I will talk about black power . . . black power, its consequence and its meaning.

The tragedy of the recent spasm of reaction and racism in this country is best dramatized in this room . . . for it is in this room for many weeks that you gentlemen have seen in exquisite detail, the frustration, the hopelessness and the powerlessness of the American urban Negro. There is no better argument for black power—for the mobilization of the black community as a political, social and economic bloc—than the words you have heard in this room. Moreover—and this is what we have always meant by Black Power—it is a rational, militant call from a whole segment of this nation's population to do what *you* have not been able to do: destroy racism in this country, create full employment in the American ghetto, revise the educational system to cope with the 20th century, and make the American ghetto a place in which it is possible to live with hope.

And once and for all—I am a man of peace, appalled by a society of violence in which I live.

I am tired of violence—not only that which has been inflicted on myself, and my children—but the deeper violence inflicted on the black child in a hopelessly antique system of education: the violence done to the Negro man and the Negro woman, torn apart by the racist employer and defeated by the humiliation of public welfare. *Do not ever forget* . . . 90 per cent of the American black community—that immobile 90 per cent—which is the main subject of my discussion today—are both the children and the victims of violence.

As I proceed, gentlemen, I would ask that you keep two basic themes in mind. One, the scope of the problem facing the central city is so large and at the same time the despair and suspicion in the black community so deep that *any* solutions we discuss must be immediate and in large part be financed by the federal budget. Even more important in any such undertaking we must involve and dignify the black man as a fully enfranchised citizen—capable of administering his own recovery. Secondly, I would ask that we regard this problem in crisis terms, and for the moment set aside our understandable dreams of integration—set them aside before the "fire next time" is now. As we in CORE have studied the problems facing the mass of American black people, we found over and over again that the great moral struggle for integration has, in fact, barely touched the lives of the people. Every instinct and experience tells us that the larger battle for real change has hardly begun. Every analysis we can find, the work of virtually every social scientist who has addressed himself to this question, leads us to the same basic conclusion: the black ghettoes will not go away; they are the hard fact of our life. Any solution you may consider, which addresses itself to the cause of despair and poverty must, in fact, accept the existence of a growing ghetto and proceed immediately to the task of restoring its physical, educational and economic integrity.

Again, let me emphasize, I am not arguing *against* the past; CORE's credentials in the civil rights movement are written in blood on Mississippi and Louisiana ground. I *am* arguing *for* the future, a future in which a rich nation extends its resources and its energy and its commitment into the central cities so that those who live there may mold their hopes with their own hands, organize and act as a powerful economic, political and moral force and help to re-build this democracy as a nation of brothers.

EDUCATION

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that separate or segregated education is, by definition, inferior. We thought that this represented the removal of the major roadblock to full citizenship and real participation in the mainstream of American life for Black people. Now, we thought, the way was clear for every law-abiding citizen to develop to the full potential of his ability.

But the law of the land was not enforced. Twelve and a half years later only 13% of Negro children in the South attend integrated schools. Today, over 50% of the children in N.Y.C. are Negro or Puerto Rican. 90% attend segregated schools. The white population in Philadelphia declined from 51% in 1961 to 43% in 1965. White enrollment in Detroit has dropped 9.2% in the last five years.

Most important, however, is the fact that the children left behind are not being taught. A recent survey of the reading levels in the segregated schools of New York shows that almost 87% of the children are reading below grade. This is compared to 50% below grade in 1954, the year of that great court decision. At this rate, by 1970 all of the children in ghetto schools in that city will be "under-achievers."

From the time a black child enters the public schools, he is fighting an uphill battle not to be pushed out of the educational system. Not the best, but the least experienced teachers are still being assigned to ghetto schools.[1] Teachers rarely teach; they keep order and impose discipline and too often hold their ghetto pupils in low esteem. "The crucial ingredient in improving education of the disadvantaged is changing the attitude of the teachers."[2] Yet, human relations courses are still nonexistent in many urban centers.

Staffed by teachers and administrators from the middle class, "the American high school tends to be a white, middle-class institution loaded against the Negro, working-class pupil."[3]

The Harlems of this country are public school disaster areas. The continuing failure to educate black and poor children when education is a necessary ingredient for success in this society amounts to genocide. The fact that the "mind-killing" may be unintentional is irrelevant to the victim and of little comfort to the bereaved family.

Integration for all children is not feasible in many large cities today. Yet parents in the black communities of our cities are no longer willing to stand by and watch their children's minds wither and die. Typical are the Negro parents at New York's widely publicized I.S. 201. They demanded of the Board of Education:

1. Black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire.
2. They insisted upon sympathetic teachers who represented black children, were supportive and encouraging and who expected black children to learn.
3. They called for a curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and therefore could rebuild a self damaged by living in a world that ignored them.
4. They pledged themselves to increased participation in their children's lives. By being vigilant and unafraid they knew that they would compel response and respect from the school administration, the teaching staff and their own children.

In effect, they were saying to educators that if a child with native intelligence is not achieving, the fault does not lie with the child. One must assume the technique is wrong, the perception of the child is wrong. As with a doctor and a sick patient, it is more prudent to try changing the medicine and mode of treatment than to curse the patient for not getting well.[4]

Integrated quality education is still a desirable goal and there must be Federal action to insure integration wherever feasible . . . in suburban school districts, smaller cities and towns, Southern school systems, and border districts in major cities. Of all solutions proposed for the ultimate answer to the big city's educational dilemma, CORE would favor the building of centrally located, well-equipped educational complexes offering superior education to all children and the utilization of integrated curriculum and staff at all levels.

None of these solutions can really be considered final unless we realize this. *Racism is the crux of this nation's problem.* Whites must be re-educated if integration is ever to have meaning. It is time for conferences on the White problem in America. The experts who have been called together so often to discuss the Negro must now turn their attention to white racism and violence in this society.

CORE calls for a National Board of Education made up of experts, activists, parents, and administrators to develop new ideas and put them to work.

Methods of teaching black children must be improved and adopted to their needs. There must be new forms of teacher recruitment and training; the teaching profession must be made attractive to our best thinkers and leaders. There should be experimentation with ungraded classrooms in ghetto schools, team-teaching, opening schools all day, all night and all year around. Non-professionals must be used as community aides to motivate parents and children. A pupil-teacher ratio of no more than 15 to 1 is required to overcome the effects of decades of inferior education. We should consider extending education requirements downwards and upwards, guaranteeing all students at least two years of college education. We would also recommend community schools with school-parent committees which have a voice and a function.[5]

But just as important, there must be new ways to halt and reverse the spread of racism in this country. The National Board of Education must consider this problem as well. We must know why white children are more racist when they finish school than when they enter. We must know why their parents panic at the words "black power." We must know why the sickness of racism erupted in such ugly ways in Cicero, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and we must know why it took its toll in the November elections. And we must devise programs to cure these ills.

We accuse school boards across the nation of being instruments of death—death of motivation, death of potential, death of hope. But the Federal Government also bears a heavy responsibility. Even *experimental* educational programs have too often been a rehash of tried methods that have already failed. We have not forgotten the fact that Congress passed a Civil Rights Act in education one year and cut its budget and powers the next. A similar default was congressional inaction on the Teachers Corps. We are appalled at a government agency that one day cuts off funds for Chicago public schools and restores them the next. We bitterly remember the treatment of my predecessor, James Farmer, whose literacy program was dropped for political reasons. If the OEO had gone ahead with the funding of that program, tens of thousands of illiterates would today be on their way toward full participation in American life.

Here as never before there is a need for creative partnership. Parents of black and poor children must become respected partners in the coalition. Civil rights groups have already proved that they can produce. One of the most successful Head Start programs in the country, according to Dr. Julius Richmond, of the National Head Start program, was run by Long Island CORE. Universities can offer new ideas. Foundations and businesses can offer funds. The public media can almost singlehandedly reverse the tide of racism, just as they reversed attitudes toward the Japanese and the Germans in a few short years. Programs featuring violence for adults and children instill the attitude that violence is a method of solving problems. Educational programs need to replace them showing that there are other ways of solving problems in a democratic society. The public needs to know what black people have contributed to the history of this nation. They need to know what black people are contributing today.

Government, if for no other reason than that of self-interest in developing productive citizens, should take the lead in creating an educational system of which we can all be proud. The right to get an education is a constitutional right. It is your responsibility to see that that right is guaranteed.

WELFARE AND ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

CORE believes that the gradual phasing out of Anti-Poverty Programs will only result in gradual building up of frustration and alienation by the poor, black and white. We believe that conditions of poverty can best be resolved with programs of constructive militancy that give people dignity and self respect.

Take for example the present Public Assistance program which reaches only 8 million of the 34 million poor people in this country. It costs $5 billion dollars a year to finance this system of the social worker-recipient relationship, which is a modern version of the master-slave relationship with both black and white slaves. On the other hand, last year a mere 1.8 billion dollar anti-poverty program operating under a philosophy of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" began mobilizing millions of poor in self-help programs which began to instill a degree of self-determination for the poor.

The system of public welfare fosters dependency and denies basic human and constitutional rights of the poor. In many cases, once you become a welfare recipient you lose most of your citizenship rights and have no vehicles through which to assert your rights except through the good graces of the social workers. It has been said that the welfare system in this country is one of the most lawless systems in history, and that "public welfare regularly invades the privacy of individuals, denying benefits arbitrarily because government functionaries do not like somebody's housekeeping or bedroom habits." Local social welfare programs are governed by an archaic system of poor laws stemming from the 17th century. Examples are: residence laws, violations of equal protection and suitable home laws which give the state the right to take children from their parents because they are illegitimate.

Attempts to fight through the issue of the constitutionality of present social welfare laws will take decades. The parallel here is with the long struggle fought by CORE and other civil rights groups in the courts to overcome segregation laws.

CORE recommends that less emphasis be placed on Public Assistance programs that stifle initiative and merely perpetuate poverty, and that more emphasis *and money* be put into programs that will help people rise out of poverty and achieve dignity and self respect.

What is needed are programs that encourage competitive activities of Negroes and the poor. We support the proposal for a guaranteed income maintenance system or negative income tax because it guarantees money as a right for those who are not able to support themselves. But this system alone does not allow for challenging the economic system that now exists in this country. We challenge business, industry and government to initiate and finance black capitalism.

Another negative aspect of the present system of public assistance is that the benefits received by most are below the poverty level. This means that the government is financing a 5 billion dollar POVERTY program, not an anti-poverty program. And what is more embarrassing, this POVERTY program costs 2½ times more than the anti-poverty program did last year.

For addressing immediate problems of people on welfare, we suggest a system similar to the ombudsmen or special agencies to enforce the rights of welfare recipients.

HOUSING

Thirty-four million Americans are officially designated as poor. Ten million are black. By 1970, nearly 80% of our population will live in urban areas. More significantly, by 1970 more than 50% of the black people will live in the North and West, most in inner city areas. This means that the problem of slum housing is very much a black man's problem. More and more black people are migrating to cities in search of jobs, housing, decent lives. But when they arrive, they join their urban black brothers in being denied access to jobs, housing and a decent life.

The major problem for this country to address is a shift in priorities and values. We subsidize the railroads, the airlines, the highways—all in the interest of promoting and supporting private enterprise. This makes it all right. When it comes to subsidizing people, we call it welfare for the undeserving.

CORE does not agree that it is more important to build airplanes than people. We must develop ways for the poor to stop being poor—to become a part of this economy and this society.

Ghetto areas should be treated as under-developed countries with no balance of payments. Money flows out of the ghetto areas, little money circulates in the community and remains for development. Governmental programs should be used to intervene to correct the balance of payments—to develop an economic base, to develop basic social and economic institutions in these areas.

In the field of housing, governmental programs have been used to promote and stimulate private enterprise, not to meet the housing needs of the poor; nor have they provided economic stimulation and activity to ghetto areas. The profits go home somewhere else. That somewhere else is the suburbs.

White construction companies reap the profits of building federally funded public housing built in ghetto areas. Black construction companies don't get the jobs and they don't even get bonds. Black workers do not get any of these jobs, nor does any of the money stay in the black community for further investment. Once the public housing project is completed, regulations base eligibility on maximum income limits, keep out families receiving public assistance, or families without steady incomes and with personal problems, and pitch rents to construction costs. The result is that poor people and black people who have suffered the ravages of a punitive, prejudiced society either cannot afford or are declared ineligible for the so-called low-rent housing that is claimed as being built for them.

Federally funded urban renewal projects are built in border areas where they effectively remove the black and the poor. These projects are planned not to provide decent housing for the people who are being removed, who desperately need it, but to get them out—to "improve" the neighborhood, to enhance the cities' tax revenue.

With the flight of the middle class and many industries to the suburbs, cities face terrible financial problems, because their tax base is constantly decreasing, while needs for services for those who remain in the cities, the poor, are constantly increasing. Cities do not have the money to survive.

The federal government must develop new concepts of subsidizing people and free land to be used for human needs.

Where is this money to come from? This week mayors around the country have been demanding cuts in the nation's space program and reallocation of funds to the cities. A few weeks delay in reaching the moon represents years of decent living for millions of Americans. Yet the housing and anti-poverty budgets are considered low-priority and "non-essential." Each year $100 million is returned as surplus by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Why is this money returned? Why is it not used to build decent housing and create new jobs?

We must develop programs which do away with the feeling of uselessness of poor people, of black people. They have no property and no chance to own anything. Our society is based on property ownership, our personal identification comes from our jobs, yet black people have few opportunities to participate in either of these critical activities.

We must rebuild our cities to deal with the needs of the people living in them. Rehabilitation programs should be directed toward the elimination of exploiting the poor by slumlords and the development of tenant ownership. They should create new jobs for ghetto residents in the rehabilitation work as well as in the management area. This will be a tremendous undertaking. It has been estimated by the Architects' Renewal Committee for Harlem that $3.8 billion is necessary for New York City for the next ten years to rehabilitate existing structures, to create decent housing out of them. Another $27 billion is needed to build new units to create a sufficient supply of decent housing for the city. Another $780 million is needed just to make short-term repairs to provide decent housing while new units are being built. In addition, rent supplements will be required because rehabilitation costs will push up rents which poor people cannot pay. This will require an additional $1.1 billion per year.

This is the extent of the problem in just one city. How does the federal government deal with it? As an example, the current rent supplement program, which barely squeaked through Congress, has an appropriation of $20 million.

Nearly 80% of our citizens living in urban areas, the cities, are being forced to carry the burden of our domestic problems without any of the resources necessary to do the job.

There is only one answer: the federal government must accept its responsibilities. However, history has shown that even federal housing programs have never really been used for the benefit of the masses of the people.

Liberal efforts to obtain legislation to deal with slum problems have been directed toward abolishing segregated housing patterns. This approach has been destructive and has not resulted in significant increases in low-rent housing.

According to Dr. Richard Cloward and Dr. Frances Piven, in an article published in *The New Republic,* only 600,000 low-income units have been built since the start of the public housing program thirty years ago. But in less than half that time, nearly 700,000 units, mostly low-rental, have been destroyed by federal urban renewal and highway programs. In addition, federal tax incentives and mortgage programs have enabled private builders to take slum land at low costs to build middle and upper income housing. This has resulted in the dislocated being crowded into remaining ghetto areas, where the deterioration of ghetto housing has increased. People who have money already have been getting more: "To him that has, it shall be given."

New York City is a prime example. Mayor Lindsay's Housing and Urban Renewal Task Force recently reported that between 1960 and 1965 alone, the number of unsound units in the city rose from 420,000 to 525,000. During the same period, the stock of low-rental units decreased by 260,000 or almost one-third. Similar statistics can be cited in Newark, Cleveland and Baltimore

—cities we are particularly concerned about.

The writers contend that: "while the turmoil rages over integration, the housing conditions of the masses or urban poor worsen. They worsen partly because the solution continues to be defined in terms of desegregation, so that the energies and attention of reformers are diverted from attempts to ameliorate housing in the ghetto itself. They worsen more because the issue of integration arouses the racism of the white majority, with the result that housing programs for the poor are defeated."

Gentlemen, the ghetto is a rotten place in which to live . . . and it is getting worse. We do not think that integration is the way to decent housing for the masses of our people. We do think that federal programs, undertaken in cooperation with local communities, should now be directed to the concrete needs of the people, using all mechanisms and resources that have been so cleverly developed to raise tax revenues and sweep the poor under the rug.

The idea of a CONSAT type corporation for housing, pooling the massive resources of both private industry and government, offers exciting possibilities for the creation of new housing and new jobs. We do not need new legal and administrative mechanisms so much as we need Congressional commitment and funds to be used creatively.

We propose a two-pronged approach:

The first should be massive central city rebuilding programs to be developed with ghetto residents. This should not be a continuation of token demonstration programs affecting few people, held up by the façade of token community participation. We call for rehabilitation of all existing structures in ghetto areas and the building of new public housing on under utilized sites. This must include employing and training ghetto people to do the work, and turning the ownership of the buildings over to tenant housing corporations. Let us use the financial devices of Urban Renewal in the hands of the poor so that ghetto organizations can acquire and improve slum properties and operate them as decent housing.

Let us make money available at low interest rates. Let us create and develop black contracting companies who train and hire black workers. Let us provide sufficient rent supplements so that people can pay rents increased by rehabilitation costs. Let us remove red tape and create the concept of instant money, and use it to develop our own backyards.

Let us also use federal guarantees to promote private investment in low-rent housing and to bring businesses and industries into ghetto areas. Let us bring the poor into society by providing them with an economic function, and by making economically attractive the meeting of their needs.

The second is the construction of new cities. While many planners have looked to new towns as a solution to many urban problems, we see them as a way of dealing with the increasing migration of black farm workers to the cities. The construction of new cities offers tremendous opportunities for creation of new jobs, for the development of a whole new skilled population, and most importantly, for the creation of a new environment fit for men, black and white, to live in.

PROTECTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

In my opinion there were two tragic omissions on the part of the white majority in the history of this nation—two cases of reneging on the trust of black people. One was the failure to give freed slaves forty acres and a mule, a mistake we are paying for to this very day. The other was the failure to send federal registrars into every black community of the South, the day after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was signed.

The failure of government is clearly shown when citizens are not protected in the exercising of their fundamental rights. A government which has passed laws that it will not enforce is courting disaster. How can such a government demand respect and allegiance from the citizens it ignores?

We don't ask for any more laws. We simply demand that constitutional rights be enforced. We are aware that political expediency determines decisions far too often. How else can we explain the practice of rewarding political retainers with judgeships when it is known that they are part of the very system that denies justice to black Americans?

A system of justice which depends upon ignorance and poverty to secure convictions is no justice. We support all reforms in this area—funds for legal assistance, bonding on personal recognizance, and so on.

The role of local law enforcement agencies in provoking rebellions in our cities has been discussed to death. We can make specific suggestions so that better qualified men would serve as policemen in our communities. It is mandatory that the nation's law enforcement agencies be men and women of high caliber, judgment and training. Mandatory human relations training provided through the assistance of Federal funds; a massive recruitment program among minority groups; the raising of wage scales comparable to the new professionalization, and access for citizens to a review board made up entirely of civilians to examine charges of police malpractice are some aspects to be included in a minimum program.

But we are also aware of the desire of too many police forces to look upon themselves as their own lord and master. CORE reminds this nation that enforcement agencies on all levels, from the CIA to the police force of Los Angeles are responsible to the people they serve. To accept their services on any other terms is to invite totalitarianism.

EMPLOYMENT

Let's briefly review the employment situation. The statistics are familiar to all of us, but they only paint half of the picture. The other half, THE SOLUTIONS, will require money and determination. However, the question of financing is really not the major problem. There is a problem far deeper and greater in scope: that is the attitude of government as well as private industry as to their responsibility to the millions of poor and unemployed citizens in this country.

It is appropriate here to cite the following statistics: In August 1965, the white unemployment rate was 4.1% and the Negro unemployment rate was 7.7%, the traditional level of almost twice as many unemployed blacks as whites. Presently, white employment is down to 3.5% while at the same time, Negro unemployment has risen to the tragic figure of 8%. The gap continues to widen. Among young men of 18 to 24, the national rate of unemployment is 5 times as high for Negroes as for whites. In addition to the problem of unemployment is the hidden factor of equal pay for equal work. Negroes with Ph.D.'s make $4,000 less than white Ph.D.'s.

With statistics like these, even people educated in the public schools of our major cities can figure out that employment is a national problem and must be dealt with on a national level. And by the way, we don't agree that one national solution is to lower the unemployment rates by sending nearly 400,000 employables to a war in Southeast Asia.

The Congress of Racial Equality believes that immediate corrective measures must be instituted. The development of Negro skills is being prevented by racist practices by both government and private industry. Organized labor has not cleaned its own house yet. The opening up of apprentice programs across the board could be a first step. For example, in New York City, according to a recent article in the NEW YORK TIMES, the plumbers and electricians unions continue gross discriminatory practices to the extent that only about 25 Negroes are electricians and plumbers in this great American city, *the* "example" of democracy.

First, we should consider creation of jobs for the poor. We do not have in mind "make work" programs, but programs which would affect the hard-core unemployed. The Scheuer Amendment to the anti-poverty act can be used as a basis if Congress will appropriate sufficient funds to make the amendment achieve the objectives for which it was designed. In such a program, jobs would have career potential and should raise the level of hope for those affected.

In such a program for example, young Negro high school graduates from the ghetto who are often found idle on the streets for lack of job opportunities, who are functionally dead as far as the American economy is concerned, can be brought back into the life of the economy by using them as teachers for elementary school children. They can teach reading and recreation activities, and be paid by the government for doing so. They can set up classes in storefronts, churches, and other private and public places for younger teens. These high school graduates can thereby increase their worth to themselves and to the community, and at the same time, earn money.

Secondly, thousands of ghetto dwellers can be employed in hospitals. There are tasks too numerous to mention which can be performed by unskilled persons, relieving nurses and other hospital personnel to attend to their primary tasks. Such sub-professional jobs inherently have potential for advancement. In addition, libraries are understaffed, city streets are filthy, parks need more employees. All of these and many other needs can be alleviated by giving people employment in their own communities, with the financial support and assistance of the federal government.

Employment and urban redevelopment go hand in hand. We need to construct hospitals, schools and numerous other community facilities. We need housing rehabilitation and thousands of new housing units. In this connection, the federal government should only aid those cities who demand that the labor force for these endeavors come primarily from the ghetto community. A percentage of units should be stipulated to be built by qualified Negro prime and sub-contractors, and all contractors should be required to draw some construction workers from the community. If we can force builders to observe certain requirements of *structural engineering*, there is no reason why we cannot certify them to observe requirements of *human engineering*.

Another primary concern of ours is the operation of businesses by black people in their own communities. In this too, there is much more that must be done by the federal government. It has been almost impossible for black men to obtain financing from the white banking and mortgaging community.

The recent action by the government which put the Small Business Administration under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce, CORE believes, was a regressive act. SBA, when removed from the Office of Economic Opportunity, was removed from the more progressive philosophies toward self-help programs for the poor. Since its creation, however, SBA has not worked effectively. It needs massive funds and drastic re-vamping to create self-help businesses in ghetto areas. In fact, to qualify for a SBA loan you really have to prove that you don't need money.

We need many more black-owned businesses in our black communities, employing local residents. Secretarial schools and small business training programs should be supported by government funds. Cooperatives and credit unions should be encouraged.

In Baltimore, for example, CORE's Target City, CORE has many success stories to its credit. Led by Walter Brooks and staff, it is an example of what CORE can do in an urban area when there is cooperation with business, local officials and government. A job training program for auto mechanics, gas station operators and managers of small businesses was funded Monday, December 5th, as a cooperative effort by the Department of Labor, the Humble Oil Company and political leadership on local, state, and federal levels.

Shortly after the first Watts riot in 1964, CORE established Operation Bootstrap, a job development agency for unemployed young men whose slogan was "Learn, Baby, Learn." Without federal grants or foundation money, a self-help effort was developed by CORE and the people in Watts, in cooperation with several corporations which contributed materials, facilities and training. With federal grants and foundation money, Operation Bootstrap could extend its operations and really become a unique demonstration of constructive building of a community.

In Louisiana, CORE helped to create a sweet potato cooperative which is now successfully supporting 375 Negro and white farmers.

The Congress of Racial Equality will continue to do its share. If government, private industry, and labor do theirs, full employment and productivity can be a reality for all.

SUMMARY

In summary . . . this urban crisis must come into this room. The anguish of poor people—black people fenced into the squalid ghettoes—must actually govern your deliberations. The themes repeat endlessly—the *ghettoes* are here, polluted by racism and cynicism—and the *people* are here, shattered, humiliated and vengeful. Nothing short of an immense national commitment, spending the nation's resources on life as easily as we spend them on death-in-battle—nothing short of this can take us out of this dishonorable time of our history.

We in CORE will do what we can —and it will not always suit you. Today I have urged you to re-define your commitment and I have presented dozens of programs that can, if enacted and administered with integrity, reverse the river of violence and hopelessness. And beyond all of this, I would hope that you heard me say even more:

1. For God's sake, end this terrible war in Viet Nam. And take the incredible costs of killing and

use them to save the lives of the poor.

2. Bring Black men home to rebuild their own lives, their own communities.
3. Understand that there is no longer time for the utopian dream—integration will only come when strong black men and women with pride are fully functioning in our society.
4. Throw out the rule-book of education. Create a National Board of Education dedicated to the task of stopping the maiming of black children's minds, and give them a heritage instead of a bayonet. And stop the systematic production of racist-minded white children.
5. Create jobs—real jobs, honorable work. Change the course of rivers, build highways, landscape our nation, and let us do the job. In the entire history of the immigrant American, the Northern Negro is the first to be denied the right to build his own land.
6. And build homes that men and women can live in—not just in the fringes of the city, but in the heart of the ghetto—and let those who are the veterans of the slums be the beneficiary of these homes.
7. And remember that black people are the victims of public media —the victims of stereotypes and canned violence.
8. And stop the backlashes, the hysteria . . . because we intend to do what we must do with or without you. Twenty-two million American black people are indeed emerging into a massive political consciousness—we *will* be reckoned with . . . there is no form of slavery, however subtle, that we will ever countenance again.

FOOTNOTES

[1] (N. Y. Times—11/16/66) "More than 80% of the 1,700 college graduates trained for teaching this summer in a seven week emergency program have been assigned to schools with heavy concentrations of disadvantaged pupils." Said one principal: "We have committed a horrible and horrendous crime in assigning these youngsters to classes that require an expert of experts."

[2] (N. Y. Times 12/1/66) From a report to the President by the National Advisory Council on Education of the Disadvantaged made Nov. 30, 1966, an evaluation of the $250,000,000 spent on specific summer education projects for disadvantaged children earlier this year, went on to say: "Yet in most communities studied, the special projects for the poor 'were alarmingly deficient in facing up to this need.' "

[3] (N. Y. Times 11/24/66) Report submitted by Dr. Robert Vinter, Assoc. Dean of University Michigan School of Social Workers and Dr. Rosemary Sarri, Assoc. Prof. of Social Work, financed by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Dept. of H.E.W.

[4] Floyd B. McKissick, "Is Integration Necessary?" *New Republic,* December 3, 1966, pp. 33-36.

[5] The controversy over I.S. 201—One view and a proposal by Preston Wilcox, Prof. of Social Work, Columbia University School of Social Work.

NATIONAL CORE PROGRAM

BALTIMORE

Under the leadership of Target City Project Director, Walter Brooks, CORE has been the catalyst for:

1. The organization of more than 100 low-paid workers into the independent Maryland Freedom Union which has already boosted wages from 35¢ an hour to $1.50 for its members.
2. The funding and implementation of a job training program around a service station leased by CORE by the Dept. of Labor and the Humble Oil Co. for 50 young men who were high school drop-outs.
3. The development of independent community groups throughout Baltimore including welfare recipients, government employees, tenants of various housing projects, residents interested in political reform, Negro small businessmen and professionals seeking an automobile dealer's franchise.

CORE Target City Project

Sweet Potato Cooperative

LOUISIANA

Under the leadership of Louisiana Director, Ike Reynolds, CORE has been the catalyst for:

1. Organizing voter registration drives and political campaigns, culminating in the election of eight candidates for school boards, the first Negroes elected to such positions since Reconstruction.
2. The formation of the Grand Marie Vegetable Producers Co-op, Inc., whose 375 black and white farmers, are growing and marketing sweet potatoes.
3. Assisting local groups in the desegregation of schools, protesting police practices, and opening employment opportunities through community organization, economic boycotts and training workshops.

LOS ANGELES (WATTS)

Under the leadership of Senior Field Secretary Lou Smith, CORE has been the catalyst for:

1. The birth of Operation Bootstrap, a job-training community center totally supported by funds from the local community.
2. The formation of a cooperative computer service business, owned and operated by Negro youth who were recent graduates of Operation Bootstrap.
3. The organization of a welfare mother's union which has already had an impact upon public assistance agencies in California.

Lou Smith

Operation Bootstrap

CORE is a national organization. In addition to the above projects, supported and initiated by National CORE, the national office provides services for 200 chapters and 100,000 contributing members. CORE chapters from Long Island to Berkeley, from Cleveland to Miami, have also developed programs in their communities for neighborhood improvement, consumer education, freedom schools, leadership training, redress against police abuse, school desegregation and for quality education.

OFFICERS

Wilfred Ussery
national chairman

Arthur Evans, Jr.
first vice-chairman

Solomon Herbert
second vice-chairman

Bonnie Barrow
secretary

Cecil Brown, Jr.
treasurer

STAFF
(Partial List)

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Floyd B. McKissick
national director
Lincoln O. Lynch
associate national director
Don Smith
public relations director
Clora Coleman
special events director
Ruth Turner
administrative assistant
George Schiffer
assistant general counsel
Genevieve Jennings
comptroller

Field Directors

Bruce Baines
field secretary
Walter S. Brooks
target city project director
Alex Hawkins
field secretary
Antoine Perot, Jr.
target city associate director
George Raymond
field secretary
Ike Reynolds
southern regional director
Louis Smith
senior field secretary

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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chairman

Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
Jim Brown
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Earl B. Dickerson
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Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
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Charles P. Howard
George M. Houser
William R. Hudgins
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
John O. Killens
Martin Luther King
Arthur J. Lelyveld
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
David McCall
A. J. Muste
Benjamin F. Payton
Sidney Poitier
A. Philip Randolph
Ira deA Reid
Walter P. Reuther
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Fred M. Shuttlesworth
C. K. Steele
John S. Stewart
Gardner Taylor
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

Copies of this statement may be purchased at 25¢ each by writing CORE
200 West 135th Street, New York

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

I enclose $______________as a special gift to help the National Congress of Racial Equality in its efforts to implement the programs outlined in the testimony.

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

CITY____________________ **STATE** ____________

ZIP NO.____________

CORE STAFF STATIC

38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

GREETINGS

This is the first issue of your Staff Static Sheet. It is designed to keep the lines of communications between field staff and the National Office buzzing.

It is our hope that this sheet will come to you twice a month. It will include personal experiences of field staff, progress reports, information on what is going on in the National office and a financial report.

Since this is your information sheet, it is imperative that you provide us with as much material about yourself and your work as you possibly can. We would like to do a close-up of one or two field staff persons per issue so as to draw them closer together.

If you have any suggestions as to how this sheet can be improved please send those up to us right away so that we can begin to implement them.

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BITS AND PIECES

1. Floyd McKissick goes to Cambodia
2. National Office to MOVE to HARLEM, hopefully by August 1st. Cost of monthly rental fee is to be less than ¼ of what it presently is.
3. Friday, July 22nd. Demonstration in support of Freedom struggle of Black South Africans. To promote INTERNATIONAL BLACK POWER..
4. WANTED:::

   One Male TASK FORCE WORKER for the Western Region to work with Field Secretary, Lou Smith. SALARY: $50.00 per week.
5. In the very near future we will be able to have some BLACK POWER buttons and posters made. We will see to it that each field staff person recieves a number of these.
6. LET US HAVE YOUR MATERIAL FOR THE NEXT ISSUE OF THIS NEWS SHEET. WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT.

THE BITTER SWEET CONTROVERSY OVER "BLACK POWER"

Herbert Callender
Director of Organizatio

The sweetness that appears to me in this obviously Bitter controversy over the slogan "Black Power and the program that comes with it is this, for the first time we hav been able to clearly state our position of aims and goals of the movement. How sweet it is to call a spade a spade.

We have been organizing in the rural areas of the south and the ghettoes of the north for power, Black power. For years this has been done and we suddenly decided to say it and bedlam has broken loose.

Black Power as a slogan, is only bitter in the sense that many people who claim to have been, "on our side", have suddenly rejected the idea of Black people having power. It is truly a bitter pill to swallow, hearing these buzzards decry the movement for moving. Their misinterpetations and distortions of what we are saying is, to say the least, aggravating. We are now and have always been working for Black Power through economic and political action. Without Black Power being developed in communities across this country, blac participation in this society will never become a reality. The following statement is where we stand officially, on the issue of Black Power: HERE WE STAND:

At this time, when a national controversy is raging around the idea of "Black Power", we want to be sure that our friends understan what Black Power means to us at CORE.

Black Power seeks to unite the black voice in both racial pride and in the tradition of our multi-racial nation. Just as the Irish sought a political base, as labor joined in unions, so the Afro-American must seek to change his life-condition.

Black Power is not black supremacy. Black Power does not exclude whites from any segment of

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HERE WE STAND cont'page 1 column 2

the Negro Revolution - it welcomes them, not on past paternalistic terms, but with full recognition of the role the Negro must play in the struggle for Total Equality. Black Power advocates political and economic competition within the framwork of our democracy. Black Power seeks to change the conditions which cause alienation, despair, and, ultimately riots.

Black Power is a new expression of an old concept. It speaks directly to black people who have not as yet really been reached by all the efforts and appeals of the civil rights movement.

We at CORE believe that Black Power is entirely consistent with our philosophy and our goals.

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FAREWELL TO RICHARD

Mr. Richard Haley, CORE Southern Director, came to us in 1960. At that time he was a floating field secretary. When the Freedom Rides began, he was stationed in Jackson, Mississippi to act as laison between National Office and the riders, because of the importance of this job, he never got the chance to participate in any of the actual riding, however, the racist bigots in Jackson decided that he should go to jail anyway and thus, he was arrested. After things had become somewhat quited down in the South, he was made the Associate National Director in 1962, a position which he retained until 1964. Because he felt that he could best serve CORE and the movement in the South, he was made Southern Director, a position he holds to the present time.

After two and a half years of having to fight the racists, the bigots and the bill collectors, Richard has decided to leave us,in hopes that he will be able to offer his talents to humanity at home as well as abroad.

Like most other people who have worked directly with us for a number of years and for one reason or another have to leave, we know, and we're sure Dick too knows, that he will never really be very far away.

So let us not say goodbye, but rather, let us say so-long for right now, cause if you don't call us, we WILL call you.

Lots of Luck Dick in whatever you decide to do. We will miss you and hope that you'll miss us so badly that you'll hurry back to that Southern office. SO LONG BROTHER

REPORT FROM SOUTHERN OFFICE

Richard Haley
Southern Director

This is not a "business as usua report because business is not as usual. Here I propose to deal wi ways and means of interim financi support for CORE in the South whi we are going through the long struggle toward financial stabili Let me say before going further t a report on general programs and personnel in Louisiana was submit ed in May, with the assumption th this would carry over to the convention. The report did not include coverage of budget or summe program; both were as vague in Ma as they are now. Other states--- Mississippi, Florida North and South Carolina are represented at the convention by staff people wh can explain their operations of recent dates.

To get to the point of this report--means of support are, at pre sent, few in number. We can seek funding for particular programs f other organizations such as the Scholarship, Education and Defens Fund or the Voter Education Proje of the Southern Regional Council. We can seek community support for projects in those communities. W can attempt special fund-raising efforts. We can, of course, look to chapters and National office f some help.

SEDF, for instance, has sponsor a large part of our South Carolin Voter registration program. This sustained drive has yielded bette returns than any other voter regis tration campaign with which I am acquainted, and it should be said now, that Jim McCain, Frank Robin and Emerson Brown deserve great credit for the job. On the stren of their accomplishment I propose that CORE expand the South Carolin Voter Registration Project. That the South Carolina staff would submit a budget for a six-month program which CORE would ask SEDF to fund in total, if possible. If total support could not be obtaine it would be our job to work out a practical formula involving some o the other available sources of sup port.

Nor is SEDF limited to just vote registration. I believe there is need yet, for a staff-training co balanced between information an method than has been the case up t now. Moreover, I would like to se the project take place at a locati within easy reach of southern trai ees, who would be paid travel, subsistence and some additional stip durning the training period, That

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THE COST IS HIGH

Lincoln Lynch
Associate National Director

Few of us realize the enormous cost of the civil rights and human rights struggle in America.

Who can compute the value of the life of Vincent Dahmon, age 65, of Natchez, Mississippi? His head was blown off by the Ku Klux Klan around the time of the Meredith March.

What is the worth of the life of CORE staffer Michael Robinson, age 22 of Los Angeles, killed in an auto accident in Louisiana? He died in action on duty.

There are countless other CORE staffers who have been beaten, illegally arrested and who must live in fear , who have not been paid.

The cost is high.

But those of us who are left on CORE's staff, regardless of obstacles, must fight on for Freedom, Dignity, Black Power.........for Survival.

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IN TRIBUTE

Once upon a time the Bronx CORE chapter was a large membership group that worked on everything and anything that seemed to be geared toward getting some Freedom for black people in the United States. Today, Bronx CORE is a mere handful of dedicated people, there are about eight of them. The chairman, Sol Herbert, came into the National office one day about a month and a half ago and talked with us about the seriousness of the financial picture. We talked about the fact that field staff was really suffering because they could not get their pay nor any expenses. He then asked for a list of those field staff people who had families to support. At that time we had no idea as to what he was planning to do. Later we found out that he and the Bronx chapter got together and decided that they would empty their treasury and split up what they had between the field staff people. They managed to send $10 each to five field workers and now that the National convention is over, they are going to continue this project.

On behalf of every field staff person, we would like to take this opportunity to thank Sol Herbert and Bronx CORE. We think that a little note should be sent to them from each of you. Thank you BRONX

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period would be three weeks, or the equivalent in weekends or some combination of the two.

Anticipating some objections to SEDF, I would say that at this point CORE must simply brush aside any fears of violation of its autonomy by contributing groups. Our very existence is so precarious that I view any honest means of retaining staff on their present jobs, as a legitimate means. Some time ago I proposed that staff be reduced to one field secretary per state. I feel now that that was a completely defeatist attitude. We have not probed to the bottom of our resource potential, and we should not stand by and watch CORE staff drift away while there is a possible resource left.

Now seems to be the best time to inform you that I am stepping out of the job as Southern Director, effective August 1st. Perhaps it seems contradictory to speak of holding staff together and myself resigning, but the Southern Office can no longer function as such. Communication by mail is not sufficient to maintain effective liaison between the office and the other states outside Louisiana, but there are not funds to make travel possible. Ther are not funds to support projects, to add personnel, to hold conferences, to resume research. A southern director, once a necessity for CORE, is now a luxury. Thus I regard my resignation as one of the essential steps toward holding the staff together. There are of course, other personal reasons why I feel it is best , both for CORE and me, that I resig now.

As the size of the Southern Staff has been steadily whittled down I have had the opportunity to learn to know more of you. You are a very impressive group pf people: You ear the smallest pittance, you get next to no support in money,,equipment or publicity; even the communties where you work run cold as well as hot. Still you work long and well. This expertice is no accident; it comes from experience. Most of you have been in your respective communities a long time; you have learned people and problems; you have learned effective methods of dealing with them. Consequently, you are an asset that CORE can ill afford to lose. I'm sure it's clear that I refer not only to people who are officially staff members, but also to that small group of local volunteers who have worked steadily for many months, shoulder to-shoulder with the CORE Task Force and Field Secretaries.

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All this is to say I am proud to have worked with all of you and sorry to leave you. With these words-- the best I can find to convey my deep feeling for all of you---my job is now complete. I wish you well.

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APRIL

Total income to date	$13,828.05
Total Expenditures	16,400.11
Overdrawn at bank	$ 2,572.06

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South Carolina Political Education Campaign

James T. McCain
Political Action Director

1966 marks the year in which Negroes in South Carolina have made their move to enter the political arena in ull force. Because of this decision, more Negroes offered themselves or political office this year than ny other previous time in this country. Negroes ran for political offices in 12 different counties in outh Carolina in the past elevtion with a total of 24 candidates. They offered themselves for political offices from the S. C. State Senate Seat down to Road Commissioners. The Negro vote has had a bearing on the outcome of many candidates running or political office all over South arolina, from the U.S. Senate down o the local county and city offiees.

Out of the 12 counties where Negroes an for political offices, only three ounties were able to put Negro candidates in the second primary, all other counties where Negroes ran, our candidates were defeated in the first primary, although many of them made an excellent showing for the irst time. The Negroes in these hree counties led the race in the number of votes casted in the first primary. These three counties were, Clarendon, Hampton and Williamsburg. he first primary took place June 4th, the second was June 28th. All Negroes in the second primary in the counties mentioned above, were defeated in this primary race. We can oint, with pride, and consider this lection successful when we look back t the entire political picture in South Carolina. Out of all our candidates who ran, we were able to elect one Negro as a Road Commissioner in Williamsburg County. This is significant, because his opponent was white and the first time a Negro has been elected by popular vote in S.C. in this century.

MORE

Candidates running for Federal, Stat and local offices, are now seeking the Negro vote openly. This is the first time candidates have been willing to do this. From now on, th Negro vote in this state will have a bearing on any election if we get out the vote. I am of the opinion that Negroes will continue to offer themselves for political offices all over the state every time there are elections for public offices.

The two counties where we concentrated our work, were very successful in getting out the vote in support of the Negro candidates who offered themselves for public office

In Clarendon County, we lost the second primary by 236 votes. In Williamsburg County, we lost by about 1000 votes. Yet in both counties, more Negroes turned out to vote in the second primary than voted in the first primary. Of course this was true of the white voters also. When we consider the number of Negro persons in both counties, who were casting a vote fc the first time in their lives, I think we did fairly well notwithstanding we lost. All of us were very frustrated because we lost, but what is done, is done. What must be done now, is for us to analyze our mistakes and profit by those mistakes to ensure us victory the next time. The job to be done now is in the future. There are many more Negroes in both ot these counties who are still unregistered and one of our major efforts this summer is to see to it that these Negroes get registered. We must also continue to carry on our political education program that proved so successful durning the past election. It is estimated that there are more than 2000 Negroes still unregistered in each of these two counties. Of course, one must always realize that the greater number of these unregistered persons are unskilled workers and on the farms of white landowners. Yet we are determin to see that this job gets done.

In the general election which takes place in November, the Negro vote in S.C. will have a telling effect on who will be elected. If we continue to work as hard or harder than we did in the past several months, the future can and will brin victory after victory to Negroes who run for political office and ensure victory for others who will serve all the people. We cannot and must not slacken our efforts at this junction of the struggle.

ON TO VICTORY

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

THE CORE WAY

CORE's way is disciplined, non-violent action directed against the color line; the letters stand for a vigorous young organization, the Congress of Racial Equality.

Helen Buckler

In the late summer of 1941, sixteen boys - twelve white, four Negro - purchased tickets at the entrance gate of a large outdoor swimming pool in Cleveland. The Negroes were not refused. The management's methods of discrimination were more subtle than to break outright the Ohio State Civil Rights Law. The youths put on their swimming trunks and went out to the pool where a large number were enjoying the cool water. As the sixteen plunged in, up went a cry of "Nigger"! All previously in the pool got out and stood, ominously, on the bank. The newcomers continued to swim about.

Presently the management's tactics were divulged. As one of the Negro lads stood on the edge of this pool, a "toughie" approached and shoved him. The Negro chose to take it as an accident and only smiled at the white fellow. Finding he had not provoked a quarrel and not wishing to lay himself open to arrest by more overt action, the toughie shrugged his shoulders and departed. The sixteen, when they had finished their swim, clambered out to sun themselves, still surrounded by the potential mob. Again a Negro lad was shoved. He smiled and extended his hand to the white fellow who was so surprised that, caught off guard, he shook the proffered hand. No hostilities developed.

Later, as the group left the park, police, called by the management, took their names and admonished them not to return. When the boys pointed out that, as they understood it, the law said all people had the right to enjoy public facilities, the police asked: "Who are you, communists?" "No, Christians," answered the boys. "Then," a policeman demanded, "why are you coming here trying to stir up trouble?"

Trouble, felt the youths, who had been doing some thinking on the matter, had been going on for a long time. They suspected that crowds might be led toward tolerant action as well as away from it, if some would only concern themselves about the matter.

Two weeks later they returned to the park. This time they sent in an "advance guard" of white boys to mingle with those in the pool, enter into their play and establish comradeship. Later, when the mixed group entered the pool, the taunting cry went up again. As before, boys started to leave the water. "What's the matter?" the advance guard asked their new companions. "Look, Niggers," came the reply. "Aw, heck, what's the diff? Come on, have fun. They've got the right to be here any how." Hardly anyone left and the whole crowd swam on amicably without incident.

Some months later, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, site of Antioch College, white students, taking seriously some of the discussions in their sociology classes, invited Negro students from nearby Wilberforce University to go with them to a movie. Instead of remaining in the segregated section at the back of the movie house, the Negroes went forward with some of the white students. The manager asked the Negroes to move. Without a word they shifted to prearranged vacant seats beside other white friends, seats scattered all over the front of the house. They kept on moving. The manager could not be everywhere at once. Finding that most of the audience was quite neutral, he finally gave up, and another Jim Crow custom that had no actual validity in popular demand melted away.

Restaurant Experiment

In Chicago, late one night in the spring of 1942, two men, one white, one Negro, entered a small, but well set-up coffee shop in a good residential neighborhood. They asked for a cup of coffee and were refused service. Several ensuing interviews with the management failed to dislodge the policy of discrimination, which was said to be due to the unwillingness of patrons to eat beside Negroes. The management, asked how it knew patrons felt this way, admitted that the question had never been put. It was suggested that the management try serving Negroes for a short period, and if the trial resulted in loss of business, the loss would be made good. The management refused to experiment.

After several weeks of such efforts, during which the management had put up a sign reading, "We reserve the right to seat our patrons where we choose," a group of twenty-one persons entered the coffee shop in the late afternoon. Among them were university students, business and professional people, men and women, a young minister or two. The majority were white, but included in the group were Negro men and women. All were well mannered and quiet. They distributed themselves in the coffee shop, some at the counter, some in the booths. Since the shop could seat only forty, the newcomers fairly well filled the place.

The management immediately asked the Negro men, who had seated themselves at the counter, to descend to the basement where, it was said, Negroes were served. They refused, saying they wished to sit with their friends. The management then tried to persuade two Negro women, who had entered a booth with white friends, to move to a booth in the rear of the shop. They, too, refused. Whereupon the management telephoned for the police.

Meanwhile, though food had been placed before the whites in the group, they would not eat unless their Negro companions were served. All maintained an unruffled demeanor. Some read, others, chatted quietly. Two police officers arrived. Apprised of the situation, they declined to have anything to do with it, since there was no disturbance whatever. Asked by the management if they would not eject the group on the grounds that the coffee shop reserved the right to seat its patrons where it wished, the officers replied, "There is nothing in the law that permits us to do that," and they left. After an hour the management, seeing that this new style sit-down strike was costing business, capitulated and served the entire twenty-one.

How did the general public react to this experiment to secure racial equality as guaranteed by law? Those who entered late seated themselves beside the Negroes at the counter without any fuss. As customers took in the situation, they lingered with interest to see the outcome. One elderly gentleman who, with his wife, had been present throughout, approached members of the group in the street afterward and said: "I had no idea there was discrimination here in Chicago. I thought that was what we were fighting against in the war. Good Luck to you!" A woman patron asked to join the group in any further endeavors to break the color bar. Subsequent visits to the coffee shop found the management amiably serving all alike -- nor did there appear to be any fall-off in business.

A New York Skating Rink

In Syracuse, early in 1943, two young men, a white and a Negro, applied for tickets at the window of a large downtown roller skating rink. The clerk stated there was a capacity crowd. The boys stood aside, watching others arrive and be admitted. They pointed out the fact to the clerk, who maintained these newcomers had had reservations. The young men asked the next prospective customer if he had a reservation. When he said he had not, they took his name and address for evidence. He was not refused a ticket. When the two approached the clerk, a third time, she grew flustered and called the manager. Irritated, he thundered that no Negro or Italian had entered his rink for twenty years. The two young men left.

Later, a committee presented its plea for non-discrimination with the confident assumption that the manager would want to comply with it. They were quiet and calm, but firm. They showed they knew the law and had collected concrete evidence that it had been broke... The manager gave the usual argument that interracial attendance would lead to rowdism. After forty minutes discussion, he agreed to a trial period of non-discrimination. No difficulties have ensued and the New York Civil Rights Statute is now observed by that rink.

The People Behind It

A few score more such incidents could be cited, from New York to Seattle. In each case individuals, frequently young college students, sometimes business and professional people or religious workers, had begun by looking at discrimination in a new light. They saw the absurdity of practicing at home a doctrine of racial superiority that was being combated abroad. They saw, too, their own guilt in acquiescing in the refusal of public services to Negroes ---- hotels, hospitals, theaters, residences, schools. They concluded that they must act as well as talk, that temporizing would no longer do.

These conclusions seem to have cropped up after field trips by James L. Farmer, graduate of the School of Religion, Howard University, and former race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Groups formed, some of the members being from the Fellowship of Reconciliation but not all. Later the spontaneous and isolated groups united to form the Congress of Racial Equality, with headquarters in Cleveland. The national body now has held its third convention.

So far the organization's national treasury is a nominal one. Postage, mimeographed material, cheaply printed handbills are covered by small local contributions. Legal services, seldom required, have been contributed by members or their friends. Leadership is voluntary. CORE's executive secretary is George M. Houser, an ordained Methodist minister, who has become race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation which contributes about a third of his time to the project.

Today nine groups are affiliated in New York, Syracuse, Cleveland, Columbus, Oberlin, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, and Denver. Others are working on the program in Washington, D. C., Flint, Michigan, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. All are vigorous, hard-hitting local COREs who hope to send over the country a tidal wave of public conscience about our cynical double standard of first and second-class citizenship, of foreign and domestic policy. An usually rigorous discipline is maintained. COREs are committed to direct but non-violent action. They are committed not to compromise with racial segregation, but to use constructive, not destructive approaches to the situation. Groups, all interracial, submit to careful training. They do not enter upon negotiation that promises difficulties until they are sure that all members will be able to "absorb possible violence without retaliation." A two-months training school for CORE workers from all parts of the country was held in Chicago last summer.

It is the procedure to try to understand the persons with whom they are dealing and what influences their actions, then to act confidently so that no one will retaliate on the level of fear, to talk factually, never vindictively, to express courtesy and friendliness at all times. In other words, to use means harmonious with their ends. This relatively unexplored method of non-violent direct action, they feel, may develop a really powerful technique for dealing with social conflicts.

In a campaign to open certain restaurants in Chicago to white and Negro alike, the local CORE has carefully evolved a detailed procedure. First of all, members are informed what to expect in the way of discrimination. It may mean, they are told, outright refusal of service or even forcible ejection; it may mean being seated in an obscure corner; or being served small portions or food not fit to eat; it may involve being overcharged. CORE outlines certain helpful hints:

"Be confident," they say, "and assume you will have no trouble being served; dress neatly and appropriately; be observant at all times, watch the reactions of customers and capitalize on sympathetic responses; tip your waitress and always pay your bill, even when overcharged, though calling attention to the fact. If served inferior food, take away a sample of it for evidence, in case it is decided to call a court case. If no difficulty is encountered, express appreciation for courteous service to the cashier."

CORE campaigns are based on careful planning. Every step is worked out in advance, and unforeseen on-the-spot decisions are made by a leader chosen beforehand, whom all have agreed to obey. Where service is refused or is poor, the follow-up is to attempt negotiation first. This is done through personal contact and by an interracial committee. If repeated negotiation fails, action then moves into passing out leaflets, picketing, talking to patrons, sit-down strikes. If all this fails the law may be appealed to in any of the twenty-two states* where a civil rights statute is on the books. But this is resorted to only when all other efforts fail and is not considered the most satisfactory solution. Usually they do not fail.

*California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin.

Tough Going

In a Chicago restaurant, a place seating about four or five hundred people and having a big balcony, the manager, a prominent church-goer whom we shall call Mr. X, had refused to serve a white minister and his Negro friend. Repeated efforts at persuasion failed. Then handbills were prepared and distributed on the street to patrons of the restaurant.

"In a democracy," read the first, "should all people be able to choose where they wish to eat?" Mr. X "states that his patrons uphold his policy of refusing to serve Negroes. We refer the question to you."

The next handbill said: "X's discriminates. Is this lawful?" and quoted from the Declaration of Independence and the Illinois State Law, Criminal Code 38, ending: "Racial discrimination and intolerance wherever they exist and undermines the foundations of democracy. No nation which is guilty of treating unjustly any segment of its people can be a potent force in a just and durable peace." A coupon was attached which carried the request to "tear off and leave with the cashier when paying bill." It said: "To the Management of X's: I believe in 'freedom and justice for all'...and protest at finding them mocked by undemocratic practices."

A Sunday flier carried quotations against discrimination from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churchmen. "Is religion for Sunday or every day of the week? Is religion what you say, or what you do?"

Students and workers gave up their lunch to stand in all sorts of weather handing out leaflets which recounted the history of attempted negotiations and answered such hypothetical questions as Why Pick on X's; Who is Behind These Leaflets; What You Can Do About It. Many patrons tore off the coupons on the fliers and registered their protest with the cashier. Others came to the offices of CORE to report similar cases of discrimination, or to ask to join in the effort to "secure democracy on the home front."

Sitdown Strike

Attempts continued to be made by whites and Negroes to be served in Mr. X's restaurant. Once they found egg shells in the sandwiches served them; another time garbage. Finally after months it was decided that a sitdown strike would be necessary.

At the dinner hour on the date chosen, shock troops of three and four whites entered the restaurant at intervals until about fifty were sitting at scattered tables on the main floor. Then a mixed group of two whites and seven Negroes entered. They were left standing in line while whites who came after them were promptly seated. They continued to stand. At the end of a half hour, Mr. X gave the order to seat them, which was done at a rear table where silver and dishes were heaped in disorder. Ten more CORE members arrived, all Negroes except one; they were kept standing an hour and a half.

During this time, the fifty whites in the advance guard refused to eat and quietly informed neighboring patrons of what was taking place. Patrons became so interested in this "democracy test" that they lingered to see the outcome.

Mr. X telephoned for the police, who came, saw there was no disorder, and left. Then a white woman guest, not a member of the CORE group, asked one of the Negro girls standing in line to share her table. This inspired CORE members already seated to do likewise. In this manner all but two of the Negroes were seated and at this point the hostess ushered them to a table. Spontaneous, unrestrained applause swept the big restaurant.

Over a Widespread Area

It is not the plan of CORE to enroll large memberships. Groups must be cohesive and extremely well disciplined to carry out such programs. This is best done, the organization feels, by keeping numbers small. Memberships usually run about fifteen or twenty to a hundred, at the most, and are in all cases of both races.

Results are being achieved over a widespread area. In Denver, all movie theaters now admit Negroes to any part of the house. But before victory was won a Negro corporal in uniform was arrested by an MP on the call of the manager when he attempted to sit with a white friend on the main floor. The white friend accompanied them to the police station with a copy of the Civil Rights Statute of Colorado in his pocket. Upon its presentation, the police decided they had no grounds upon which to hold the corporal.

In Colorado Springs, the policy of several restaurants has been changed and groups are now at work on movie houses.

In Detroit, an interracial cooperative house and store have been set up.

In Chicago, two interracial cooperative residences, one for young men, another for young women, now exist in otherwise segregated areas. There were friendly talks with the neighbors and no complaining witnesses appeared when the real estate companies attempted to invoke restrictive covenants in court.

In Oberlin, faculty, students and townspeople, finding that there was no place where a Negro could get his hair cut, formed a cooperative, sold shares, and set up an interracial barber shop which is doing a flourishing, fine quality business.

In Columbus, court action was finally resorted to, which has ended segregation in the big downtown movie houses. Here, it was necessary to bring suit simultaneously in a multiple number of instances to show a recalcitrant city administration that its more democratic citizenry meant business. Following upon this success, representative of practically every independently owned theater in central Ohio agreed no longer to discriminate. Says a field report, there have been "no complaints by operators showing that any of the white patrons have complained, nor has there been any racial friction or decline in business resulting."

CORE carried on a campaign in several parts of the country against the Red Cross policy of segregating the blood of whites and blacks for transmittal to the wounded. "Give your blood," urged CORE, "but protest this Jim Crow policy." Thousands of leaflets were distributed pointing out that "it's all the same to him (the wounded man) and to science too!" Three hundred seventy-two protesting physicians, the American Association of Physical Anthropologist, and the Journal of the American Medical Association were quoted to the effect that chemical, physical, and microscopic tests have proved that white and Negro blood are identical and that "the segregation of the blood...is therefore not only unscientific, but is a grievous affront to the largest minority in the country."

CORE has collected and publicized statements of employers showing satisfaction with Negro employees. It has tackled discrimination in department stores, barber shops, federal housing, universities, YMCA's. It has issued pamphlets listing restaurants which do not discriminate and inviting thoughtful people to patronize them. It is attempting to have restrictive covenants in real estate transactions declared illegal.

Because of its good will approach, CORE has in most cases been able to secure the willing concession of those whose policy it seeks to change. "But we have no failures," points out Mr. Houser, "because we never regard a job as finished until we have won." CORE is eager to leave behind not a defeated opponent but a real supporter of racial justice. Its difference from other movements lies in its belief that education alone is insufficient, that violence is self-defeating, and that withdrawal would be immoral.

CORE members have taken as slogan the words of Henry Thoreau: "What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn."

CORE'S FLOYD MCKISSICK

BY

CHARLIE L. RUSSELL

Ever since our forefathers were freed from slavery there has existed smongst us a conflict as how best to come to terms with this white=dominated society. Stripped to its essentials, the conflict has been between those who propose integration and those who propose ethnocentrism as a solution.

Now, for other minority groups, these two solutions have not been incompatible: America, after all, is a pluralist society, and a study of the history of those minorities, (i.e., Irish, Italian, and Jewish) who have made it, clearly indicates that the growth of ethnic separatism is a precondition for eventual penetration into ruling circles and full economic integration. Theoretically then, there is no good reason why most black Americans should not be able to live simultaneously -- as most white Americans do -- in two worlds; one integrated and the other, for the most part, separated.

However, in practice, such is not the case; the black man has not been able to live in the best of the two worlds. And the main reason that this conflict -- this unnatural division in our ranks -- is still with us is that white people through their institutions, (labor unions, foundations, the press, local and federal governments,etc.,) have taken sides with the integrationists. Discrediting black ethnocentrism they have shoved forward the integrationists as the "responsible" black leaders.

Mesmerized by white acceptance and ignoring history, the integrationists have failed to see the need to develop their own communities as a base of power. They have urged black people to submerge their unorganized numbers in coalitions dominated by other organized groups. And they have urged black people to disperse themselves in white communities; not realizing that a people have to know who "We" is before they can start effectively dealing with "THEM" and "THEY"..., they have not realized that first you consolidate, then you integrate.

Until recently, the ethnocentrists' organizations have not been able to compete on an equal basis with the integrationists' organizations. Unable to get money and acceptance from white institutions, ironically, the ethnocentrists have been unable to attract those black people with the skills necessary to carry out their programs. While generally the ethnocentrists' organizations have been well meaning, (for instance, the Muslims), they have most often been simply ineffective. Thus, instead of having two equals complimenting each other, an imbalance has occurred.

However, with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) embracing Black Power -- a more poetic way of saying ethnocentrism -- the necessary balance is being created. That is why their presence on the scene is such a healthy sign. It is one thing for the NAACP to pit itself against the Muslims, and yet another thing for it to pit itself against CORE. CORE like SNCC, has left the civil rights movement to join the Negro Movement; the volatile SNCC with its charismatic Stokley Carmichael; the pragmatic CORE with its phlegmatic Floyd McKissick.

While CORE no longer has the white beatnik image it had during the early sixties, it is still in a period of transition; there is about it that mixture of audacity and ambivalence that accompanies each break with tradition.

Floyd McKissick became National Director of CORE in March of 1966, and one of his first innovations was the moving of the National offices from downtown Manhattan to uptown Harlem; its office, now located almost directly over Big Wilt's Smalls, looks across Seventh Avenue into Jennie Lou's Restaurant and the Truth Coffee Shop. On entering the National Office there is the sight of two busy receptionists; the one white, matronly, warm and gracious - the other, dimpled, black and comely, hair natural, transmitting tender vibrations. But then the National Office is also Lincoln Lynch, CORE's Associate Director, taking time out from composing a fiery telegram to Governor Rockefeller to coo into the phone happy birthday to his son; a bright-eyed secretary offering to share a Coke; long distance calls from and to

Mississippi, Louisiana, and Baltimore; an African selling brightly colored material by the yard to a sloe-eyed secretary who tenderly nestles her purchase to her breast; phones ringing; a sharp-witted young man seeking legal advice; meetings; and Floyd McKissick:

Viet Nam: "CORE is opposed to the war not only because of the moral issue, but also because the war is getting top priority. They've got us fighting for other people to have rights that we don't even have ourselves. Negroes are urged to be non-violent, but this war is a classic example of how violent the white man can be..., this war is a form of neo-colonialism, totally inconsistent with what we say we believe in."

Bobby Kennedy: "Kennedy has a sense of history and destiny. Its too early in the ball game..., think I'll withhold my judgement and wait and see."

Automation: "What does it mean for the Negro? Unemployment!"

Lyndon B. Johnson: "He's playing the role of the great white father. Negroes must free themselves."

The Job Corps: "A pre-induction center for Viet Nam."

Born and educated in North Carolina, McKissick is a well built man of medium height with an ironical smile often playing upon his face. At 45, he is that unlikely blend of southern cunning, and northern suavity: He gives that persistant feeling that if you called his hand you'd find him holding aces back to back. It is hard to think of him as ever having been innocent, (at four he learned from a streetcar conductor that little black boys could not play up front with little white boys, and as a Boy Scout of twelve, following the order of his Scoutmaster, he fell victim to the club of a white policeman who did not think black boys should be directing traffic.) Yet, one can imagine having mixed feelings about him as a youth since he always got the girls because their mothers thought him so well mannered and nice; while all the time we knew that he was really a player like the rest of us.

While he speaks freely of himself, he is especially expansive when the subject is CORE of the Movement:

"My boy, the civil rights movement is over, deader than a door knob," he smiles, rearing back in his chair. "We're in the midst of a revolution, a black revolution. What's a black revolution? Why, simply stated, it means a renaissance. A new awakening of the black conscience. Its Black Power: The securing of the necessary power to change our lives and to decide what we want for ourselves..., the black revolution is a force for good, a force for change. The black revolution has six goals: 1. Economic power, more and better jobs; 2. An improved self image for the black man; 3. Development of a militant, intelligent, educated and dedicated leadership; 4. Political power; 5. Enforcement of federal laws that protect the rights of all men, and abolition of those laws that are used to punish people because they are black; 6. Consumer power, the development of a black consumer block to be used against those commercial forces who fail to recognize black people, employ them, and fail to give them franchise..."

CORE has 100,000 members in 200 chapters scattered all over the country. It is ruled by the National Convention which meets annually and is composed of representatives from the various local chapters. Virtually autonomous, the local chapters form CORE's real strength, and give it the flexibility that a national organization needs. For although black people form a distinct group in this country with similar problems, (housing, education, employment, police brutality, lack of capital,etc.,) the intensity and refinement of these problems vary from one part of the country to another. In Harlem, one of the problems is that black people do not really own any property (residential or business), but this might not be true of black people in Atlanta or Chicago. Also, black people in one region of the country might be further along in their development; obviously the southern black man has a keener sense of community and is less apathetic than the northern black man. Additionally, in one city it might be feasible for black people to ally themselves with Democrats, in another it might be in their best interest to side with Republicans, and in another it might be best to act independently of either party. By virtue of its independence, each local chapter is able to decide which problems will be attacked first.

Of course, having autonomous local chapters can also create difficulties for it places a strain on the National Office in terms of overall strategy and programs. This means that the National Director must have that special quality of being able to follow and lead at the same time. McKissick's whole life seems to have been a preparation for this job.

McKissick was influenced by two ministers: One, a Methodist, the other, a Baptist.

"Both were my grandfathers," he smiles. "Both were great talkers and I used to listen to them. They talked about things like the 'inalienable rights of men' and 'Man's right to be free', subjects like that. From listening to them, I began to develop my own philosophy." And there was also the inner security that comes from parents' love. His father, 'a jack of all trades', worked as a bellhop, a waiter, etc., before becoming an insurance salesman. His mother worked as a cashier. For him to have become a school teacher would no doubt have utterly pleased them both, and in the privacy of their hearts they must sometimes marvel at the marvel that their son is now.

During World War II he married, and served in Europe as a Technical Sergeant. After the war, he returned to the campus to complete his education. He attended Morehouse College (where he met Martin L.

King), got to know Whitney Young when he was at Atlanta University, and the legendary 'Sugarfoot' (the Boston Celtic s Sam Jones) when both attended North Carolina College. He joined his first 'protest' group during this period, the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a group to which Bayard Rustin also belonged. His apprenticeship includes participation in numerous sit-ins, picket lines and other demonstrations long before they became camp. McKissick also joined the NAACP and served as the North Carolina Youth Director.

In 1950, McKissick achieved national recognition by becoming the first black student to graduate from the University of North Carolina Law School. If the harrassment he underwent at the University of North Carolina (dead frogs in his room, water in his locker, and a live snake in his bed), was not a matter of public record, one could imagine him going to law school simply to save money from lawyer's fees: for his whole family has been in jail, and his children, Joycelyn, Andree, Floyd, Jr., and Charmain, were the first black children to attend elementary, junior high and high school in Durham, North Carolina.

In fact, when one visits the home, the first thing one notices (aside from discovering that his wife, Evelyn, is a groovey cook) about the McKissick family is their almost total involvement in the Movement. A conversation that begins with McKissick at the office may be completed at the dinner table where the family has gathered.

The McKissick family lives uptown, Harlem, in a home that is comfortable without being pretentious. Guests are entertained downstairs in an elongated room whose one excess is the huge mahogony desk from behind which McKissick presides; directly behind the desk looms a fireplace, to the left a bookcase, and to the right a banner with large bold letters proclaiming: BLACK POWER.

One evening, simply by chance, a rare occurrance: Movement people letting their hair down and talking about the Movement as if an outsider was not present. We had come to dinner with Bob Gore, and later found ourselves with Ruth Turner, and McKissick's elderst daughter, Joycelyn. Bob bought a fifth of bourbon. McKissick acted as the disc jockey, and played his favorite 78's: Bessie Smith, Jimmy Reed, Tampa Red, Lightnin' Hopkins, Leadbelly, Lulu Reed, etc. Slowly, names of towns like Danville, Wilmington, and Charlotte, and names of people like Bo Johnson, Williams, Johnny, and Spike filled the room; grim southern apparitions emerging from the past who seemed so at home in Harlem:

"Oh Daddy, you remember Spike. Remember, he was the one who always wanted to be first in line,...remember?"

"Hey, Floyd, man, how about that time in Danville, remember what that cracker sheriff said?"

"Boy, that sure was a mean cracker..."

"Yea..."

"And Johnny, you remember Johnny, he used to sing all the time. What ever happened to him?"

"Johnny, Johnny Simpson?"

"Yea, that's him! What ever happened to him?"

"I don't know... You know he was never the same after they whipped him that last time. Never the same. I'll never forget the way he looked when he first came out of the hospital. But, in a way, I guess he was luckey..., remember what they did to Bo?"

When the evening is finished the outsider's departure is filled with so many questions. What manner of men are these Movement people; outnumbered by their opposition and all but unknown by the very people for whom they fight? What inner force sustains them? But, when the evening ends there is a sense of relief,too: Around true believers there is not much comfort for the outsider; besides, there is something disquieting in being confronted with the knowledge that your people are in a real war with real blood being spilled and you have been but a spectator.

Days later, back at the National Office, McKissick who travels a lot and often works late in the night, nods until there is talk of Black Power, and its effects upon CORE. Then his dark eyes become alert and his mind active. Black people began to control CORE in 1963. Prior to that time the National Board was predominately white. Now only one white person serves on the board. So, in a sense, CORE has been moving towards Black Power for some time. Black Power has caused many whites to leave the organization. However, they are being quickly replaced by black people who are attracted to CORE because of its Black Power stance, and CORE's membership is actually increasing. But with CORE fast becoming a black organization, a money problem has been created; the various foundations, as they have done so often in the past, have again taken sides - they give their money to the Urban League and the NAACP.

In terms of program, Black Power has caused CORE to gravitate towards those with the greatest needs, the black poor. CORE has become involved in programs like the Grand Marie Project in Louisiana, a sweet potato cooperative, and has helped to elect several black people in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia to political office. In Baltimore, there is the quite successful "Target City Project," a program geared to organize black people into effective economic and political power blocs. Demonstrations are no longer the only criteria for belonging to CORE, and while CORE's basic philosophy has not changed, it is aimed more directly toward black people.

Of course, the slogan "Black Power" does raise some larger questions of tactics and timing. We realize that there is such a thing as

Italian Power, Jewish Power, Irish Power, Anglo-Saxon Protestant Power, etc., and that it is not perpetuated by chance, nor specifically ordained by God. We are also aware of the fact that on a national level, Anglo-Saxon Protestants control the military, communications media, political, and banking/industrial institutions. Further, we know that in New York City the Jews control education, the Italians control construction, and the Irish control the police. Between them, the Jews and Italians split the clothing industry, night clubs and entertainment, and the rackets. Therefore, we see a need for black people to have power. But, while one can agree with the concept of Black Power, one can still question the slogan, "Black Power", itself.

Other groups do not talk about their power, they practice it; once a group really has power there is little need to refer to it by its brand name. Nor is it good tactics to tell your plans to your opponent; and sometimes, to tell the truth is poor politics.

McKissick argues that Black Power is like a slogan that sells a product, and that Black Power is meant to be a dialogue between black people. Yet, we cannot but wonder if it is really selling the product. And, we also wonder how it would have been if the slogan, "Black Power", had been allowed to develop in the black community like the word,"soul". The same general arguments used against Black Power can be used against "soul": 1. It is racist; 2. It does more harm than good since you always have to explain and define it; 3. It isolates black people from the mainstream, etc., ad nauseam. However, the term "soul" was allowed to develop in the black community. Black people did not first learn about it on T.V. or read it in the papers; it was ours for years before whites were aware of it - now, and this is so typical of whites when they find a good thing, there is ~~now~~ a rock and roll album called, "Blue Eyed Soul."

Time, however, we suspect, will work in favor of the term,"Black Power". For Black Power implies an awareness that other groups have power, and in this sense, it is a realistic appraisal of those components that compose the term 'power structure'. America has a great capacity for absorption, and soon Black Power will join other poetic expressions, (soulful, groovey, hip, funky, square, swinging,etc.,) that we have coined and contributed to the language. Already, there is talk of "Green Power".

But, McKissick is a clever person. He realizes that one can be used on television, while attempting to use it, and already he speaks of limiting his television appearances. Organizing the black community will be tedious and unglamourous and there are no short cuts for the hard work involved. When asked the direction that CORE will take in the future, he cited the six goals of the black revolution. Refusing to be more specific, he smiled ironically, and said: "Its time for a lot of moving without saying too much."

It is as if he has felt the time's pulse. For we have had our verbal orgies. The time for shouting deprecations against the white man has come and gone; now is the time for getting together quietly and doing things.

And there does exist among us a generation of black men and women who exude an ineffable feeling of self worth: Black consciousness, ethnocentrism, nationalism, Negritude,etc., call it what you will -- it exists whether we label it or not. CORE's ability to significantly involve this group will be one of its major tests; for it is a lonely, restless generation of non-believers looking for something to believe in.., a generation compelled to act though plays for it have not yet been written.

However, if CORE is to survive and remain true to the tenets of Black Power it must be financed by black people. Most of the money must come from the black middle class, and this will be CORE's other major test. As long as CORE was a civil rights organization, money was not the real problem, but, as we mentioned above, CORE's stance on Black Power has caused a sizable number of white people to become inactive. And while its membership has actually increased, its dollar intake has decreased.

Thus, CORE is faced with the intricate task of drawing upon two distinct groups for its support: The one, militant but undisciplined; the other,financially stable, but politically conservative, and acquisitive, never having demonstrated in its entire history any interest in supporting black institutions.

It will be a tough row to hoe. If CORE favors the militants it chances losing the conservatives and hence its financial support. If it favors the conservatives it risks losing the militants and its position in the avant-garde. Additionally, there is the opposition that will come from the white community and the integrationists who will be vying with CORE for the support of the black masses.

But there is the feeling that CORE's Floyd McKissick is the man for the job. Since he has become National Director, CORE has moved its main office from downtown Manhattan to uptown Harlem, taken a stand against the war in Viet Nam, spoken out in favor of self-defense, become an advocate of Black Power, and established a women's division of CORE.

One can only wish CORE well; there is something good to be said of an organization that wants to give respectability to being black. And when McKissick speaks of a black revolution and says that the civil rights movement is "deader than a door knob," we know he exaggerates, not from arrogance, but to make us begin thinking of ourselves not as we are, but as we can be.

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integration of "The Block," a string of night clubs and bars, and a swim-in at a private swimming club in Baltimore.

Viciously racist rallies were held by the National States Rights Party recently in Baltimore. A crowd of white teen-agers, whipped up by arch-segregationist Connie Lynch, invaded Negro neighborhoods. CORE maintained 24 hour "dialogue patrols," cruising through the inner-city, protecting Negro women and children and keeping the general situation under control. CORE took the initiative in calling together 32 white and Black organizations, to mobilize responsible citizenry to work directly in the streets to prevent panic and bloodshed. That no large scale riots took place is an indication of the effectiveness and intensity of CORE's work.

Phase I of the Target City Project program which consisted of creating "intense Community Awareness" has brought us into the second phase, "Massive community involvement." Like everything of value, the second phase of our program will be expensive. With our fund raising campaign which runs continuously, we are able to maintain a limited level of operation. However, the project remains perilously close to bankruptcy and at least $24,000 is needed immediately. The major concentrations of activity in fund raising, as in all other areas, is directly in the ghetto itself. But until the fund raising base is developed, we need support. It is hoped that eventually most of the money raised will come from the black people in the ghetto, for if black people underwrite the cost of constructive programs themselves, they will see to it that they run these programs.

The money will finance all of CORE's activities-- including the operation of the Maryland Freedom Union and the subsistence pay of Task Force workers as well as staff.

Eventually demonstration employment and training projects may be set up, funded by OEO through the local poverty program.

These are the tangible achievements. But the real victories lie in the increased self-pride of black men, women and children in Baltimore. Rats and roaches still infest slum housing, the schools are still segregated, there are only two elected officials who are Negro, but Negro youngsters are helping adults to register for the first time, landlords are making repairs for the first time, and the unorganized are learning how to mobilize. Black people are fighting back, standing up for their rights and making black power an economic and a political reality.

California Oranges

CORE's Target City Project 1966-- "A Beginning"

What has CORE's Target City Project really accomplished in the time it has been operating in Baltimore? How does its solid accomplishments stack up against the goals of organizing the ghetto community to fight for a better shake socially, economically and politically? What has CORE's Target City Project done to translate "Black Power" into reality? How has CORE's actions affected the man in the street, the groups and organizations in the inner-city?

CORE's Target City Project has been the catalyst and the prod for many changes in Baltimore. CORE has provided the thrust for the organization of several all-black special interest groups which will form the nucleus of a Negro grass roots led political power block here.

The most important of these by far in terms of size and effect has been the Maryland Freedom Union which has won notable successes in its attempts to organize retail store workers in the Pennsylvania Ave. and Gay St. business district.

The M.F.U., led by local people but advised and "coordinated" by CORE staff has negotiated one contract calling for wage increases of 50 cents an hour at Silverman's Dept. Stores. It won recognition from Tommy Tucker Variety Stores, after three days and seven arrests. Other victories include organizing Gibson's Men's Shop on Pennsylvania Ave. These agreements involve more than 50 workers, but more important, they represent the first time the civil rights movement has successfully organized the unorganized in an urban area anywhere in the country. And the tremendous amount of grass roots community support is graphically shown in boycotts of the three stores that were 95% effective. The AFL-CIO is starting to move into the small business retail establishment it has ignored before as a result of M.F.U. activities.

Another group is the Highway Department Committee for Job Equality which includes 100 Negro City Bureau of Highways workers who have met with at least partial success in forcing improvements in working conditions at the Falls Road Depot, and are planning further action to adjust other grievances.

The Baltimore Welfare Recipients Protective Committee hit the headlines after having an "eat-in" at City Hall recently at which a dinner of Welfare Department donable foods was offered to the Mayor. This organization with the aid of the Target City project sent five welfare mothers to a national welfare conference in Chicago August 6-8, and are working to correct the bureaucratic confusion which systematically intimidates and oppresses recipients.

Some other CORE-associated groups are FIGHT (For Integrated Housing Teamwork), a committee of tenants at the Dolfield Apartments working for better maintenance without rent boosts, and INCITE (Interested Citizens for Equality), Cherry Hill Project residents opposing a new incinerator which may be built in their area. The incinerator will have no effective smoke control and will be located in the heart of a Negro residential area.

All these organizations have one thing in common; they are made up of Negro citizens who asked CORE for help in forming an effective pressure group.

One of the most important long range achievements of the Project has been the formation of a Freedom School, funded by the American Federation of Teachers through a local Teachers Union, and operated jointly by CORE and the Baltimore Teachers Union with volunteers from both groups acting as teachers. The school not only teaches courses that lead to high school CED certificates, but also teaches limited job skills and political education. The school also forms junior and senior high school students into discussion groups and probes deeply into subjects ranging from the history of the Ku Klux Klan to United States policy in Viet Nam. From this school and branches set up in areas, young militant leaders can emerge to form an important element in the "Black Power" drive.

Political action and voter registration, key black power elements, are the current focus of activities. CORE has joined with U-VOTE, a well financed voter registration drive in the second, fourth and sixth Legislative Districts. It also secured 5,000 signatures to petition to prevent the redistricting of Negro election district. The redistricting plan would gerrymander the election districts and result in the effective blockage of the emergence of a solid black block vote.

CORE has acted as a "goad" to traditionally conservative groups and worked effectively with many of them. To strengthen the concept of coalition, attempts will be made to unite special interest block clubs, neighborhood associations and church groups into some kind of umbrella groups which could force action on many fronts.

CORE has directly confronted the Ku Klux Klan in housing demonstrations at Horizon House earlier this year. Other direct action demonstrations included the

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SM | DECEMBER 20, 1963

A Face For The Invisible Man

By A. J. VOGL/Associate Editor

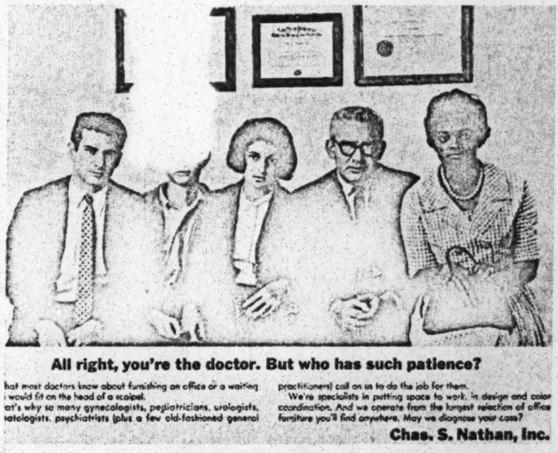
> *I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed everything and anything except me.* —Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*

As he was an invisible man, the Negro was also, by definition, an invisible customer.

Only at the cash register—where his money was the same color as everybody else's—was he seen, but then soon forgotten. He was rarely seen as a representative of a minority of 20 million people with buying power of $20 billion. He was, as much as anybody could be, taken for granted.

No more. The invisible man is on his last legs; in his place is springing up a man who bucks the system instead of accepting it; who wants to eliminate hundreds of years of discrimination now; who holds considerable economic power and shows every intention of using it.

Advertisers are responding to his pressure. And by their advertising they are creating a visible man and customer: a Negro who stands in line at a teller's window; who gushes enthusiastically about a new detergent; who carries an attaché case and wears a Begg hat; who hangs on a subway strap and spiels about razor blades; who wears a brand-name sweater while drinking brand-name beer; who, for better or worse, strikes the same poses and smiles the same



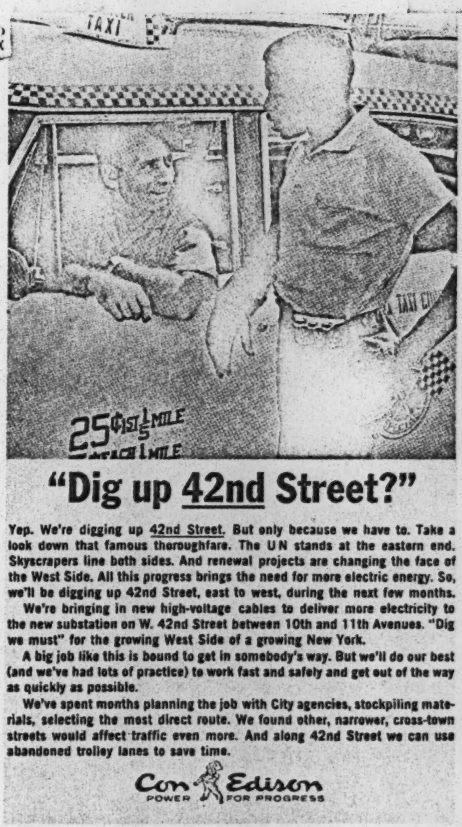
All right, you're the doctor. But who has such patience?

hat most doctors know about furnishing an office or a waiting ı would fit on the head of a scalpel.
at's why so many gynecologists, pediatricians, urologists, natologists, psychiatrists (plus a few old-fashioned general practitioners) call on us to do the job for them.

We're specialists in putting space to work, in design and color coordination. And we operate from the largest selection of office furniture you'll find anywhere. May we diagnose your case?

Chas. S. Nathan, Inc.

CROSS SECTION of doctor's patients seen in ad for office furnishings.



"Dig up 42nd Street?"

Yep. We're digging up 42nd Street. But only because we have to. Take a look down that famous thoroughfare. The UN stands at the eastern end. Skyscrapers line both sides. And renewal projects are changing the face of the West Side. All this progress brings the need for more electric energy. So, we'll be digging up 42nd Street, east to west, during the next few months.

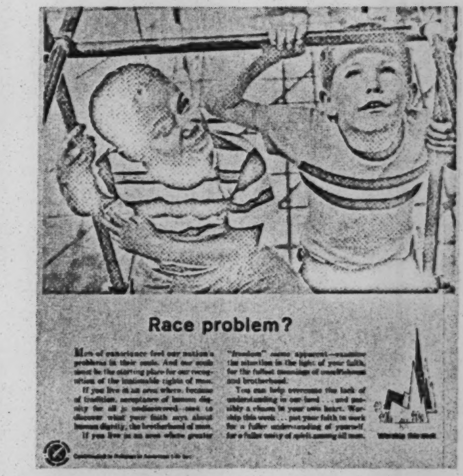
We're bringing in new high-voltage cables to deliver more electricity to the new substation on W. 42nd Street between 10th and 11th Avenues. "Dig we must" for the growing West Side of a growing New York.

A big job like this is bound to get in somebody's way. But we'll do our best (and we've had lots of practice) to work fast and safely and get out of the way as quickly as possible.

We've spent months planning the job with City agencies, stockpiling materials, selecting the most direct route. We found other, narrower, cross-town streets would affect traffic even more. And along 42nd Street we can use abandoned trolley lanes to save time.

Con Edison
POWER FOR PROGRESS

CASUAL conversation between races is simple but effective way to show integration.



Race problem?

GOOD REACTION is reported by Advertising Council to this ad in its series.

smile for the camera as the white performer does; who bears the same envy and resentment the consumer often feels for the "people in the ads." Except for the color of his skin, in fact, this Negro is a white man, with the same attitudes and responses which stereotype his white counterpart.

Integrated advertising has been bitterly assailed by some Negroes as "tokenism," as a "showcase." Some whites call it a "gesture." Others fear it will be taken as placation.

In their own ways, all of them are right. After all, integrated advertising is something that, for the most part, came about under threat. (The Negro would have to willfully deceive himself to believe that the change emanates from any spontaneous feeling of good will on the part of advertisers.) But the advertiser is essentially no different from many other Americans, who also feel threatened and guilty, who have been forced by the Negro to make a move.

ADVERTISING: KEY TO INTEGRATION

Advertisers, however, have a power which goes beyond the ordinary American's. For many people, advertising is a definer of our culture and our self-image, something which shapes our desires as much as it reflects them. Television is the latest and greatest manifestation of that power. Integration leaders want to harness the power of advertising to lead Negroes out of what Harvey C. Russell, v-p in charge of special markets for Pepsi-Cola Co., has called their "cultural isolation." This isolation has led to second-class citizenship, an inferior self-image, a loser's approach to life. Integrated advertising is considered propaganda to elevate the Negro, to give him a new identity and status. By this is meant simply that Negroes must start believing they are part of the mainstream of American life before they will become a part of that life.

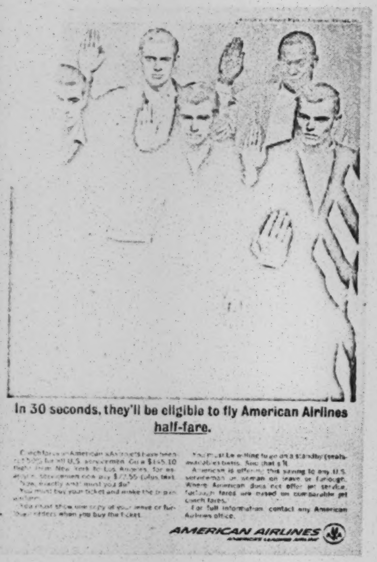
"Confronted with an image of life in which only whites are successful," observes D. Parke Gibson, who heads a Negro marketing research firm, "Negroes lose the ambition to acquire the skills necessary in employment."

And the Negro must gain these skills to break down the barriers which keep him in the unskilled and semi-skilled classes—the very classes threatened with extinction because of automation. Some barriers—lack of training and opportunity to enter the artisan class—are external. Some are internal. A second-rate self-image falls into this class. That is why so much emphasis is being placed by Negroes on integrated advertising. For a Negro to see a Negro on television or in an ad is for him to see a visible man. And that has never happened before.

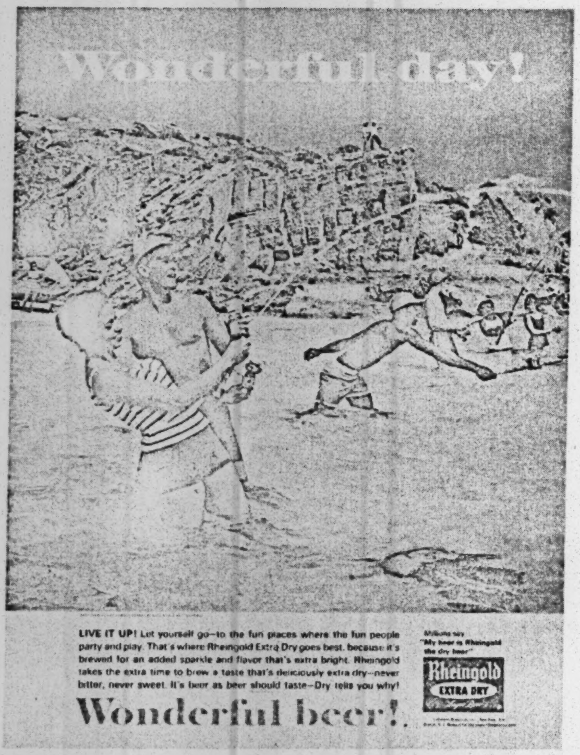
CORE AND ADVERTISERS

If major companies agree to integrate their advertising, a general industry trend will be set in motion. This belief underlies the strategy of the two groups—the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality—which are fighting for integrated advertising. The NAACP works with advertising agencies, while CORE is principally directing its efforts against advertisers.

CORE has already reached agreements with 15 advertisers: Lever Brothers, Colgate-Palmolive, Procter & Gamble, National Biscuit Co., Corn Products

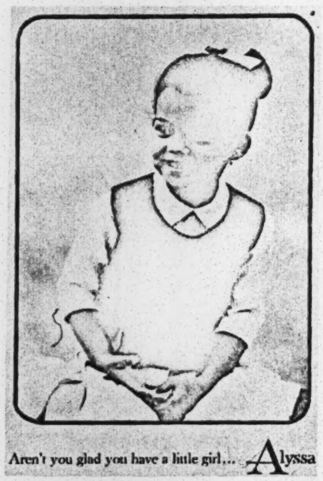

In 30 seconds, they'll be eligible to fly American Airlines half-fare.
AMERICAN AIRLINES

ARMED FORCES personnel are target of this ad for American Airlines.


Wonderful day!
Wonderful beer!
Rheingold
EXTRA DRY

LIVE IT UP! Let yourself go—to the fun places where the fun people party and play. That's where Rheingold Extra Dry goes best, because it's brewed for an added sparkle and flavor that's extra bright. Rheingold takes the extra time to brew a taste that's deliciously extra dry—never bitter, never sweet. It's beer as beer should taste—Dry tells you why!

CRITICISM was leveled against Rheingold/Ebony campaign for "unreal" social mixing of white and Negro.


Aren't you glad you have a little girl... Alyssa

EYE-CATCHING ad for children's dresses drew letters of praise.

Co., Gillette, Kellogg, Beech-Nut Life Savers, Schlitz, Campbell Soup, Bristol-Myers, Falstaff Brewing Corp., Brown & Williamson, Philip Morris, Pillsbury. Negotiations are currently in progress between CORE and 21 other companies of similar stature.

An agreement between CORE and an advertiser is not a written document. CORE says its only interest is in actual performance. This means that an agreement is concluded when the advertiser shows CORE storyboards or a completed commercial (CORE only puts secondary emphasis on print advertising).

In addition, CORE wants the advertiser to write a letter to his agency, producer and network, telling them of his integration policy and expressing a desire to see this policy implemented.

"The networks were astounded to receive letters of this nature," wryly observes a CORE representative, intimating that advertisers weren't expected to take the lead.

For some advertisers, their meeting with CORE is a formality. "When we attended the CORE meeting," says a Gillette spokesman, "we just told them we would continue our present policies."

"Although we've had difficulties," explains a CORE negotiator, "no company has turned us down. The prospect of trouble usually disappears when the advertiser finds out that we're really human beings. And they find out that it's good business to integrate their advertising."

An example of difficulties in negotiation concerned a major Midwest brewer. "Apparently just a misunderstanding," shrugs a CORE representative, explaining that after the civil rights group had made initial contact with the brewer, it received letters which were "equivocating and highhanded." CORE threatened "remedial action." After a face-to-face meeting, however, the problem was quickly solved. Perhaps an aid to speedy solution was the fact that the brewer arrived with storyboards under arm.

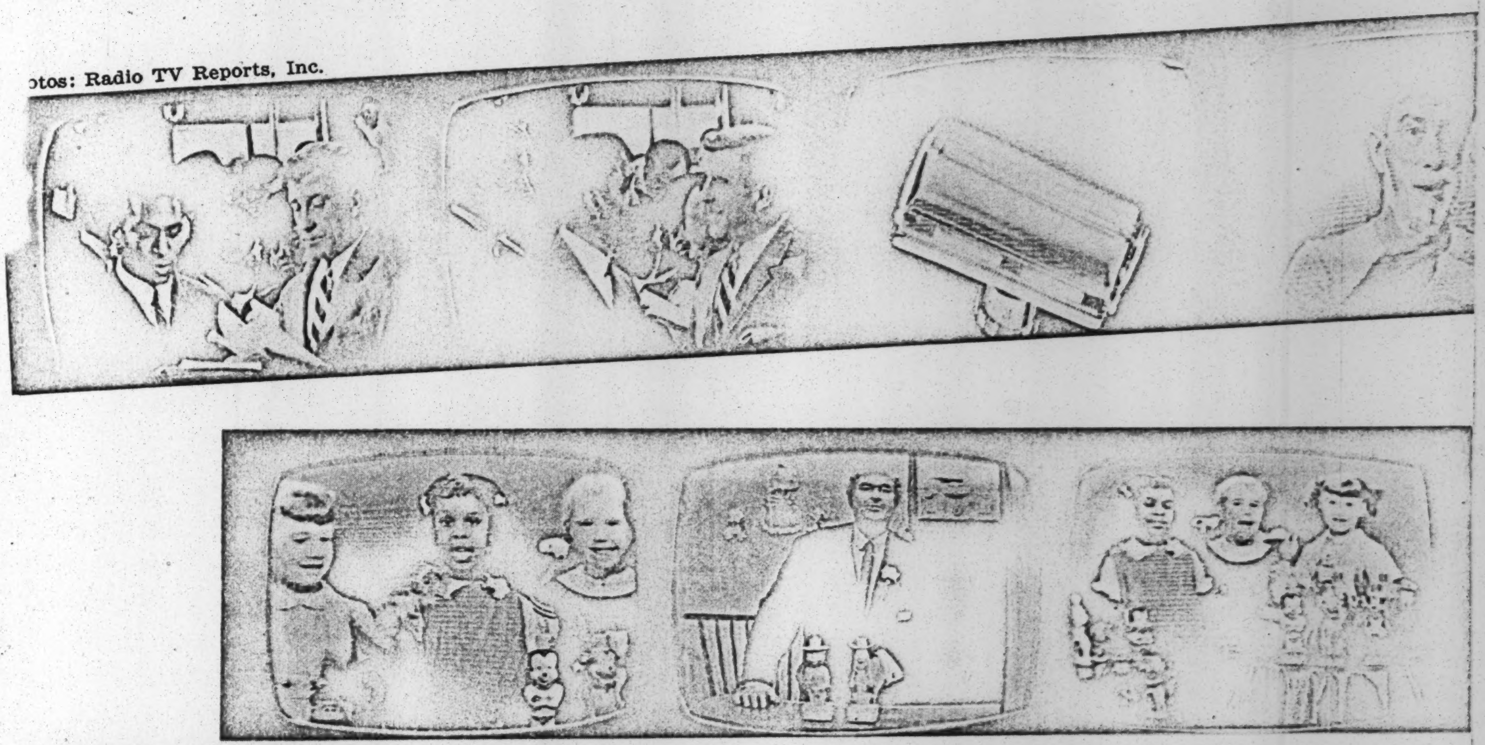
TYPES OF INTEGRATED ADVERTISING

For the most part, integrated advertising is not advertising especially conceived to use Negroes, with special situations, special dialogue, etc.

It is white advertising with Negroes in it. (On this point, some Negro intellectuals have complained that integrated advertising is furthering the development of a "black bourgeoisie," to which the Negro heritage will be subjugated and finally disappear.)

In integrated advertising there are two types of Negro: foreground and background.

The foreground Negro may be the focus of attention (as Negroes are in the "candid interview" commercials for All, Fab and Oxydol detergents) or in secondary focus (such as in the Gillette commercial in which conversation between a Negro and white man leads to a shot of the white man shaving). The foreground Negro may also share the focus with a number of whites (examples of this approach are found in the ads for retail stores, in which one model in a grouping is Negro). The number of people in an ad is irrelevant. For instance, the ad for Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. has one Negro in a crowd of over 80 people. He was, however, standing prominently in the first row and couldn't be missed.



otos: Radio TV Reports, Inc.

TV INTEGRATION: Negro man and child used as principals. Pictured: commercials for Gillette and Colgate's Soaky.

mercial a year ago, Gillette used Negroes in the background.)

Gillette reports the commercial is being used on regular network shows as part of the series. Twenty letters were reportedly received as a result of the commercial. They were about equally divided in opinion. Some correspondents accused Gillette of giving in to pressure groups. Others praised the company for recognizing the Negro.

Perhaps a record number of letters were received by Alyssa, a manufacturer of children's dresses, after running an ad which consisted simply of a photograph of a little Negro girl over the headline: "Aren't you glad you have a little girl?"

"The response so far has been thrilling," says Wally Price, the firm's advertising manager. "In just the two days after the ad ran, we received between 500 to 600 letters of approval—even a note from Dr. Ralph Bunche." Price said that initially he wondered whether to offer the ad to retail stores for credit, but he said the stores were delighted with it. (None of the stores credited in the ad, however, were Southern, and the Times Magazine section, in which the ad appeared, has limited circulation in the South.)

The question of Southern reaction was not settled by American Airline's integrated advertising either, since American does not fly to the deep South to any extent.

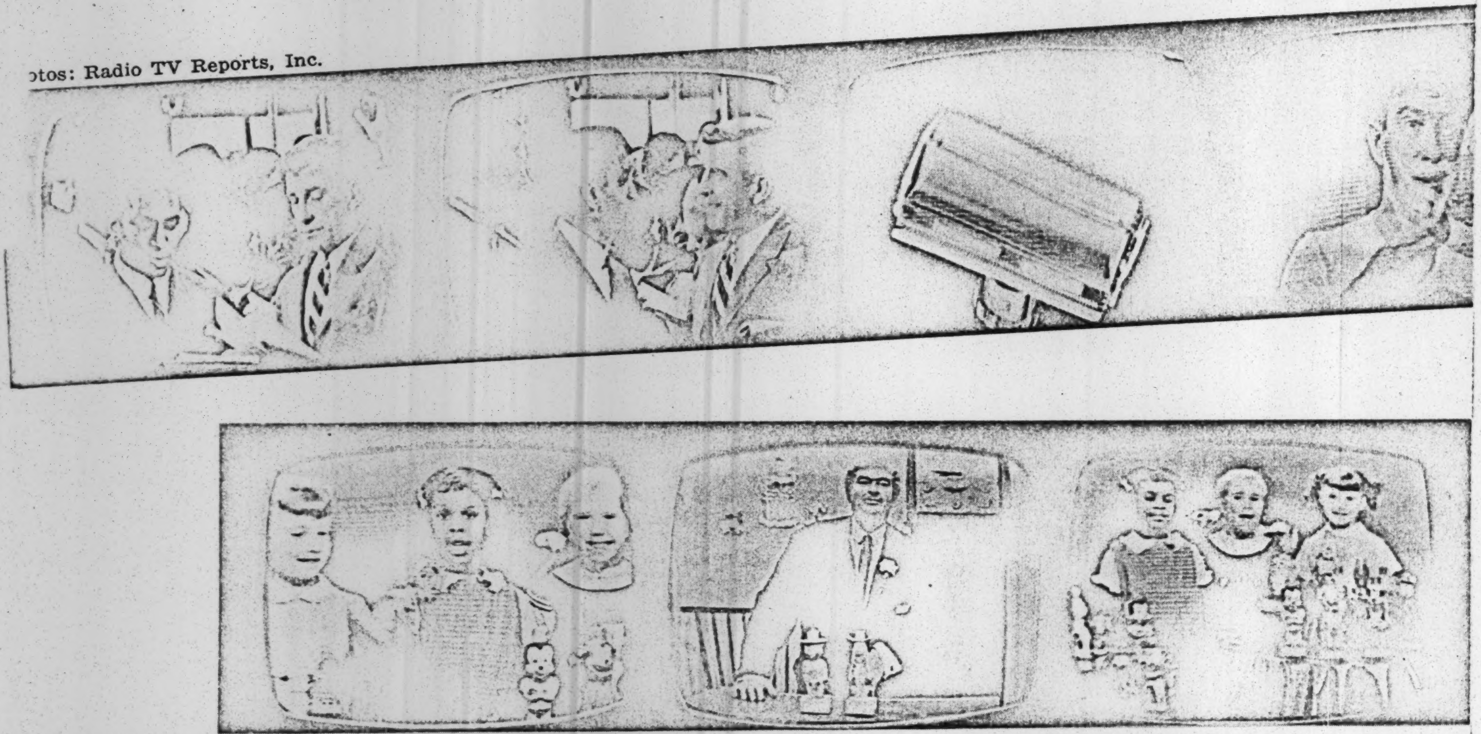
Other excellent responses to integrated advertising were reported by Consolidated Edison of New York, New York Telephone Co., insurance companies, banks, retail stores.

All of the companies mentioned so far have advertised in general media. But perhaps the most controversial example of integrated advertising was the campaign for Rheingold beer, which appeared in Ebony, the leading Negro magazine. The ads show Negroes and whites in social integrated situations. While in some of the ads integration is only implied (a photo of a Negro couple on a golf course shows the next foursome as white), in others the close relationship between the two races is explicitly shown (one ad shows whites and Negroes fishing together). This is a far cry from Negroes and whites talking together on the subway, or standing on line together at a supermarket or bank, or telling that friendly announcer why Detergent A is better than Detergent B.

This is integration as idealized by its most fervent supporters. For other people it is frightening, for still others it is a mockery. Although Rheingold acknowledges criticisms from both white and Negro, the company claims the ad campaign has achieved considerable acceptance by the Negro community—which was, after all, the campaign's target audience.

Negroes have objected, however, to the campaign on the grounds that it shows a "togetherness" that does not exist, that cannot exist because of segregated hotels and other facilities.

Ironically, as Rheingold account executive Chester Hopkins of J. Walter Thompson explains it, the campaign was created to avoid just these pitfalls. "We tried to make realistic what Negro and whites can do together. For this reason we took nearly all of our photos down in the Caribbean and Bermuda, which are completely non-segregated. For the same reason,



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Advertising Effectiveness

The criticism of Rheingold's Ebony campaign brings up what advertisers consider a crucial question: Is there a point when the integration factor hurts the advertising's effectiveness? This is difficult to assess because it is, not expressed simply in letters and phone calls. Research has not reached the point where it can pinpoint how much advertising produced how much in sales, so it's vain to expect that the integration factor can be isolated. This is not to say, however, that it might not be blamed when sales lag.

A CORE representative tells the story of a Negro friend in Philadelphia who, after seeing an integrated commercial, jumped up in such excitement that he forgot the name of the sponsor.

Whites, for their own reasons, often have similar reactions. The product fades in the presence of a black face; the scene has been stolen by integration; and, at up to $35,000 per prime time minute, it's quite a steal.

This effect will diminish as Negroes appear more frequently on television and in other advertising. If common commercial usage can make baseball stars authorities on hair dressings, then it should not be too difficult for a Negro to be accepted—at least so far that he won't be a diversion.

Advertisers, however, have deeper grounds for worry concerning white attitudes toward Negroes. In a recent Lou Harris poll for Newsweek Magazine, these grounds were stated in terms of white stereotypes of the Negro: 50% of those polled believed the Negro had "less native intelligence"; 75% said "Negroes tend to have less ambition"; 69% believed "Negroes have looser morals"; 61% maintained that "Negroes keep untidy homes"; 39% believed "Negroes care less for the family"; and so on, in the same vein.

The advertiser is justified in asking: What will happen if I use a Negro to sell my product on television—**when probably 36% of his audience believe he is a member of an inferior race?**

There is no answer to this question. All that can be said is that through consistent exposure via advertising and other communications media, such myths will eventually wither away. Now that American business is committed to integration in advertising, it must strive, if only in self-interest, to give the Negro a new image. Its investment in destroying the old stereotypes is no less than any of the integration groups fighting for the same end.

SM spoke to many advertisers on their attitudes toward integration. The majority expressed the desire to be "good businessmen and good citizens."

In the short run, good business — at least dollars-and-cents logic — may have to give way to good citizenship. It is a sacrifice which cannot be avoided without greater cost.

After Integrated Advertising

Integrated advertising is a first step, nothing more. For the advertiser to believe this will satisfy Negro demands is foolish. Integrated advertising is a symbol of the deeper breakthrough which must eventually follow: in employment.

"We feel many companies will concede on the advertising issue," confidently predicts Val Coleman, assistant community relations director of National CORE. "But such progress will still be only relatively token. Real progress comes with jobs."

Even a good reputation with Negroes won't help much if jobs are not forthcoming. Two of the oldest and most respected hands in Negro marketing — Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola — were both hit with boycotts this year on the employment issue.

The boycott — sometimes called "selective patronage"—is the most potent weapon in the Negro arsenal. In the past, Negro boycotts have been largely spontaneous, unorganized, local affairs. They were most often directed against retail stores, rather than products. Now, however, products and companies are being boycotted on a national level.

The threat is not confined to boycotts. Edward Wallerstein, executive director of the Center for Research in Marketing, told SM of a recent incident in East St. Louis, where Negroes were seeking supermarket jobs. About 50 Negroes would enter a market, fill up their shopping carts with merchandise, go to the checkout counter — then leave the carts there and walk out.

Another technique involves saturation telephoning of a city hall or of a business headquarters. It is difficult for either a government or a corporation to sustain itself in the face of a complete communications breakdown.

In an investigation of boycott behavior, the Center for Research in Marketing found that, while the average Negro consumer will return to a boycotted product or store within a few weeks after the boycott has been called off, 22% of those surveyed said it would be several months, 5% said at least a year, 2% more than a year, and **9% reported they would never return.**

Such statistics only confirm the futility of trying to beat a boycott by holding out. At best, "beating a boycott" means managing to stay in business despite losing that 11% of the total population which is Negro, a segment which accounts for more than half the population in many major cities.

"Losing any segment of this key market bloc can mean the difference between success and failure in current competitive business," comments Wallenstein. "Yet, the great majority of American businesses are willing to gamble on the loss of this market. Gaining consumer loyalty is difficult enough, but attempting to win back a market once you've been branded as inimical to it, is, our study shows, sometimes impossible."

'Good Works' Campaigns

Besides their integration of advertising, major companies are also becoming involved in good works in behalf of the Negro. College scholarships, contests in which the Negro community is specifically included, the merchandising of products made by Negro-owned concerns, participation in Negro trade shows — all are being used to display good faith.

But the Negro will not be won so easily. There's a revolutionary spirit in the air. It will not be denied. Many corporate leaders believe that the businessman may best help himself by preparing for the changes to come, instead of waiting to be dragged along in their wake.

As Charles E. Silberman wrote in a recent issue of Fortune: "Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have a rare opportunity to conserve American society by repairing what has to be repaired and changing what has to be changed." ◆

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FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary organization which has worked for over twenty-five years to bring economic and social justice to sharecroppers, tenant farmers, migrant workers, and other low-income farm families throughout America.

It has initiated or financially supported pioneering projects in the fields of farm labor organization, migrant education, and cooperative rural housing and farm machinery ownership. It has pressed to end the exclusion of migrant and other seasonal farm workers from minimum wage, unemployment insurance, child labor, and other social legislation which protects most other American workers. It has assisted rural persons who have suffered because of their participation in the civil rights struggle. Through the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, it cooperates with 32 other national groups on problems affecting low-income farm families.

NSF, through its educational program, seeks to create an informed public opinion on the social and economic problems of America's rural people.

Your contribution will help to carry on this work.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

national board

FRANK P. GRAHAM
chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
vice-chairman
ELIOT D. PRATT
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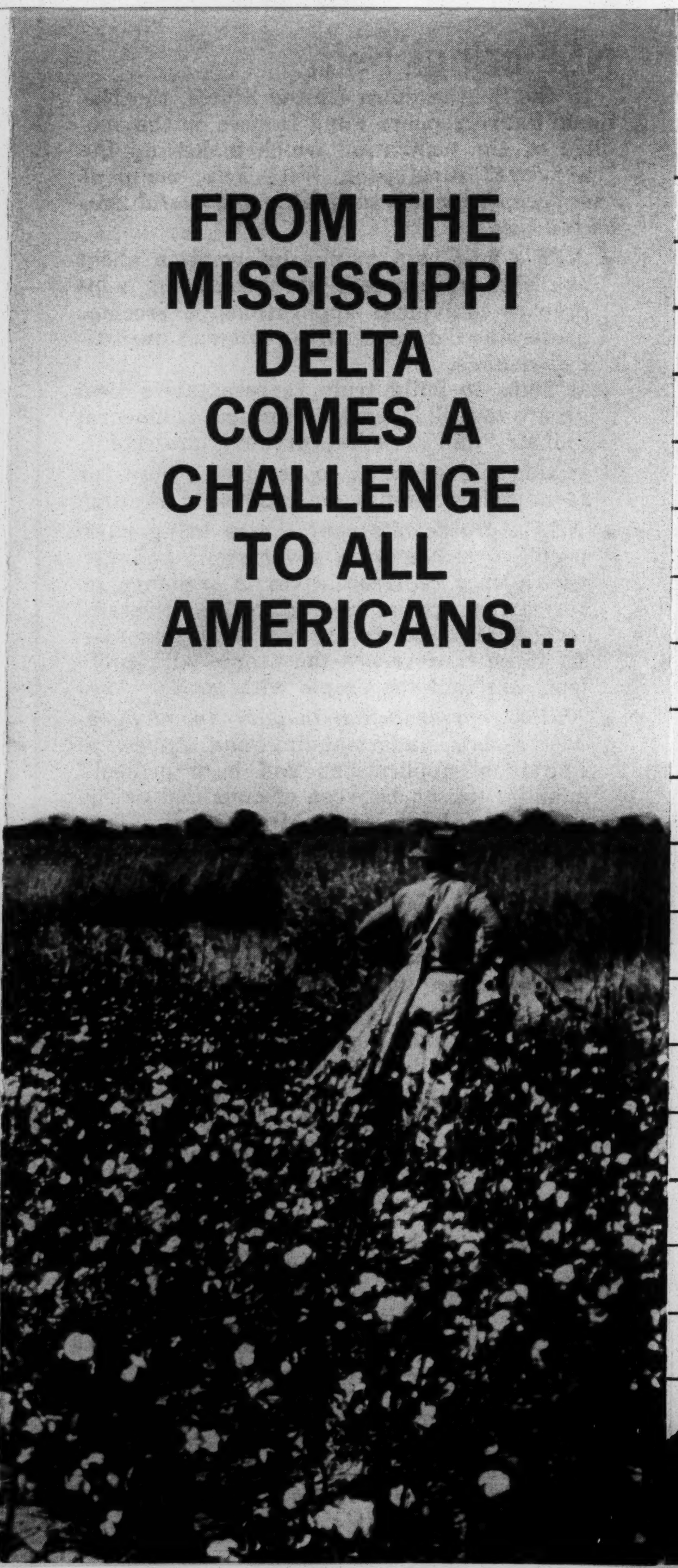
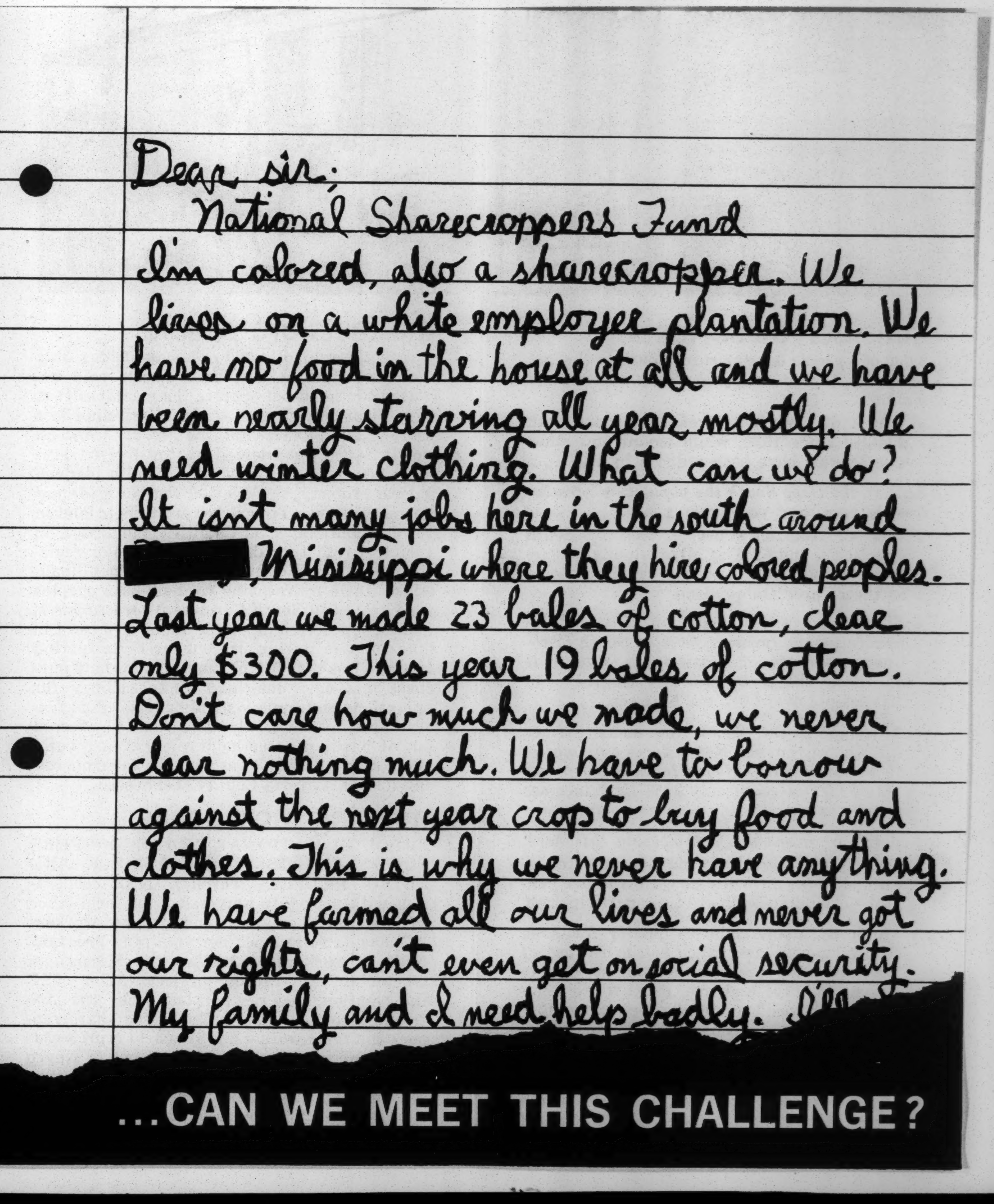
executive secretary
JAC WASSERMAN
project director
L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative
ART EMERY
SARA LEMMONS
ALLEN YANCEY, JR.
Tennessee representatives

FROM THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA COMES A CHALLENGE TO ALL AMERICANS...





Dear sir:
National Sharecroppers Fund

I'm colored, also a sharecropper. We lives on a white employer plantation. We have no food in the house at all and we have been nearly starving all year mostly. We need winter clothing. What can we do? It isn't many jobs here in the south around [redacted], Mississippi where they hire colored peoples. Last year we made 23 bales of cotton, clear only $300. This year 19 bales of cotton. Don't care how much we made, we never clear nothing much. We have to borrow against the next year crop to buy food and clothes. This is why we never have anything. We have farmed all our lives and never got our rights, can't even get on social security. My family and I need helps badly. I'll

...CAN WE MEET THIS CHALLENGE?

consider these facts

4,000,000 people left the rural South in the last ten years, forced out by changing agricultural methods.

- Farms of over 500 acres have more than doubled since 1930, while tenant and other small farms have been reduced by half.

Still, in the Deep South the population remains largely rural and very, very poor.

- 45% of Alabama's people, 59% of South Carolina's, and 62% of Mississippi's still remain on the land . . . over 4½ million people in these three states alone.
- Sharecroppers still make up 27% of Alabama's tenant farmers, 44% of South Carolina's, and 51% of Mississippi's. Over half of these sharecroppers are Negroes; in Mississippi over 90% are Negroes.
- Throughout the South the small farmer fares poorly but the Negro fares even worse. 40% of the rural Negro families earn *less than $1,000 a year;* only 20% have incomes above $3,000.

Federal programs are not meeting this need.

- These programs usually must be initiated locally, and the all-white power structure generally excludes the Negro from participation.
- Ironically, many counties qualify for Area Redevelopment assistance *solely* because of the low-paid Negroes in their midst; thus in Greene County, Alabama, rural white families are "helped" to qualify for aid by their Negro neighbors' miserable $383 average yearly income.

This pattern must be broken. Rural families — Negro and white — need not be thrust off the land and into city slums and chronic industrial unemployment.

the facts are people

A recent survey of *1,000 Louisiana sugar cane workers* found most of them poorly paid because they could not operate the machines that were displacing them. . . . In Mississippi last year, *1,200 underemployed farm workers,* mostly Negro, were denied tractor driver training when local white officials killed a planned federal project. . . . *Over 400 sharecropper and tenant families* were evicted from their land in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, in 1960 and 1961 for taking part in a voter registration drive. Welfare officials further "punished" them by refusing to distribute surplus food . . . *7,080 South Carolina Negro farmers,* making up over half of the farm operators in nine counties, during a recent three-year period received less than 5% of the funds for land purchase and only one-third of the money for operations and improvements advanced as federal FHA loans . . . *A white family* — forced out of business after helping the Negro voter registration drive — was denied a farm operating loan in Fayette County, Tennessee.

meeting their needs

THROUGH NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND EFFORTS, THESE PEOPLE ARE BEING HELPED. Through NSF cooperation with a private university and local labor leaders, the Louisiana sugar cane workers *will* have a farm machinery training program. NSF *is* working to restore the Mississippi tractor driver training project. After NSF intervention, federal surplus food *was* distributed to the western Tennessee sharecroppers and farm workers. NSF's field representative is following up loan applications of Negro farmers in South Carolina to ensure that they *will* get fair treatment. The white Tennessee family, after NSF representations, *did* receive its FHA farm operating loan.

NSF brings help

In the Southeastern United States, the National Sharecroppers Fund focuses on the one-third of the population which makes up the "hard-core" rural poor. *With help, many of these people can live satisfying and useful lives on the land.*

- *NSF's field staff* brings information about available government aid programs, helps prepare individual applications, overcomes processing delays, secures review of unjustified denials.
- It helps to build truly representative local groups to seek federal aid for new small rural industry and area improvement projects.
- It aids in organizing cooperative groups for farm tool ownership and produce marketing.
- *NSF's grass-roots conferences* bring rural people together with government and private agency representatives to exchange information, spread knowledge of successful techniques, and encourage local planning. At these conferences the people with problems confront the people with power.
- *NSF's representation to government agencies* assists understanding and review of individual applications and local projects, supplies liaison between officials and newly-developing local leadership, and stimulates new approaches to meeting the problems of the rural neediest.
- *NSF's cooperation with other organizations* brings the experience, strength, and good-will of church, labor, and civic groups to bear on these problems.
- *NSF's public education service* publishes pamphlets and reports, furnishes background material for writers, editors, and commentators, and supplies speakers for church, student, and other groups.

we must do more

The quickening pace of rural displacement and the resulting urban disorganization of uprooted families make it urgent that NSF do much more before it is too late. *Your support will make this possible.*

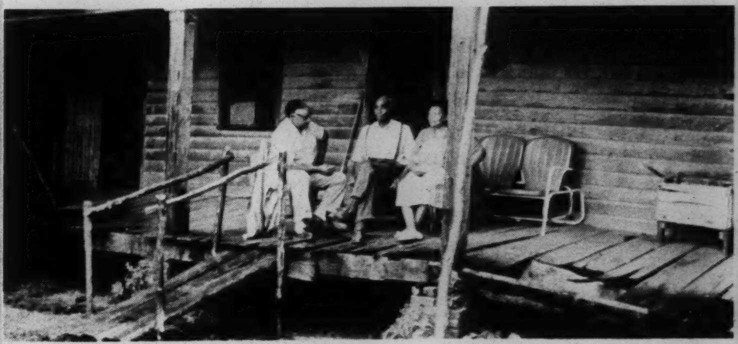
let's face this fact

From Southern voter registration drives and student sit-ins, the Negro march for human freedom has surged on to Northern picket lines and demonstrations for equality in jobs and housing. Now the whole country must face up to the responsibility it has ignored. *But the starting point remains the rural South.*

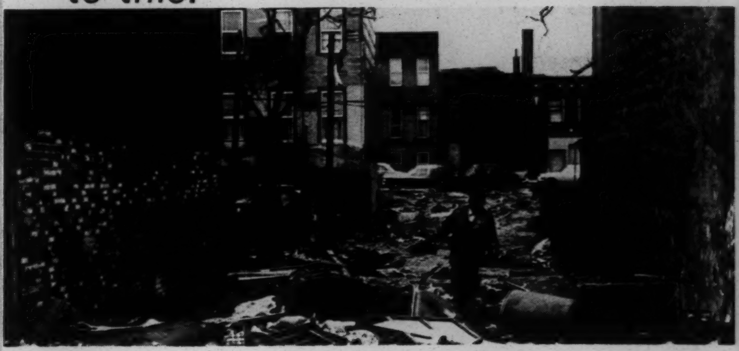
Mechanization, land concentration, and improved food processing are bringing our bountiful farm product to market from fewer farms with ever fewer farm workers. It is not enough to say these people are no longer needed to grow the food and fiber to feed and clothe the nation. *A more creative alternative must be found to forcing them off the land and out of the South.*

Many of these low-income farm workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers—with their families — would remain in the South if they had job opportunities and the training to fill the jobs, if they were given credit assistance to own and improve their houses on their own few acres, and if they were treated with human dignity. *Their plight should be first on the agenda of the unfinished American Revolution.*

Is the only answer from this . . .



to this?



GENOCIDE U.S.A.

A BLUEPRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

SPEECH ***Presented by***

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
to the
National Conference
on Black Power

Newark, New Jersey

July 21, 1967

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
212-281-9650

CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

Floyd Bixler McKissick was born March 9, 1922 in Asheville, North Carolina. Attended public schools of Asheville; graduated from Stephens-Lee High School in 1939. At the age of 12 in a boyscout uniform, he received a vicious beating from a white policeman in Durham, North Carolina. At that time, he vowed to become a lawyer and fight the kind of oppression to which he was subjected.

Attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Joined army shortly after Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. Served in European theatre. Married, four children. Graduated Morehouse College; graduated University of North Carolina Law School. Among first Black People to sue for admittance to the University of North Carolina Law School.

Admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1952, the United States Supreme Court in 1955. Licensed to practice law in the District of Columbia and North Carolina, as well as before the Federal Communications Commission, Federal District Court of Appeals, United States Court of Appeals and United States Customs Courts, as well as the United States Supreme Court. Also experienced with bankruptcy and receiverships.

Beginning 1960, he led the sit-in movement in North Carolina—his law office, at one time, handled more than 5,000 demonstration cases.

1963—elected National Chairman of CORE by acclamation.

1966—March—appointed National Director of CORE.

Mr. McKissick is the principle spokesman for the Black Power concept in America today. On these pages, he discusses the nature of oppression in America and points the way toward the creation of a society in which Total Equality through Black Power can become reality.

GENOCIDE U.S.A.

A BLUE PRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

Two eyes stare out of a Black Face. Kinky hair grows on a Black Head. Inside of that Black Head is a mind that is Black, forced to think Black in order to survive. To think white, to reason with the logic of a white man is only to speed the time for the Total Destruction of Black People. A Black Man cannot afford to think white: He must think Black if he is to survive.

Every day, Black People around the world see hunger, suffering, despair, disease and hatred. They see a world of oppression, presided over by a few white people dominating the masses of powerless colored people—on every continent.

Black Men have gained a special insight, an almost "privileged" perception. It is an insight acquired over years of oppression, years without freedom.

White men live in a totally different reality from Black Men. Their thought processes are molded by experiences foreign to Black Men.

Because white men cannot understand Black People or the way they feel and think—they are afraid. The white man knows that he has been the oppressor and, for that, he is guilty. His guilt makes him fear. White people without fear of Blacks are white people without guilt.

White supremacy reigns in such distant and exotic places as Europe and South Africa. But the true bastion of white supremacy, that country which makes it all possible, is the United States of America.

The democratic principles taught in the United States hardly apply on a world-wide basis, for clearly the white minority controls the masses of colored and Black Peoples in the world today.

They make the rules. And the rules say that world domination is not based on democratic principles but on power. There is no willingness to share that power with the colored people of the world. There is no commitment to share that power any time in the future. Yet, Black People are lost without power to bring about change.

We are given rhetoric about power sharing: "the Land of the Free. Home of the Brave." "With liberty and justice for all." I could name dozens of others that sound beautiful, but mean absolutely nothing for Black People, here or on any other continent.

They were never intended to

mean anything for Black People. They were written when we were still slaves.

There are Black People starving in Mississippi, millions of colored people starving in India while white Americans bask in luxury, spending millions to go to the moon, billions on a war in Vietnam which pits yellow people against yellow people.

There are rebellions throughout the United States—Black People demanding that they no longer be exploited, that they be free—free to live in dignity.

Farmers put acres of non-producing land into the federal land bank—which could feed the nation, and the world. In Mississippi, Black People starve.

The Black and colored masses are regarded merely as chattel—with a difference. We are mere consumers. And by our consumption of the goods and services of this nation—this economic, political system, we furnish the margin of profit on which the system survives.

The system of white supremacy and its manipulators are dedicated to the proposition that the system must be maintained at all cost—even at the expense of Total Destruction of Black and colored peoples in the United States and around the world—that system which exploits, denies debases and destroys—destroys humanity, values, morality and non-white cultures.

The cry of the racist white man is: "Threaten not our system, or you will be annihilated by our National Rifle Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils—which we fund; by the Minute Men, Birchers and vigilantes, who we condone; and by our National Guard, which is integrated, our State Militia, our State, City and County Police Forces, which are also integrated. The system of exploitation is far more important—far more precious—than human lives."

You ask: Would America intentionally starve Black People in Mississippi, feed Indians only if they agreed to domination by white people? Would America allow thousands of Blacks to be wasted on the streets of Newark or Buffalo, Watts or Atlanta, because they simply said: "Take your foot off our necks?"

Would America destroy the lives of millions of Blacks whose forebearers, as slaves, made and developed this economic—political system, by their blood, sweat and free labor. Is there not a word called Respect—another world called Mercy—another, Justice?

Many Jews in Germany thought so. During Hitler's regime, they discovered differently.

Would America systematically destroy 22 million Blacks? My answer is: Look at the record! More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will.

White supremacy stems from an inferiority complex, so does fear. The kind of fear experienced by the racist white man. The Man has no logic when dealing with Blacks. For he insists that he is superior.

He is neurotic when threatened, psychotic when confronted with truth. He cannot comprehend your needs or just demands—he cannot recognize his responsibility. He will not acknowledge his guilt or the guilt of his brothers.

Has he punished his white brothers for the civil rights murders of Blacks (or even the whites who were with us), on the highways of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and throughout the south?

I regretfully advise that The Man has not, moreover, he has not even found the criminals, in many instances. But he can find, shoot and kill a sixteen year old Black Kid who loots because he doesn't have money to buy a transistor radio.

Yes—The Man has the capacity to neglect, to destroy, to shoot, to kill—if his victim is not white. He has the capacity for genocide.

Until recently, genocide was a relatively unknown word. After World War II, however, it came into pretty common usage. It means: "The use or user of deliberate, systematic measures for the extermination of a racial, political or cultural group of people." It means mass murder.

In America, we are inclined to reserve this distasteful word for the planned extermination of Jews by Hitler in Nazi Germany. This is naive. Hitler's program of genocide, to be sure, is the only one we know of that was blatant enough to herd millions of people into ovens all at one time—uncouth enough to pile thousands of bodies together in one place and impolitic enough to be implicit in the statement of its goals—the goal being the "Final Solution," the elimination of the Jewish People.

But one must be reminded that genocide exists in many forms and has existed throughout history. To understand the sinister nature of genocide, one must understand not only European history, but American history as well.

No, genocide is not a simple matter. It cannot just happen. One group of people cannot just go ahead and wipe out another group of people. They must first pass through several stages—they must live out a peculiar and deadly pattern.

The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated theses, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously, the Black People.

Until recently, in America, there were many respected scientists and anthropologists who advanced the theory that caucasians were genetically superior to colored peoples.

Although in some parts of the United States, particularly in the south, the belief in genetic superiority still prevails, in the more "enlightened" areas of the North, the popular theory is that colored people, particularly Black People are not genetically inferior. They are just inferior.

If they were not inferior, they would be better educated, live in better homes and on cleaner streets. If they were really equal, they would improve their own conditions.

In America, as we have seen, the belief in white superiority runs deep. It was a dominant factor in the slave trade. The Black African wasn't recognized as a human being.

A belief ferocious enough to allow human slavery cannot be dissipated by a mere century and, in America, it has been quietly reinforced.

Although slavery as a recognized legal institution has been abolished, economic slavery, economic exploitation, has not. Black People in this country have never been allowed to share in the economic riches of America. A few get in—here and there—a few get rich, but their success has no effect on the masses of Black People.

White landlords, white storekeepers, white corporate managers and a white, Anglo-Saxon Wall Street, conspire to keep the Black Man in his place.

As whites quietly exit to the comfortable suburbs, they do not relinquish the economic control of the ghetto; they maintain control of the city agencies and the political scene. They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only—and, occasionally, one or two good "Negroes."

With the climate existing in the United States, we would be foolish, as leaders, to think that Black People are not being politically oppressed. If Black People got political power, they might be able to merge their values with the values of the dominant culture. And the white man wants to protest his values—particularly his economic values: the materialism which has distorted his dealings with the entire world.

Their laws are used as the tools of racism. Ethics are adopted and discarded at the whim of a racist Congress. Adam Clayton Powell loses his seat in the House of Representatives for alleged offenses far less serious than those of Senator Dodd, who was merely censored for his crimes.

The offenses of which Powell was accused were less than Dodd's—but his punishment was far greater. Congress was not satisfied merely to punish Adam; they punished all the Black People of Harlem. They stripped Harlem of representation.

They made the decision to throw Adam out in less than a day of debate. It took the Senate weeks to even vote to censure Dodd.

One thing they couldn't do—they

couldn't get Adam to beg. They couldn't get Our Man to come whimpering—the way they did with Thomas Dodd.

But they will keep on trying. They will organize special investigations to determine if Adam is guilty of civil offenses—while Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, is immune to even the inconvenience of defending himself against the civil charge of "conspiracy to violate civil rights in Louisiana."

These attacks upon Black Men are not restricted to economic and political means. In Newark, of 26 dead, in the recent rebellion, 24 were Black People. The ratio was similar in Watts. Not one white man died in Harlem's rebellion.

And who is to blame for the rebellions? This point we need not argue. The white man is the judge, jury and the executioner in his system and he first made the law so as to control us. We are called the violators of his "Law and Order"—"Criminals."

Yet he knows that the white racist society is to blame for all of the conditions which force a man to rebel. His concept of "Law and Order" means the legal methods of exploiting Blacks. We object and we resist.

Some so-called Negro leaders even have the audacity to join The Man—by calling a Liberation Struggle a riot—his brothers hoodlums and criminals—and damning his brothers who seek to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

And when these rebellions temporarily subside—what happens? Black People are stranded without food, medical supplies and other essentials. Old People, babies, pregnant women must stand in line for hours to get one quart of ransid milk and a box of cereal.

No National Agencies come to their aid: They are left to their own devices.

We sent an urgent telegram to the President of the United States—requesting that sections of Newark be declared a National Disaster Area—so that the Red Cross and government agencies could move in with food and supplies. In response, from the Office of Emergency Planning, we received a terse message.

I quote: "Your request for the designation of the area of Newark, New Jersey as National Disaster Area has been referred to this office for response. Disasters are defined by this office to include only natural disasters. Therefore do not cover the circumstances of the disaster of riots in Newark."

As history unfolds, it becomes more and more apparent that questions must be raised—the same questions which were raised by the events in Nazi Germany. This time, answers must be found.

Why didn't the Jews organize to oppose Hitler? Why weren't they a solid enough political force to prevent his ascent to power? Why did so many people march so slowly to their deaths? Why didn't they resist? What techniques did the Germans apply? What methods did they use? Were not the Jews psychologically prepared for genocide?

Before the mass extermination began, Jews were degraded systematically. They were confined to ghettos. They were kept apart. They were forced to wear a special badge of dishonor—the Star of David.

In America, the special badge does not need to be sewn on a man's jacket. He is always Black.

In this country, the ghetto is not defined by barbed wire: The ghetto follows the Black Man wherever he goes.

Hitler was faced with the task of destroying Jewish economic power. In America, the task is easier. The Black Man has no economic power. At this late date, there is little need to escalate economic oppression. The Black Man is at the bottom of the ladder.

Black People have always lived under fear of torture and death by this racist system—fear of being beaten by whips or chains in slavery, fear of expressing themselves at the cost of death, fear of life itself. Fear of exercising the basic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

But we paid our dues for being a man—a slave—for seeking to express ourselves, for telling the truth about this wretched system. In slavery, they cut our heel strings to stop us from running and joining the underground railroad. Yes, we've paid our dues. It is estimated that sixty million of us died as a direct result of the slave trade. They lynched us by the hundreds and thousands for simply saying what we saw.

We pay our dues today—the death penalty is primarily reserved for Blacks when a crime is committed—or alleged. "Equal Justice Under Law" is a farce when an all-white jury convicts Muhammad Ali in less than twenty minutes, when Black Men are shot in religious worship in Los Angeles because they are Muslims—when Black Leaders are afraid to speak out because, if they do, it means economic isolation.

Yes, Black People know fear and live with it each and every day of their lives—in deadly fear of the white man's potential. We know he can kill, we know he will—because of his hurt pride—we know that his personality demands that he control whatever he sees, we know that normal dissent is treason in his blue eyes.

In fact, we know The Man better than he knows himself. We know him for what he is. We know he will kill us if he can—one by one or all at once.

Yet, in spite of all this, there are those of us who have been defeated by his tactics, misled by his propoganda machine.

It is evident that too many American Black People are psychologically prepared for genocide. Too many Black People believe that they are really inferior. Too many Black People want to look like the white man and be like the white man.

Hitler's propoganda techniques have been refined and expanded. The propoganda of white supremacy is advanced through advertising, entertainment and through education and folklore that ignores the contributions of Black People to World Civilization; through the acceptance of the European standard of beauty and culture, while disparaging and disregarding the values of three quarters of the world—while ignoring the beauty that is Black.

How else could you explain the failure of some Black People to understand and accept Black Power? Any rational person or group of people understand the need for self-preservation.

Could it be that some Black People have been so misled, so confused by white America that they don't understand they need power of their own to protect themselves? Could it be that some middle-class Negroes have become so enamored with the death-wish of integration—the dream of absorption and disappearance into the white man's culture—that he fears his Blackness?

Maybe it's that too few Black People are aware of the machinery already set up for their possible destruction. Maybe they don't know about the McCarran Act.

Title II of the McCarran Act provides the Attorney General with the power in the event of an "Internal Security Emergency," to apprehend and detain ". . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in espionage or sabotage."

Maybe Black People don't think that the American government, that an American Attorney General, would ever utilize such a power. But, remember during World War II, those concentration camps were used for the interment of Japanese-Americans. The property of many innocent yellow people was confiscated. To this day, fair reparations have never been paid.

Maybe Black People feel that it is more important to be American than to be Black. Many Jews in Nazi Germany mistakenly felt it was more important to be a German than to be a Jew. Those who survived know better now.

The government could, and would, use almost any excuse to declare an Internal Security Emergency.

Opposition to the War in Vietnam, the constitutional exercise of the right to dissent has already been equated with disloyalty and treason. General Westmoreland was brought all the way back from the battlefields of Vietnam to merge dissent with disloyalty in the minds of the American people. Such pronouncements by the Commander of the American Armed Forces can only feed an atmosphere of hysteria about the war which could be used to justify the use of Title II.

We are experiencing another Long, Hot Summer. We are faced with violence in our cities and on our campuses. These rebellions against an oppressive system, these outbursts of frustration and hopelessness, could also be used to justify the use of Title II.

The white man has never pulled any stops in his drive for advancement. When he decided that he wanted land—rich American land—not one thought was given to the systematic slaughter of American Indians. In 1600, there were about 589,000 Indians on this continent. Over 200,000 of those people belonged to tribal groups which are now extinct.

Extinct. That means that whole tribes, whole groups of people, were wiped out. More than 60% of the entire Indian population was exterminated. Those who lived, were herded onto reservations.

Those Indians were victims of the white man's drive for the control of land. Land has always been the tap root of the capitalist system: Land is wealth and the use of land controls the people—both physically and mentally.

An example of this, in 1967, is the Urban Renewal Act. This act, which was supposed to be designed to provide low cost housing has never been used for that purpose. Urban Renewal has helped eliminate Black Ownership of property. It has been used to destroy the potential for the development of Black Political Power by the scattering of Black Citizens. In fact, it has been "Negro Removal."

When the Black People are removed, the land is transferred over to businessmen for redevelopment purposes, re-zoned and given an increased value. It is almost always used for middle income housing. In any event, the Black People are not able to return.

Genocide is a political decision. It can be made by a town, city, state, nation or group of nations. It was a political decision, for example, to exterminate the Communists in Indonesia. It was a political decision for the CIA to engineer the coup.

The London Times estimated the dead at nearly one million in the period of four months—five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years.

The techniques and tactics of genocide vary. The prevalent pattern has been, in recent years—to engineer coups where it is rumored that the Communists might take over.

In these cases, they have been successful in getting right wing Indonesians to fight left wing Indonesians, South Vietnamese to fight North Vietnamese, South Koreans to fight North Koreans and, in the Congo, Ghana, and other parts of Africa—to deliberately raise issues which result in tribal warfare.

In this way, the white man keeps his hands clean and he is able to obtain the spoils of bloody civil wars. For he is, in fact, the only beneficiary.

It will be interesting to watch what will happen in the near future in such places as Thailand, Cambodia and Laos.

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country—be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion. These patterns must be halted now.

And we must be the ones to do it. We cannot expect help from anyone but ourselves.

Even our friends in the peace movement find it too easy to look thousands of miles away from home and, with much indignation, see the extermination of the Vietnamese.

On the other hand, they cannot see ten blocks away, where many Black People are the Walking Dead—dead in mind and spirit, because of lack of hope and lack of chance.

We cannot look elsewhere for help. We cannot lean on the crutch of religion. We cannot depend on phony "coalitions." We must work out our own methods. We must draw our own conclusions.

To those queasy individuals who are afraid of the resolutions presented here, let me state my unequivocal opinion: The right of revolution is a constitutional right, condoned by the creation of the American Constitution itself. When we assert the right of revolution, we are asserting a constitutional right.

Revolution in America is justified by all standards of morality—religious and ethical: It is required to fulfill the basic, natural rights of man.

Even white men recognized the need for revolution when, in 1776, they revolted because they were oppressed. And today—1967—Black People are more oppressed than any white man has ever been—in the history of the world.

This is the time when we must unite—Brothers and Sisters. We must join in making plans.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has some ideas for programs in this regard—some short range and some long range. We are a common front into which all Black People can unite.

There is a need for a Black Brain Trust. Black People with the best minds in the country must come together to help organize and plan strategy for our future, to plan for every aspect of our existence—political, economic, cultural—international.

This is not a problem of Civil Rights—it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake.

A Black Fund-Raising Base must be established. As long as the white man controls the purse strings, he will hold them tightly around our necks.

We must develop second line leadership in all-Black organizations. We must develop training programs throughout this country.

We must develop effective, sophisticated security systems—a national system of communication.

We must oppose the War in Vietnam but, more important, we must educate Black Youth not to participate in that war—now.

We must develop ways and means of dealing with those "Negroes" who sell us out—who betray their people.

We see the need to develop a Black Political Base. When an incompetent like Hugh Addonizio runs a city like Newark—where over 60% of the population is Black—we need our own political base.

Addonizio had advance warning of what would happen in his community. But Hughie insisted that race relations in Newark were good. According to the U.S. News and World Report of May 23, 1966, Addonizio said; "We haven't had any racial difficulties in Newark so far, and we don't anticipate any in the future. I think it's wrong for people to go around making statements like that. They could stir up the trouble we're trying so hard to avoid."

Those don't sound like the words of a man who understands the Black Community.

Then, to further illustrate his contempt for the Black Community, Hughie goes to appoint a white political hack with a High School education for the important and responsible job of Secretary of the Board of Education.

The Black Community demanded that Wilbur Parker, City Budget Director, a Certified Public Accountant with a Master's degree, be appointed. And to avoid doing that —to avoid his responsibility to Black People—Hughie convinced the present Secretary to remain.

But that is only one incident, only a tiny phase of a career of contempt, of disrespect.

In Newark, and in all cities where Black People are in the majority, the administration must be responsive to the needs of the people—must respect the demands of the Black Community. In any community where more than 60% of the people are Black—we need a Black Mayor.

In fact, the question of a white man's competency becomes irrelevant when a city is more than 60% Black. If he's white, he shouldn't be Mayor.

There comes a time in the relations between a people and an elected official that the people must say: "Enough!"

That time has arrived in Newark. The people must exercise their undeniable right to clean house. Too long, white elected officials have in these United States . . . been immune from the wrath of the Black Population. They have translated this immunity into an utter disregard for the rights and prerogatives of Black People.

Black People must eliminate these evils: There is no better place to start than Newark.

We have consulted with the progressive Black Leaders of this community. It is agreed that there must be a Recall Election to get rid of Hugh Addonizio and replace him with a Black Mayor.

This conference should go on record at this time in support of the citizens of Newark in a recall election.

CORE is appointing Bob Curvin and James Hooper of the Congress of Racial Equality in Newark to spearhead and join in with other groups and individuals, to organize and coordinate this effort. Your assistance will be desperately needed.

People will be needed—volunteers who are willing to work—willing to get thousands of signatures on petitions to recall Addonizio.

The recall effort must be followed up with a Black Conference for the purpose of selecting one Black Candidate, who will be Newark's next mayor; for the purpose of organizing a Black Voter Registration Campaign Committee; for the purpose of organizing a Newark Black Candidates Fund Committee—for the purpose of making Black Political Power in Newark a reality.

As men, we must now stand up. If we are truly men and believe what we say, and live by our convictions—we must be steadfast. Men are known not by words, but by deeds—and men we must be.

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Copies of this statement may be purchased at 25¢ each by writing CORE
200 West 135th Street, New York

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

I enclose $—————————as a special gift to help the National Congress of Racial Equality in its efforts to implement the programs outlined in the testimony.

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CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

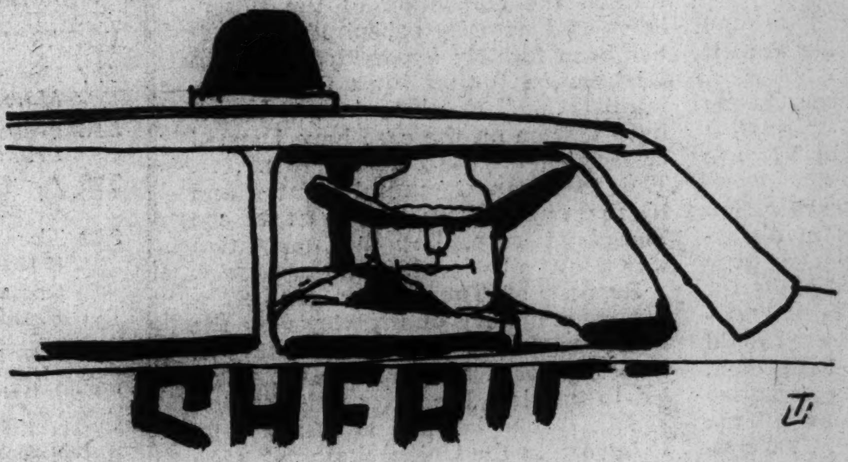
working to create a society in which all men are equal

THE NATION

December 28, 1964 . . 35c

Journey to Understanding

FOUR WITNESSES TO A MISSISSIPPI SUMMER



BEVERLY ALLEN ASBURY

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RICHARD J. BERNSTEIN

AARON O. WELLS

Introduction by HOWARD ZINN

WILLIAM BURROUGHS by Marshall McLuhan

LETTERS

What a cop believes

Victoria, B. C.

Dear Sirs: Paul Hoffman's article, "The Blue Backlash" (*The Nation*, Dec. 7), disturbs me. . . . For instance, he states:

> *Deputy Commissioner Walter Arm said earlier that he knew of no Birchites on the force and did not plan to look for any—virtually an open invitation to the society.*

Does Mr. Hoffman suggest that all police commissioners be encouraged to investigate the political affiliations of their officers—and dismiss those whose precise leanings do not gibe with his own? This, it would seem to me, is an open invitation to far more horrifying possibilities. . . .

Witch hunts, whether urged by the Right or the Left, should be opposed. A police officer, like a college professor, has certain duties. If he fails to perform them adequately or fairly, he should be relieved. But it is certainly dangerous to suggest that guilt by association is any more valid in one spectrum of the political scale than it is in another.

George Cuomo
Department of English
University of Victoria

Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Sirs: I read Paul Hoffman's article with interest, and not a little concern. However, police sympathy for the John Birch Society and other right-wing groups and movements should not be too surprising. . . . Policemen, like professional soldiers, are recruited very disproportionately from among "authoritarian personalities". . . whose character structure combines high conventionalism and identification with established authorities and the prevailing social system, on the one hand, with a certain attraction to violence, brutality and bossing people around, on the other. . . . *T. Peter Park*

Coexistence in Hell

Los Altos, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Not having read the book, *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (fine title that), I am in no position to evaluate Webster Schott's review of it (*The Nation*, Dec. 7), beyond saying his own excitement over the book roused my interest in a figure new to me. But no discernible connection exists between his examination of the book and his various shotgun charges against what he apparently thinks of as the literary "establishment." ("While the palefaces have gone off to Stanford or the Iowa Writers Workshop. . . .") With *successful* people like Mailer, Baldwin, Burroughs, Rechy, Updike, O'Hara and Donleavy around, it seems curious, even eccentric, to suggest a lack of literature "written from the gut," still less that it is in especial disfavor. Worse, it is depressingly provincial to attack writers indiscriminately because they occupy different circles of hell from one's favorite. It smacks too much of accepting *Time's* very own aesthetic. The bitterest work of all may yet come from the academic writers; where the best will come from, even the most astute critic cannot say.

R. D. Lakin

Rosenberg footnote

New York City

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation*, many of whom must have read Fred Cook's excellent *The FBI Nobody Knows* (Macmillan) were, I regret to say . . . misinformed on the nature of my intervention in the case. In a footnote on pp. 411-12 Mr. Cook states: "The theory that the Communists wanted the conviction of the Rosenbergs and actually conspired to get it has been forcibly expounded by Irwin Edelman, a former West Coast Communist. . . ." Nowhere in anything I have written on the case have I stated or implied anything of the sort. . . . The American Communist Party and its press played an ugly part in the Rosenberg case, but the motivation was not at all what Mr. Cook assumes.

Readers of *The Nation* can get a correct summary of my views on the Rosenberg-Sobell case by reading a transcript of a forty-minute broadcast I delivered last June over radio station WBAI. I shall be glad to mail a copy to anyone in the United States, Canada or Mexico upon receipt of 25c to cover cost and postage. My address is: G.P.O. Box 463, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Irwin Edelman

A press for CORE

San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sirs: The San Francisco Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) . . . has carried on the fight for equality in the streets, in the courtroom and at the conference table; it has signed dozens of agreements opening up hundreds of jobs for members of minority groups; it has succeeded in desegregating many of the large rental agencies of this city. . . .

The Public Relations Committee of our chapter is presently engaged in a campaign to raise funds to purchase an offset printing press. Faced, for the most part, with an actively hostile press, the S. F. Chapter urgently needs the means to print and publish. . . .

Checks should be made out to Public Relations Committee, S. F. CORE, and sent to San Francisco CORE, 1686 O'Farrell St., San Francisco, Calif. We will also welcome any donations of graphic arts equipment—T squares, a light table, ortho film, Artype, Phototype, etc. We are even equipped to receive a used press!

Mark Hansen
Public Relations Committee
S. F. CORE

THE
NATION

Monday, December 28, 1964
Volume 199, No. 21

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EDITORIALS

The Pause

Conferring in Paris on the ills of NATO, Secretary McNamara revealed that the United States and the Soviet Union already possess nuclear capacity to inflict 100 million casualties on each other in the event of war. "He indicated," the reporter writes, "he did not see much need to improve on this." To assure the Europeans that they are not being neglected, Mr. McNamara pointed to 800 U.S. intercontinental missiles targeted against the Soviet bloc; 300 Polaris missiles especially reserved for use by NATO, and hundreds of B-52 and medium bombers held in readiness for the "sole defense" of European cities and installations. If weapons bestow security, these are surely enough to quiet the apprehensions of the most nervous Europeans and Americans.

The Russians appear to be calm, too, despite their manifest inferiority in nuclear arms. According to a Washington *Star* roundup by Richard Fryklund, based in part on an analysis by Thomas W. Wolfe of the RAND Corporation, the United States now has a four-to-one lead in ICBMs, a ten-to-one lead in long-range bombers, a two-to-one edge in numbers of submarine-launched nuclear missiles. The Soviets are not trying to catch up. Why not?

The answer to that question reveals a great deal about the armaments race and presents an opportunity that may not recur. Broadly, American capitalism, operating under a permanent or at least long-term war economy, has demonstrated far greater productive capacity, in weapons and almost everything else, than has Soviet communism. Under these conditions, the Soviets are not in a position to close the military gap and at the same time meet the rising expectations of their people. They are far from impotent militarily—100 million dead or disabled Americans is not a negligible stake in the deterrence game. But is there really need for more? With the most intensive effort, Russia would need a long time to catch up, and would incur serious domestic risks in doing so. Meanwhile, the Americans could always redouble their efforts and keep the upper hand.

Nor are the American leaders inclined to press their advantage. The point of diminishing returns has been reached for both sides. In the White House, in the Pentagon, even among the more level-headed arms suppliers, the opinion is gaining acceptance that no one is going to start an all-out war deliberately. The chances of accidental nuclear war are also regarded as technologically remote. Both sides will exert local non-nuclear pressures in one place or another, but each regards the other's nuclear armaments with wholesome respect.

The area in which the armaments race will continue is research and development. But while the pause in the production of existing weapons continues, there is a chance to slacken hostility and improve the international atmosphere generally. If the Soviet Union and the United States take advantage of this opportunity, the *détente* may be extended even to the laboratory, and research eventually diverted to ends that serve life.

Speaking Out

In the November 2 *Nation* Chandler Davidson commented on the contrast between French reaction to the atrocities perpetrated by the French military in Algeria, and "the strange silence of Americans faced by similar brutalities" in South Vietnam ("America's Dirty War"). The fact is, however, that the French were silent for a long time. The spectacle of one's own countrymen engaging in atrocities in an effort to win an atrocious war is so unpleasant that people avert their eyes as long as they can. But now Americans are beginning to take a hard look at the situation in Vietnam, to feel disgust and horror and to speak out.

There is only one way to end the atrocities and the routine deaths in combat, and that is to end the war. The voices must grow louder and louder, more and more people must join in, until finally the Johnson Administration is forced to listen. An example of how to do it comes from the University of Pennsylvania, where seventy faculty members and 200 students signed an open letter to the President urging him to initiate steps toward a negotiated settlement.

In New York a call has been issued for a negotiated peace by a group including Dorothy Day, head of the Catholic Worker movement for many years; Bayard Rustin; Dagmar Wilson; Lewis Mumford; Father Dan Berrigan, S.J., and other members of the Catholic and Protestant Episcopal clergy. This group seeks to give "a public voice to the conscience of America."

Gen. Maxwell Taylor has practically admitted that military victory cannot be achieved, either by continuing operations in South Vietnam with increasingly disaffected government troops, or by extending the war to North Vietnam. The latter course is being taken in a tentative way, by operations against the Vietcong supply routes through Laos. But the importance of North Vietnamese aid to the Vietcong is grossly exaggerated in official U.S. and South Vietnamese reporting, since the one crucial fact that must be kept from the American people is that we have intervened in a civil war.

The French artists and intellectuals were largely responsible for ending the war in Algeria, but President Johnson need not fear that he would lack popular support if he took steps to act as sensibly in Vietnam as General de Gaulle did in Algeria. The latest Gallup poll shows that 50 per cent of those interrogated, or 60 per cent of those who had an opinion, felt we are handling affairs in Vietnam badly. It is time for Mr. Johnson to show leadership and make a determined effort to end a futile, squalid conflict.

Alexander Meiklejohn

His influence was even greater than his achievements. The achievements—as educator, as social philosopher, as theorist of freedom and democracy—were deeply impressive, but his influence was incalculable. Through students and colleagues whose lives and outlook had been transformed by their association with him, his influence radiated outward in ever-widening circles. His intelligence—his capacity to illuminate—was incandescent. Well before the domestic witch hunt that accompanied the cold war got under way, he had foreseen that it would strike us and why. *What Does America Mean?*, published in 1935 by W. W. Norton, is one of the great testaments of American freedom.

Our frontier experience, he argued, had blinded us to the distinction between freedom and independence (Senator Goldwater please note), and this confusion kept us from acknowledging that we love freedom more than anything else. Our commitment is to freedom, not to independence; freedom implies an obligation to respect the freedom of others; independence is self-assertion. Because of this failure of insight, "there has come upon us, in recent years, a vivid sense of having been disloyal to our own purposes. In many ways we are obsessed by the fear of having betrayed ourselves."

The capacity to make distinctions of this sort was typical of his way of examining what appeared to be the insoluble dilemmas of democracy. The teacher's responsibility, he once wrote, had two aspects: "responsible for" and "responsible to." The teacher is responsible for the students, not to them. He is responsible on behalf of parents, but not to them. No teacher worth his salt would ever agree that the success or failure of his teaching was to be judged by what parents thought of it. Nor was the teacher responsible to the public. "More than anything else," he wrote, "the public interest of a democracy demands that its learning and teaching shall be free, shall not be subject to popular pressure or review. . . . No democracy can afford to have either its courts or its learning subject to its own whims, its caprices, its ignorance, or even its common sense." To whom, then, is the teacher responsible? "As against the truth which scholars have there is the truth for which they strive." It is rarely achieved but ". . . somehow in the very nature of the world itself there is a meaning which we seek, a meaning which is there whether we find it or not. That meaning is the final standard of our work, the measure of all we do or hope to do or fail to do. To it we are responsible."

Alexander Meiklejohn was an American idealist in whose presence "realists" and "pragmatists" seemed shortsighted and naive. His courage was intellectually and morally exhilarating. At a time when other philosophers were cashing in on the cold war by hedging their commitments to freedom, he proudly reaffirmed his commitment and thereby gave courage to the legion of the faint-of-heart. At 92, frail but indomitable, he was active in the campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Last December, President Johnson awarded him the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor; for once the right honor was given to the right man.

Dangers of Hairsplitting

The nuclear tests which the French announce they will conduct in the atmosphere over Mururoa atoll, about 775 miles southeast of Tahiti [see editorial, *The Nation*, July 27] is already involving the U.S. State Department in a rain of political fallout.

John W. Finney reported in *The New York Times* (December 6) how the embarrassment arose. A clause in the test-ban treaty which was signed by a hundred-odd nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, but not including France, specifies that the signatories will "refrain from causing, encouraging or in any way participating in the carrying out of any nuclear weapons explosion" in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space. Last August, the French requested permission for one of their military transports said to be carrying "naval stores" from France to Tahiti, to land in the United States for refueling. The Atomic Energy Act interdicts the transport of foreign-owned fissionable materials over our territory, but the French gave assurances that the cargo did not include such items. The State Department, eager to avoid further French-American exacerbation, did not probe further into the nature of the "naval stores," and does not to this day know whether they were for use in connection with the forthcoming test. Transit rights were granted.

Basing the decision on the domestic atomic energy law rather than on the international obligations of the test-ban treaty was an obvious piece of legal legerdemain. In plain English or French, by giving transit rights and providing fuel to an aircraft on such a mission, the United States may well have encouraged and participated in the carrying out of a forthcoming nuclear explosion in the atmosphere. In good faith, the signatories to the test-ban treaty should, so far as lies in their power, discourage tests in the atmosphere by non-signatories. If the Soviets did what we did, we should be deeply angered.

We were less permissive in a case of another sort. The French were having technical troubles with their gaseous diffusion process for producing enriched uranium. This method, originated at Oak Ridge, involves pumping a uranium gas through a porous barrier in several thousand successive stages. Any appreciable leakage is fatal. The French bought sealing devices from a Philadelphia manufacturer who had developed them privately. The Atomic Energy Commission, in line with the policy of discouraging N-power proliferation, imposed government secrecy on the devices, thus stopping their exportation. That was a few years ago, before the signing of the test-ban treaty. Now there is the more reason for not giving assistance in the Mururoa project, which everyone in the area but the French looks on with disfavor.

Journey to Understanding

FOUR WITNESSES TO A MISSISSIPPI SUMMER

Introduction . . . . Howard Zinn

Neither a small army of newspaper correspondents, nor all the power of the electronic mass media, has been able to convey to the country at large the reality of Mississippi. Perhaps our senses have been bludgeoned in this century by too many images; fact and fiction have become indistinguishable, and now even the starkest horrors are only scenes in a global theatre of the absurd.

So it was not only desperation, but genius, that inspired the Mississippi civil rights workers a year ago to call for help from Northern ministers, lawyers, doctors, students, teachers, laborers. Their arrival last summer meant that a line of 1,000 people would begin moving back and forth across that desert of indifference (or worse: token concern) which has always separated the rest of the nation from the Deep South. Now—except for the 150 who insisted on staying—they are back North, creating little circles of unrest wherever they move, trying to communicate, as only one living being can to another in the freshness of his own astonishment, what it was like to be in Mississippi.

Those of us who have spent some time in that state return in turmoil and in awe. It is a place that stretches ceilings to their limits. There, in one place, you find the worst and the best of this nation: malevolence matched by courage, life confronting death. What one feels most is not despair, however, but indignation, because Mississippi, unlike South Africa, is part of a nation that professes liberty. Someone returning from Hell might want to convey to the world, not the nature of the Devil, which is already known, but the fact that what he endured took place within sight of God. Those home from Mississippi try to explain to their friends why it is not enough to belabor the warped officialdom of that state and its murderous deputies, and why the citizenry must press the point of moral responsibility hardest against those in the nation who have both the knowledge of right and wrong, and the power to change the situation. That means the President of the United States and the Department of Justice. There is too little outrage in the country to waste it on less than the federal government which, tomorrow, in all legality, could begin to transform the state of Mississippi as a model of purposeful social change.

In some ways, we ought to be grateful for Mississippi. A nation needs to look at itself in the most revealing of mirrors, and Mississippi is just that for the United States—not an oddity in a glass case, but a particularly ugly reflection of the rest of the country. Because of this, the sojourn there of 1,000 Northerners could have a special value. Prodded by what they saw, they now might begin to look with new vision into the mississippian crevices back home: into the back rooms of police stations, the municipal courts and the jails, the ghettos, the factories, the unemployment offices.

Rousseau once wrote: "We have physicists, geometricians, chemists, astronomers, poets, musicians, and painters in plenty, but we have no longer a citizen among us."

Who could have dreamed up a better plan to destroy popular government than to divide us all into self-sealing occupational groups and professional societies, each diverting civic energy to its own narrow end? But last summer some uncommon common purpose brought to various Negro communities in Mississippi a New York lawyer, a California carpenter, a Southern white minister, a Negro physician, a Yale philosopher. If we keep rubbing away at the traditional lines that divide us, we may yet build a body of citizens in America powerful enough to make democracy work.

Howard Zinn is the author of The Southern Mystique *(Knopf) and* SNCC: The New Abolitionists *(Beacon).*

The Lawyer . . . . . William M. Kunstler

It is impossible for one man to analyze the feelings of others in a given situation. As one of the many lawyers who spent part of the climactic summer of '64 in Mississippi, I can speak only in the most subjective terms. I hope, though, that from my personal experience I can strike chords common to those members of the bar who, like myself, found that being a civil rights lawyer was much more than knowing statutes or understanding precedents.

Recently, I was exchanging views with one of the many young lawyers who had volunteered to serve in Mississippi. "I didn't get a chance to practice much law," he said, "but I never felt more like a lawyer in my life."

In a phrase, this probably best expresses the feelings of every out-of-state attorney who responded to the call of the National Lawyers Guild and the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee for legal help for the Council of Federated Organizations last summer. The opportunity to participate usefully in a profound social revolution more than made up for the limited access to its courts permitted by the state of Mississippi. And no lawyers ever had finer clients than the hundreds

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In all reason, the practice of law in Mississippi should have been depressing. Lawyers look upon the courts with a respect born out of centuries of the common law, and it came as a bitter surprise that the judicial system of the Magnolia State is quite unable to be impartial in cases involving Negroes. Prisoners of the system, its judges and jurors are not free, in the context of race, to apply the law without fear or favor. The result is a total perversion of justice.

Yet despite the obvious hopelessness of every such case in which I was involved I found that, far from becoming morose, I was moved and exhilarated. The judge who valued his membership in the White Citizens Council more than he did his oath of office, the frankly prejudiced jurors, the openly hostile court attendants—none of them really counted because they were only temporary barriers on a broad highway that led inevitably to the triumph of morality. To survive as a human being, one had only to look beyond them to the road ahead.

But it took me some time to attain this spiritual resilience. In August of 1961, as I waited for the jury in the first Freedom Rider case to return its verdict, I was certain that it could not find a man guilty of breaching the peace who had done nothing more criminal than quietly ride a bus. I can still remember the paralyzing shock I felt when that all-white jury, in violation of every concept of American jurisprudence, arrived at a decision in which racism overrode the Constitution of the United States.

Three years later, I had come to realize that victories were not always triumphs, that a state of mind could mean more than a jury verdict. This ability to surmount "what is" by contemplating "what shall be" is, I am sure, the result of a metamorphosis that had taken place in me, both as a lawyer and as a man.

But Mississippi has done more than implant in me some philosophical shock absorbers. It has taught me that, to be a surrogate to the movement, one has to be a member of it in every sense of the word. In other words, the lawyer no more and no less than the Freedom School teacher or the voter-registration canvasser, possesses a skill which must be put to use in pursuit of the mutual goal.

In private practice, the lawyer is a detached being who views the conflicts that swirl about him as laboratory problems to be solved by the arts of his ancient profession. He is the ringmaster who, by the toot of his whistle or the snap of his whip, brings order out of chaos. For this performance, he expects and receives recognition in the form of money and prestige.

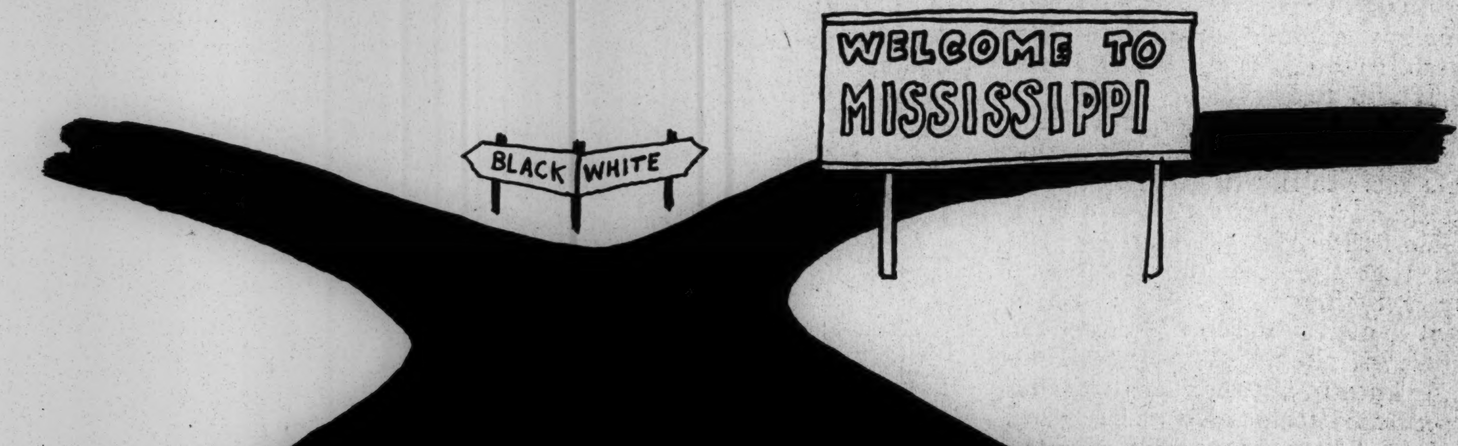
But the movement lawyer, once he has acclimated himself to the demands and dimensions of his new practice, sees a horizon utterly different from the one that defined his activities back in New York City or Chicago. He is activated, not by the promise of fame and fortune, but by the sharing of a common cause with those he represents.

The transformation does not come overnight. I can still recall with shame my earnest recommendation to a brother attorney during the Freedom Rider trials that he not address our clients at a mass meeting. "A lawyer must remain aloof," I told him. "If we become emotionally involved in our clients' problems we will not be able to be dispassionate courtroom advocates."

Three years later I realized that I was playing a fool's game and that my advice was worse than worthless. No member of a great social movement can remain untouched by the forces that drive it. When Clarence Darrow left his lucrative job as general counsel to the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad to defend Debs and his American Railway Union, his resignation was testimony that attorneys who would serve humanity rather than individual clients must do so with their hearts as well as their heads.

There is, of course, more to lawyering in Mississippi than exultation. The need to adapt legal principles, which are hardly geared to urgency, to the swiftly moving panorama of COFO activities was a most compelling challenge. The dynamics required to meet arrests in McComb, an injunction in Belzoni and a rash of unjustified traffic offenses in Greenwood, all occurring within hours of one another, confound prior experience.

Yet lawyers who had known only the leisurely pace of commercial practice quickly accustomed themselves to an emergency program of legal assistance. I can remember sitting in a Negro restaurant in



Jackson one evening as the various attorneys came in from the field. Their vivid tales of drawing writs of *habeas corpus* in speeding cars, or of roaming through the back roads in search of Negro property owners willing to go bond, were the measure of their transformation.

Mississippi in the summer of 1964 was the catalyst of a growing awareness that the law does not exist in a vacuum but is grounded in life. The young men and women who offered their bodies as a witness to the attainability of a just society shamed the American bar into standing beside them. For generations lawyers had looked aside while Negroes in the Deep South had been systematically dehumanized. All in the name of the law, black men had been driven away from the polls, segregated out of community life, forced back into a slavery every bit as intense as that which had theoretically been lifted from them 100 years earlier. Yet the legal profession uttered not one word of collective protest.

That lawyers should have ignored the plight of the Negro is the bitterest of paradoxes, for lawyers have a special obligation to create and preserve the equality on which our entire system of jurisprudence is expressly founded. On courthouse friezes across the land is engraved some form of the motto: "Equal Justice Under Law."

The law did not change in Mississippi last summer, but the lawyers who journeyed there did. All of us, suddenly and starkly conscious that we had failed in one way or another to live up to the solemn responsibilities of our profession, were grateful for the chance to justify our existences. What had started out as an adventure for many of us had abruptly changed into the lesson of our lives.

When I reflect today on my own involvement, I do not think of the courtrooms, the clerks' offices or the judges' chambers. I think of the young college girl manning the Jackson end of the WATS telephone line which brought news, good and bad, from the projects in the field. Or of the California carpenter pounding nails into the roof of a half-finished community center in Mileston. Or of the law student from New York being beaten to the ground by a Philadelphia ruffian.

I no longer know where the movement ends and the law begins. In fact, for me now there is no significant dividing line. The movement has given my life heightened meaning and purpose. In return, I have put at its disposal all the energies I possess. I hope that the exchange is not too greatly in my favor.

The Minister . . . Beverly Allen Asbury

Hundreds of clergymen of every faith have been to Mississippi in the past year. Almost all of them tell the same story, and I assume that, speaking for myself, I speak for many of them as well. However, I do not want to write about Mississippi; I want, rather, to tell what happened to me as a result of going to Mississippi. And before doing that, I must relate something of what was involved in my going.

Speaking before groups in recent months about my experiences in Mississippi, I have often started by presenting a "set of credentials." These have nothing to do with the experience itself but they bear significantly on my reasons for going, and they influenced my reactions when I returned North. I was born in Georgia and educated in the public schools there and at the state university. My family accepted segregation and taught their children to accept it. The training was more by attitude and act than by word. While most of the members of my family could be called "moderates," there was never any doubt that they felt segregation to be the proper system for the South. We had a Negro maid, a Negro cook, a Negro yard keeper; we even had occasional Negro playmates, until we went into the first grade. In our middle-class family we learned courtesy and politeness, but we never questioned our superiority to anyone of dark skin.

Once we were in school, we seldom saw Negroes of our own age. The only ones with whom I had contact were the servants around our home and the employees in my father's business. It now seems incongruous that we were able to love (within limits) those whom we knew personally, yet despise all those whom we did not know; but when I lived in this segregated system, I accepted it and believed in it—insofar as I thought about it at all.

My ideas began to change soon after I entered the University of Georgia. World War II had just ended and the place was overflowing with veterans. Those were unusual college days, and movements and organizations in the entire South were undergoing their first great changes in generations. Almost by accident, I became involved in the Student Christian Movement and, as a freshman, was invited to attend a conference in Atlanta where certain aspects of student Christian life across the South would be reorganized. When we arrived in Atlanta, we went to Morehouse College, and I mark my arrival there as the beginning of my slow evolution to a new life and a new perspective.

At this outstanding Negro college, I encountered Negro youths of my own age. I was assigned a room with two Negro students, and found that they were as intelligent, as human, as concerned as I. In a matter of hours, many of the stereotypes and fears of the segregated society collapsed. The water in their drinking fountains was like the water in fountains marked "white"; I caught no diseases using their toilets.

The agenda at Atlanta had to do with desegregation of the Student Christian Movement over the South. The conference introduced and educated me to the aspirations of the Southern Negroes of the postwar generation. The logic of their position and the appeal of their convictions seemed to me nothing less than what Christianity required.

Other things over the next few years altered my thinking. In junior year, I entered the Junior Orations and advocated the admission of Negro students to the University of Georgia—ten or twelve years before such an admission actually took place. During those same years it seemed to me, as it does now, that the church is one of the key institutions that must work to further the ends of social justice and human brotherhood. Despite what some of my Southern friends choose to think, my convictions in this regard were formed before I

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ever attended Yale Divinity School. In other words, when I left the South for the first time, I had already become an "integrationist."

The first three and a half years of my ministry were spent in a small town in eastern North Carolina. My relationship with the people in that community was good, although they knew my views. However, after the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and its implementation in 1955, things became more difficult, especially when several of us "younger ministers" openly advocated compliance with the desegregation decision. For a number of reasons, I finally felt called upon to move to Missouri in 1956. I say all this simply to establish the point that what I believe I have believed in the South; that what I speak I have spoken in the South; that what I practice I have practiced in the South. I still love the South. I respect and admire many of my friends who are in the South and who minister there under constant pressure and harassment. I have never felt that a Christian could do other than love those who through segregation deny love to others. However, as a Christian, as an American and as one raised in the South, I feel that the South is profoundly wrong in its racism, and that its racism has distorted the Christian message both in the life of the church and in society at large. I am no longer able to live and work in the South if it means soft-pedaling these convictions.

I have been outside the Deep South for the past eight years, first in Missouri and now in Ohio, and working for racial justice wherever I've been. As president of the Ministerial Alliance in a St. Louis suburb, I worked with other ministers and with CORE to achieve the desegregation of restaurants and public facilities in that community of 30,000. Last winter, when the United Presbyterian Church's Commission on Religion and Race became involved in Hattiesburg, Miss., an official of the denomination asked me if some of the ministers in Ohio would visit Mississippi to show our church's ongoing concern for the rights of all men. Another minister and I decided to go, as representatives of our Synod and our denomination. The Presbytery of Wooster, of which I am a member, acted through its General Council to support my decision and to stand ready with bond money if I were jailed. I had not expected such action, but it was a great support when our turn came to leave for Hattiesburg at the end of February.

This was a journey into a strange land which was not so strange after all. It was *not* strange because it was where I had been born, raised and educated. It *was* strange because, psychologically, morally and theologically, it stands at the opposite pole from where I now live. This land strikes one as strange because the only song one hears is for a war that was lost, for a day that is gone (if it ever existed), for a people who have died (if they ever lived). This land hopes to share in the prosperity and progress of a great and powerful nation, but it becomes foreign soil when it rejects the consensus of understanding of freedom, justice and fair play. This land threatens and intimidates; its ideology is fixed, and it closes out anyone who would dissent. The land that gave me life, I suddenly saw, would reach out and take that life away—for the sole reason that I was a traitor to the "holy cause of segregation."

The trip into this land reopened the past for me. I saw more clearly than I had in a number of years how the orthodoxy of segregation twists and perverts the minds of its young. I saw how the militancy of the armies of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council silences or crushes those who dare to raise a voice of opposition. I witnessed again the easy acquiescence of the clergy in a pattern which they dared not challenge lest they sacrifice their "world." Much more significantly for me, for the first time I stayed in what we were taught as children to call "nigger town." I found that among the Negro people there were voices of dissent which echoed the voices that had come from within me in my later experiences of the South.

And as I walked around the Forrest County Courthouse in Hattiesburg, I found two symbols. One was the Confederate monument, the Forrest County pillar of salt, the spirit of segregation, stale, static and lifeless. But in the middle of that lawn was also the American flag, at first tattered and torn, but later in the week replaced by a new Stars and Stripes, representing for the Negro people of that community, more certainly than the crosses on the white churches just a few blocks away, the hope of the future for themselves and their children. At night, I discovered in church the real meaning of the Christian gospel—not in the white churches (if there be such a thing), but in the Negro churches, in the churches no "self-respecting" Hattiesburg white man would dare to visit. But if he dared, he might have found there, as I did, the genuine humanity which the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ discloses. Perhaps the Old Testament stories of Moses would have taken new meaning for him as they did for me when the people sang, *Set My People Free!*

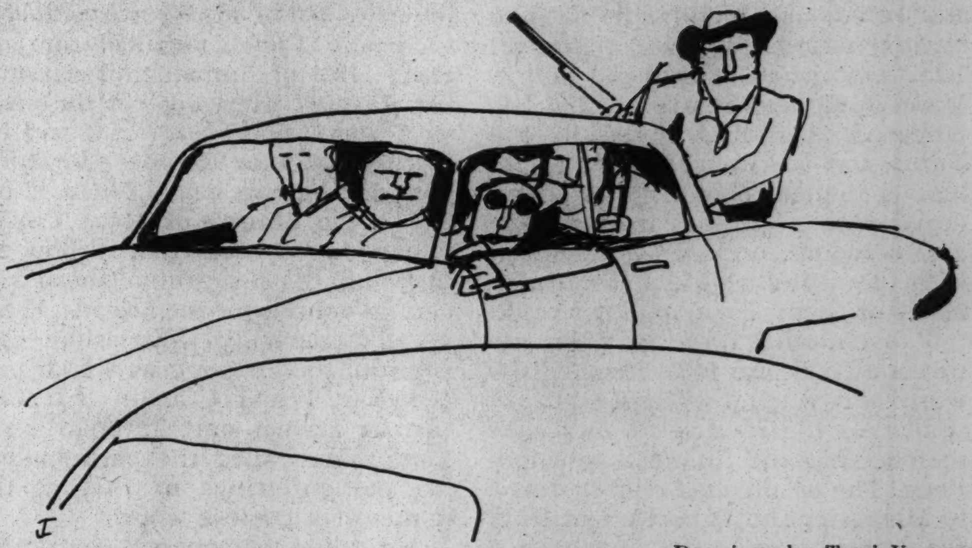
As I heard the Negro people of Hattiesburg talk and sing, I went through an experience not unlike the one at Morehouse College some eighteen years earlier. This time it was not a matter of breaking down stereotypes and beginning to build convictions. Rather, it was an opportunity to put new personal content into already expressed convictions in word and action. It was an opportunity to come back and talk to students and adults throughout Ohio about what was going on in a section of our land. It was a time to remind Christians that there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all."

If I had ever felt that those going into the South to witness for racial justice were "outside agitators," I felt that way no longer. While I had the "credentials" to speak as a "Southerner," I knew that one did not need them to have the right to speak. I cannot accept the notion of anyone's being an "outsider." Anyone who allows that label to deter his involvement must face the question posed by Father Ricardo Fontana in Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy*: "Let us admit at last; these flames are also *our* trial by fire! Who will, in times to come, respect us still as moral arbiters if in *this* time, we fail so miserably?" That is the question that must be asked as Mississippi churches burn.

After coming back from a week in Mississippi, I was, and continue to be, invited to speak before a great number of groups, both inside and outside the church. I've encountered some hostility, but overwhelmingly the attitude has been an open-minded interest and eagerness to learn. Some of my friends and acquaintances in the South have criticized me because I was willing to go back, but seemingly unwilling to go back to live. But many here in this college community feel that I represented them in an important witness. Since March, a large number of Ohio clergymen have made trips, and now almost every area of our state has been represented in Hattiesburg, Jackson, McComb, Canton and elsewhere. Students from Wooster, Oberlin and many other colleges went to Mississippi for the Council of Confederated Organizations' Summer Project. Professors and ministers from this area have come back deeply impressed and have joined in the local witness to the cause of human rights. Together, we are creating a new climate of concern, compassion and commitment. We find that many people are moved because our words have been backed up by our actions. And the interest we arouse is being translated, not only into new forms of action in the South, but into new dialogues in our own cities and churches.

All this has affected me in a good many ways. First, by going to Mississippi I have become more involved in the activities for racial justice in the state of Ohio. I have taken a more active and leading role within the cities of our Presbytery and in developing a Presbytery program which is well under way and producing good results. I have become better trained in the problems of and possibilities for residential desegregation and fair housing. I have found new friends, new allies, and I have discovered the effective centers of opposition to an open and equitable society. I know anew that changes do not occur unless you organize to create the conditions for change. Through membership on the new Ohio Synod Commission on Religion and Race I have met leaders of both races from every area of the state, and together we find that what we discovered about our nation, our faith, our churches and ourselves by going to Mississippi helps bind us together in a new commitment and understanding here.

Second, I find that something important has happened in the life of the congregation I serve and the campus to which I minister as a result of my having gone to Mississippi. And my experience has become a point of contact with those who are interested in human rights, but who for various reasons stand outside the life of the church. Before going to Mississippi, I discussed the venture with the officers of the church and with the congregation. A majority of the officers voted to support me, and stated their conviction that by taking part in this witness I was participating in a ministry of our congregation and denomination. In other words, I was given the time and the endorsement to go and to stand for them at this significant juncture in our national history. Not everyone in the church agreed with the officers, but within the church, and outside it, so many people approved what I was doing that sufficient money was contributed to offset almost all my expenses. The church has lost no members, and we seem not to have suffered financially, or in any of the other statistical ways about which so many church members seem to be concerned. On the contrary, we have discovered a deepening of our life together and a greater understanding of why the church exists and what its mission is in and to the world.



Drawings by Tomi Ungerer

Just a few weeks ago, I presented some of my concerns before a meeting of our congregation. I asked those present how they would feel if I were called upon again to represent the church in Mississippi. I told them that I had received one such call and had decided after a great deal of soul searching not to go. I went on to say that I was certain other calls would come and that I should feel the duty to respond immediately and positively to some of them. I asked how they would react if in an emergency I decided I must go without waiting to consult anyone.

Quite a few people spoke up; and some who were silent then, came to me privately later. Not one person asked me not to go South again. Rather, there was an overwhelming feeling in our church—expressed clearly and unequivocally by retired ministers and missionaries and their wives, students, faculty members and their wives, professional people from the town and others—that any such decision would be both trusted and supported. These people astounded me with their concept of the church as a community that exists for mission and *is* mission. They wanted it expressed in their pastor's life as well as in their own lives. I know now what I did not know before, that when the time comes for me to go to Mississippi again, I shall have the backing of close to 90 per cent of the congregation and the college community. So one of the things that has happened to me is to experience what I never experienced when I lived in the South—a community of support, encouragement and commitment. I have now met a people who ask not quantity of a minister's time but quality of leadership in a significant and relevant ministry.

Third, something has happened to my theological thinking as a result of the trip to Mississippi. Nearly twenty years ago at the University of Georgia I started considering the Christian ministry from a real concern for human beings. Later I found a theology to express that concern and to give it definition. Later still, perhaps, theological considerations somewhat replaced the human concern, but Mississippi brought me back to people again and helped me put the theological understanding in a new perspective. The "established" churches I saw in Mississippi, and many of the "established" churches I see in the North, can be described only as religious ghettos. They have to be endured with a great deal of fatigue and boredom, and if I were faced with the attitude which exists in so many of them, I doubt that I could "go to church." I see in them too much of a desire to evangelize the world only when it will yield a direct return to the church in increased membership and financial contributions. The established church I saw in Mississippi holds itself aloof from the world, and the established church I see in Ohio and elsewhere too often refuses to risk itself for the sake of the world.

What I saw caused me to turn, as I turned years before, to an understanding of Jesus. My present theological mood looks increasingly to this Man, the "Man-for-Others." I look to Him as the paradigm of my faith, as the one who gives Himself to suffer at the hands of a godless world precisely out of love for that world. The church must use the persuasion and power of love to bring about reconciliation at every level of human and national life. It must pay whatever the price may be to create a faithful and effective structure for the alleviation of every human need. When it becomes the Church of Jesus Christ, it can do no other than follow its Lord into the suffering of those who cannot cry out for themselves. From my experience in Mississippi and from all the experiences which preceded it, I realize again that God can be known only through what Bonhoeffer called the participation "in the sufferings of God at the hands of a godless world."

No white person can speak for the Negro, describe what he feels, or tell what he wants. I know that I don't have the "credentials" to do that. But I have the "credentials" to identify with what the Negro tells us about himself. I have the "credentials" to stand with him—as a brother. I also learned that again, by going to Mississippi. And I learned that every human being has those "credentials." It is just that he must use them.

The Educator . . . Richard J. Bernstein

In the early fifties, when I started teaching at Yale, there was a general uneasiness among the politically liberal members of the faculty. The lament at that time centered upon the state of mind of the students. They seemed intimidated by, or indifferent to, the poisoned atmosphere created by McCarthy, they were "out for themselves," lacked a developed social conscience, were without a cause. Many of the liberal teachers — the attitude was characteristic of campuses throughout the country—were nostalgic for the thirties. That had been a time of heated political discussion, with students in the thick of radical movements. Why wasn't this generation of students more like what we had been (or like what we conceived ourselves to have been)?

There was an element of bad faith in this pose. Besides romanticizing and exaggerating the effectiveness of the radical past, it betrayed an unwillingness and inability to come to grips with new political realities. It was a time when liberals, of whatever generation, were seized by political impotence. They talked about the ills of modern society and were vociferous in decrying the forms of alienation and estrangement, but when it came down to what to do, they offered few concrete proposals.

In the decade since then, the outlook of American youth has changed dramatically. Out of a generation that never knew the depression, out of a generation nurtured on the myth of American affluence, has emerged a group sensitive to social injustice, committed to do something about it, and with a good practical sense of what must be done. I believe that the influence of this group is far greater than its numbers, and that their activity is reeducating America, reawakening our social conscience, and most important, pointing the way toward effective social action. It is from this perspective that we can begin to appreciate the value of the Mississippi Summer Project.

The situation in Mississippi last summer was fully reported, but the press did a good deal to distort what actually took place. The incidents judged noteworthy were those of violence and intimidation. In part, the Council of Federated Organizations was also responsible for playing up this aspect of the situation. Violence is nothing new in Mississippi, but for the first time the national spotlight was focused on it. However, the real heart of the project hardly ever hit the news; that was the day-to-day interaction between COFO workers and the Negro community working together for a common cause. Furthermore, the significance of the experience for the doctors, ministers, lawyers and others who went to participate, or just to see the project in operation, cannot be underestimated. My few days in Mississippi last summer were among the most intense, vital and meaningful in my life. And my experience was certainly not unique. Almost everyone I have met who spent some time in Mississippi, no matter how brief, came away with a similar feeling. This project did as much for the participants as for civil rights. It re-educated us about what civil rights really are. And through those who participated and observed, the spirit of the project is spreading across the country.

Many of us, even those who have been most sympathetic to the civil rights movement, have had their doubts about the value of such activities as the Mississippi Summer Project. First, there have been questions about the response of the Negro community itself. We may not accept the "official" Mississippi position that the Negroes are basically content with their lot and that all the trouble is being stirred up by outside agitators, but there is a more sophisticated version of the same argument. After all, isn't it true that the Negroes of Mississippi have been so intimidated that they lack the necessary consciousness and drive to achieve genuine freedom and equal rights? Isn't it true that a "slave mentality" still prevails among these Negroes, and that the hard-core leadership in COFO, especially SNCC, is responsible for the agitation? Of course, there is a determined, aggressive and militant leadership among Negro youth and without it little would have been achieved. But the most impressive

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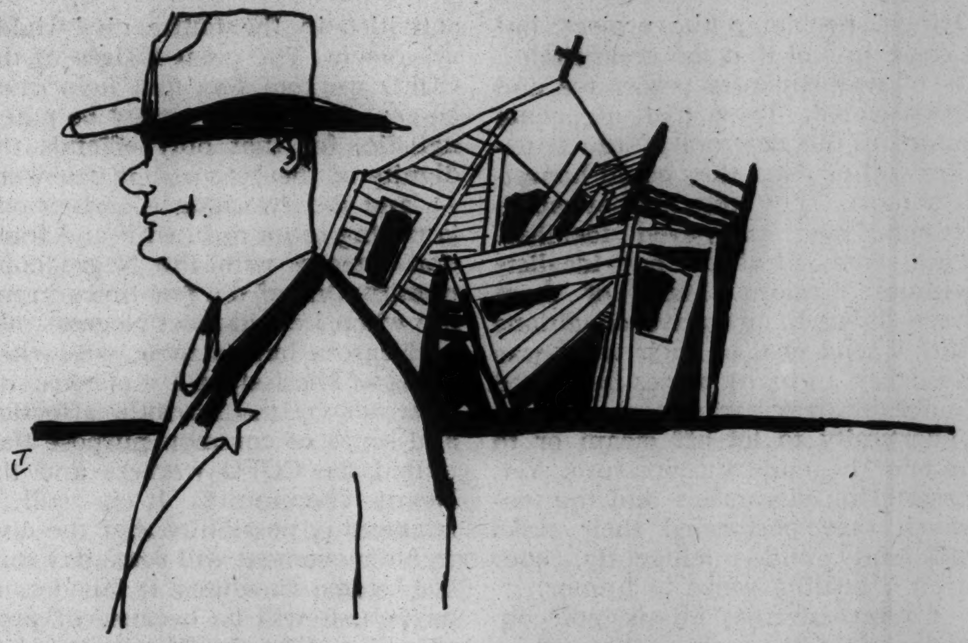
Richard J. Bernstein teaches philosophy at Yale University.

accomplishment of the summer was the positive response of the Negro community in its entirety. The so-called uneducated Negroes whom I met were articulate, self-respecting and courageous. Many spoke of democracy, freedom and rights in a far more meaningful and vital way than the cliché-ridden talk so characteristic of our political discourse. One couldn't help feeling that these Negroes, who have been systematically denied the benefits of the democratic community, had an astonishingly acute grasp of the meaning of democracy and the ideals on which this country was founded.

True, the COFO workers reached only a small segment of the Negro population, but the numbers of those who identified with the freedom movement were constantly growing. The pattern of response was typical—it moved from initial fear, suspicion or indifference toward positive, active participation. The Mississippi project would never have gotten off the ground if the Negroes themselves had not been willing to risk their jobs, property and lives. It was they who found the churches and other buildings for the Freedom Schools and community centers, who attended the schools in the oppressive summer heat, who took the COFO workers into their homes. The courage that this required can scarcely be estimated: every Negro who became identified with the freedom movement was risking economic and physical reprisal. In Mississippi there is no sanctuary for the Negro; the "law" is not a source of protection but the chief instrument of intimidation and persecution.



Everyone who was down in Mississippi will have his own stories to illustrate what I have been saying. When I first arrived there, I was told that the best way to find out what was going on was to join in the daily activities of the COFO workers. I went to Hattiesburg where the entire project was functioning with great success (more than 600 Negroes were attending Freedom Schools and more than 4,000 were registered in the Freedom Democratic Party in a city with a total population of 40,000). Within fifteen minutes of arriving in the Hattiesburg office, I was sent out to help with voter registration. The first precinct meetings of the Mississippi FDP were to be held the next day and our task was to get last-minute registrations and to tell everybody we saw to come to the meeting. I was taken to Morningstar Baptist Church, the headquarters for Eaton precinct of Forrest County. The COFO worker in charge, a white student from California, sent me out with a 14-year-old Negro boy, one of a group of local kids who were working with COFO on the drive. At first I was a bit apprehensive (a worker had been beaten up in this neighborhood a few days before) and I wondered how my guide was going to handle the job. But when I heard him deliver his "pitch," talk about freedom and what it would mean for Negroes to vote, chide his elders when they were hesitant to sign up, I was overwhelmed by his articulateness, earnestness, native intelligence and humor. And this boy was typical of a growing number who were working in the freedom movement. Talking with him, watching him function, I realized that there is no going back in Mississippi—these adolescents simply will not accept what their parents have accepted.

After a day of voter registration, those of us who worked along with the regulars began to identify with the precinct, and we looked forward to the meeting next day. It was the culmination of weeks of work, and there was something approaching the nervousness of an "opening night" when it was called to order at 4 o'clock of a sweltering Saturday afternoon. For the COFO workers this meeting was a test of what they had achieved. It was the point, they felt strongly, at which the local Negroes had to take over. Would they show up for the meeting? Would they make a mess of it? That meeting turned out to be one of the most impressive political gatherings that I have ever attended. Following parliamentary procedures, the session opened with a benediction, a keynote address, the democratic nomination and election of a permanent chairman and secretary, and proceeded to pass resolutions and appoint delegates to attend the district meeting. As the woman who was chairman said, we were all a little nervous because this sort of thing had never been done before in Mississippi. It was the first political meeting open to everybody who wanted to come. Whenever in future I think of what democracy can mean in the concrete, the image of that meeting in Eaton precinct will come to mind.

But what about the COFO workers themselves? Who were these people who came from all over the country to work with the Negro community? Again and again, one heard from white Mississippians (who had no contact with the workers) that they were "beatniks, weirds and degenerates." Even in the North, I have heard similar appraisals. After all, weren't they in it for kicks, for a little adventure? It is important to keep in mind that a substantial proportion of the summer volunteers were not college students, but teachers and other professionals committed to the civil rights struggle. And every COFO worker in Mississippi was risking his life. There were some "fringe" people in the project, but I came to feel that the great majority of workers were perceptive and level-headed. They had an acute sense of the dangers of the situation and of what they could honestly achieve. They were neither rabble rousers nor starry-eyed idealists. They were idealists, but idealists without illusions. Many of them were living in primitive conditions and a good deal of their work was drudgery. In many places they lived under constant harassment, with no opportunity to let off steam or to escape the constant pressure. Yet, despite the discomfort and the tensions, they performed their tasks efficiently and intelligently, with even a healthy sense of humor.

I returned from Mississippi convinced that this sort of project — working directly with the Negro community in a program of self-help — is one of the most important activities in the entire civil rights movement. The great insight of the COFO workers was that help must be genuine help. It cannot be paternalistic, for that only offends the dignity of the Negroes. It can work — and it is working — when one is willing to move in with and function directly with the Negro community. One of the few times in my life when I could meet Negroes, not as Negroes but as men, was when I was in Mississippi. I was constantly struck by the warmth, affection and sense of common purpose that united the COFO workers and the Negro community. It is still a frightening possibility that the civil rights movement will some day turn blacks against whites. If this doesn't happen, it will be because of projects like that in Mississippi last summer. For many Negroes it was the first time that they had ever encountered whites who neither despised them nor intended to "save" them, but who rather respected them as persons. But one could detect even in Mississippi a difference between some of the SNCC leaders, in whom there is a great deal of bitterness for anything "white," and the adolescents who were at once more naive and more open to the friendship of the white COFO workers.

Even if one is willing to grant all this, however, there is still one more myth to be faced. Wouldn't it be better to let up, to give Southern moderates a chance to improve the local situation? Hasn't the presence of all these "outsiders" jeopardized the situation of the moderates and played into the hands of extremists? There is no doubt that the white community was annoyed and irritated by the influx of civil rights workers dur-

DREAM IN A BEAN FIELD

The authors of this letter are two Los Angeles carpenters who raised the money and contributed their skills to build a 32-x-84′ community center for Mileston, Miss., an all-Negro community that is otherwise entirely without recreational or cultural facilities. They were helped by Tom Edland, a Negro electrician from Chicago, and by the local residents.

The center is now being run by Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzi, a white couple, and by Mrs. Lewis, a retired Negro schoolteacher. It is used for movies and plays (Free Southern Theatre Group), for teen-age dances, classes for younger children, a permanent Freedom School and a health clinic run by a volunteer registered nurse from New York. As the letter mentions, there is a small library and more books are urgently needed.

This integrated project has roused the hostility of whites in the region. In addition to more serious incidents mentioned in the letter, the center is harassed in petty ways: during construction, suppliers' trucks sometimes refused to unload when they saw whites and Negroes working together. The building is equipped with a modern heating plant, but local suppliers will not deliver canned gas. On a recent visit, Mr. Osheroff installed a wood-burning stove for temporary use. The building is guarded every night by armed men, a fact well known to the whites of the region.

Mileston, Miss.
Sept. 5, 1964

Dear Friends: Please forgive us for not writing sooner. The tempo of work, the extreme heat and humidity, and general conditions of life here, have not been conducive to letter writing. But finally here we are.

In the middle of a bean field, deep in the heart of the Delta, a dream is coming true. A lovely building has arisen in the past six weeks, a sharp contrast to the adjacent church and farmhouse. The roof and outer walls are complete, and we are now working on the interior. It is already in operation: three teen-age dances have been held, and not long ago we had a county-wide Freedom meeting to which 250 people came from 20 to 30 miles away. It was a great jubilee, a source of pride and joy for all concerned.

The building has an assembly hall for 200 people, a library for 10,000 volumes, bathrooms and kitchen with running water, a medical clinic and sleeping quarters for some of the staff. Six will live there on a year-round basis.

It was hard. We suffered from heat, humidity and harassment. One of our cars was fire bombed, a dynamite bomb was exploded 30 feet from our building site. Local volunteers were threatened. But the project has become a center of community life, a beacon of hope and love, in a sea of oppression and hatred. So vital indeed, that the community has mounted an armed guard to protect the center every night. It would have brought tears of happiness to your eyes to have witnessed our Roof-Raising Ceremony, which closed with 200 people locking arms and swaying to the beautiful chant, *We Shall Overcome.* All the sweat and toil, the fear and the tension, the sleepless nights and the crudities of daily life—all paled in the bright light of love and pride which filled our hearts. What a joy!

By Southern California standards our life would seem bleak and empty. No running water, no toilets, no ordinary amusements; nothing but simple, semi-literate, down-to-earth, wonderful black people, who surround us with love and respect. We live with Hartman Turnbow, a legend in Mississippi, a real man. In May, 1963, after he attempted to register, his home was fire bombed at 3 A.M., and while his wife and daughter fought the fire with water buckets, he held off four armed men. The next day, he went to the sheriff to report the incident and was arrested for arson. He went to jail, but was finally freed on appeal. And now we share his home, his food, his courage and wisdom and his daily peril. It is a deep and vitalizing experience. He may come to Los Angeles this winter and then you will have the opportunity to share him with us.

Our deep gratitude, and that of a small host of freedom fighters for helping make our vision a reality. Soon we shall tell you all about it.

Abe Osheroff
Jim Boebel

ing the summer. But in Mississippi the moderates are intimidated by extremist elements. And there will be significant progress only when the more responsible element is willing to risk speaking out. No doubt the national publicity, the influx of COFO workers, doctors, lawyers and others has riled native white Mississippians, but it is just this sort of stimulus that will cause the more rational elements in the "closed society" to open it up. Although progress is painfully slow, it continues to be made.

Still one may ask, why all the attention on Mississippi? Don't we have race problems in our own backyards? I have never been able to see that the existence of prejudice, hypocrisy and *de facto* segregation in one's local community is an argument against participating in something like the Mississippi project. On the contrary, I think we have all learned something from Mississippi. Too often we become jaded in the face of social injustice or despair of doing anything about it. The civil rights workers have helped to arouse our sense of injustice; they have taught us that there is something that each man can and must do. Those of us who went to Mississippi returned home with a greater awareness of the need for local work and a better appraisal of what can be accomplished. And this new spirit, which is spreading across the country, is affecting attitudes toward other deeply ingrained social ills. We all owe a great debt to these civil rights workers. They have forced us to take seriously our own professed ideals about democracy, freedom and the rights of man.

The Doctor . . . . Aaron O. Wells

One evening early last June, I received an urgent call from a colleague and lifelong friend to attend a meeting, mostly of physicians, that had been called to answer a request for emergency medical aid for civil rights workers in Mississippi. The original appeal had come from persons working in the voter-registration summer project. I was unable to attend that first session, but assured my friend that I would be available for the next one.

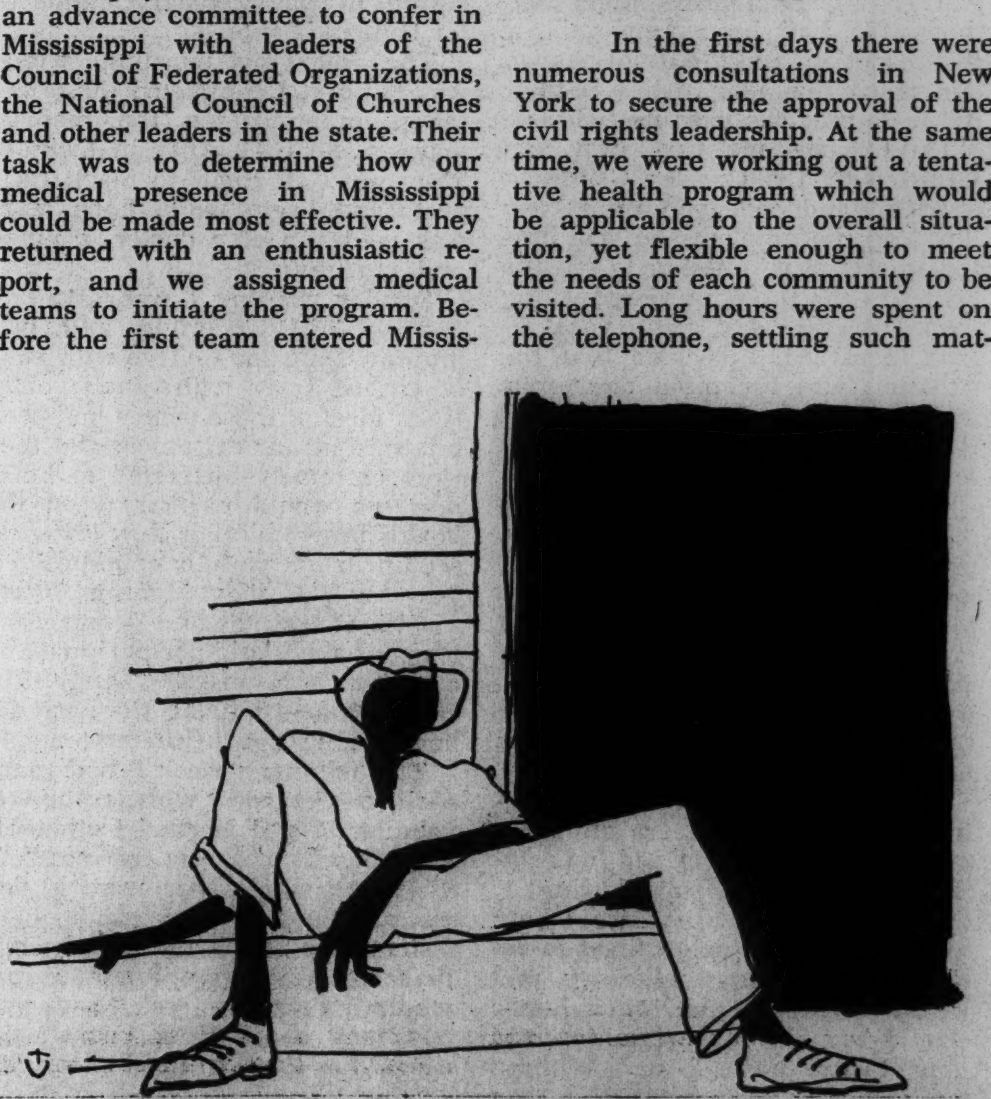
The first meeting I attended made a tremendous impression on me. I listened to determined and enthusiastic discussion from twenty to thirty persons who sought a program to meet the needs of volunteer workers. (Once in the field, it expanded to consider the health, not only of the freedom workers, but of those whom the workers had gone South to help.) A number of the participants were personally involved, in that they had sons and daughters active in the summer project. We were concerned that here again, in a situation primarily involving Negroes, Negroes were a minority of those seeking solutions to the problems. In less than a week we had decided that the request could be met, and I volunteered to serve with the group, which at that time was so new it had no name.

Four physicians were selected as an advance committee to confer in Mississippi with leaders of the Council of Federated Organizations, the National Council of Churches and other leaders in the state. Their task was to determine how our medical presence in Mississippi could be made most effective. They returned with an enthusiastic report, and we assigned medical teams to initiate the program. Before the first team entered Mississippi, this nucleus of dedicated persons found a name—the Medical Committee on Human Rights.

Looking back, I realize that I was slow to decide how I could best serve these obviously dedicated people. A woman colleague whose opinion I have always held invaluable was one of the original members, and her enthusiasm and interest influenced me. Then, too, I had asked my wife, who is a registered nurse, to represent me at an early meeting. Her immediate reaction was to enlist in the project, and soon thereafter she was in Mississippi as the nurse with a medical team.

The response of these two women forced me to consider very seriously my own level of participation. I asked myself whether financial contributions to the various civil rights organizations was sufficient. Would attendance at conferences and occasional health lectures in the context of civil rights fulfill my moral obligation to my people? I decided that these responses were not enough, that I must go to Mississippi.

In the first days there were numerous consultations in New York to secure the approval of the civil rights leadership. At the same time, we were working out a tentative health program which would be applicable to the overall situation, yet flexible enough to meet the needs of each community to be visited. Long hours were spent on the telephone, settling such mat-



Aaron O. Wells, a physician practicing in New York, is National Chairman, the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

ters as recruitment and legal advice, but this administrative detail seemed only to heighten our enthusiasm for the main job ahead.

Finally, on August 7, I boarded the plane for Jackson, Miss., assigned to the post of field coordinator for a period of two weeks. During the flight I met Dr. David Spain, the noted New York pathologist, who was going South to observe the autopsied bodies of the three civil rights workers, Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman.

Even while deep in conversation with this fascinating man, I began to grow fearful. I visualized a hostile reception at the airport, for I am a Negro and Dr. Spain is white. My anxiety increased when the stewardess announced that, due to mechanical difficulties, we would be detained in Birmingham, Ala. We were now scheduled to land in Jackson at 10:30 P.M., and it is particularly hazardous for an integrated group to travel after dark.

Dr. Spain and I registered at a newly integrated motel. Our arrival was observed with hostile glances, and we heard angry epithets. We had been prepared for this reception, and it did not change our respective plans; but neither did it do much to ease my mind.

Until early morning, we conferred with Dr. Charles Goodrich, a friend and colleague from New York, on the problems he was having to secure permission to see the bodies of the three murdered young men. Later that day, as the vocal attack increased, I decided that the situation was becoming dangerous and I moved the Negro members of the medical teams from the motel to homes in the community.

This was my first trip to the Magnolia State. I was struck by the physical beauty of the rolling, green countryside, the vast cotton plantations, varied by rotating crops of soybeans, and the ever blue sky. This physical loveliness makes more incredible the brutality which the state imposes on the mass of its impoverished people.

I was fortunate to be given lodgings by one of the Negro ministers of the community. He and his family were warmly hospitable, and it was obvious that they, like others in the area, were determined to assist the movement wherever and whenever they could. Much honor should be paid to the families who temporarily housed us. Without their courageous assistance we would have been unable to organize and develop our program as rapidly as we did. Many of our hosts have since been subjected to harassment and intimidation, but they continue to assist whenever needed.

After much conferring with local and state authorities, we were granted permission to view the bodies of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman. Our integrated team drove to the University of Mississippi, dreading the mission, and worried as to how we would be received. This was one of many times when I suspected that we were being followed, and wondered what our fate would be if the authorities decided to prevent us from reaching our destination.

I cannot speak in detail of the actual examination, which was conducted by Dr. Spain, for the sight of those dreadfully mutilated young bodies put me in a state of emotional shock. It was at this moment, though, that I resolved finally to dedicate myself to active participation in the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

The following morning, which was Sunday, I completed the orientation program for the medical teams at MCHR's office in Jackson. They were all eager to reach their posts and begin work. Each team was made up of a doctor, a nurse and a driver.

Sunday evening I was asked to discuss MCHR's origin and program at Tougaloo College with newly arrived voter registration volunteers. Most of these people had been unaware of our existence, and they were extremely interested to know how we would participate in the health programs that they hoped to set up in the various communities. They asked about immunization, nutrition, eyesight and dental problems, prenatal and postpartum care, communicable diseases and child care. No one doubted the need for health education in the state.

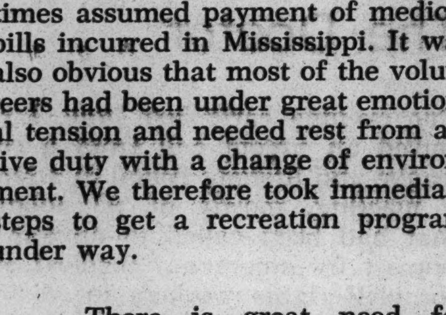
The following week I had many such conferences with groups of volunteers, and learned from them more details of the health needs in the areas where they were setting up programs. I also made daily visits to the COFO office, to be sure that the volunteers knew of our medical presence and to answer questions about their own health needs. For those in need of specific medical attention, I enlisted physicians from within the community to participate in MCHR's program, since we are not licensed to practice medicine in Mississippi.

I was able to establish good relations with the doctors in Jackson, both white and Negro. Most of them were glad to have our objectives clarified; they agreed that the group was necessary and offered to cooperate. The assistance of the National Council of Churches was also invaluable. This group had wide experience of social conditions in Mississippi, and it gave expert advice as we began to put individual health programs into operation.

We decided that a scheme of health insurance should be worked out for the civil rights workers. Most of the summer volunteers lived on extremely small budgets, and so that no one would hesitate to seek care when he needed it, we sometimes assumed payment of medical bills incurred in Mississippi. It was also obvious that most of the volunteers had been under great emotional tension and needed rest from active duty with a change of environment. We therefore took immediate steps to get a recreation program under way.

There is great need for health education in Mississippi, with emphasis on prenatal care, for the infant-mortality rate is very high. Most Negro infants are still delivered by midwives, and in many instances the mother has no one in attendance.

Since a socio-economic change is inevitable, I believe that a sound health program should be instituted for all of the impoverished citizens of the state of Mississippi. But until the obstacles are abolished that would prevent Negroes from participation in such a program, MCHR has a big role to play in the so-called Black Belt.



Notes on Burroughs

Marshall McLuhan

1. Today men's nerves surround us; they have gone outside as electrical environment. The human nervous system itself can be reprogramed biologically as readily as any radio network can alter its fare. Burroughs has dedicated *Naked Lunch* to the first proposition, and *Nova Express* (both Grove Press) to the second. *Naked Lunch* records private strategies of culture in the electric age. *Nova Express* indicates some of the "corporate" responses and adventures of the Subliminal Kid who is living in a universe which seems to be someone else's insides. Both books are a kind of engineer's report of the terrain hazards and mandatory processes which exist in the new electric environment.

2. Burroughs uses what he calls "Brion Gysin's cut-up method which I call the fold-in method." To read the daily newspaper in its entirety is to encounter the method in all its purity. Similarly, an evening watching television programs is an experience in a corporate form — an endless succession of impressions and snatches of narrative. Burroughs is unique only in that he is attempting to reproduce in prose what we accommodate every day as a commonplace aspect of life in the electric age. If the corporate life is to be rendered on paper, the method of discontinuous non-story must be employed.

3. That man provides the sexual organs of the technological world seems obvious enough to Burroughs, and such is the stage (or "biological theatre" as he calls it in *Nova Express*) for the series of social orgasms brought about by the evolutionary mutations of man and society. The logic, physical and emotional, of a world in which we have made our environment out of our own nervous systems, Burroughs follows everywhere to the peripheral orgasm of the cosmos.

4. Each technological extension involves an act of collective cannibalism. The previous environment with all its private and social values, is swallowed by the new environment and reprocessed for whatever values are digestible. Thus, Nature was succeeded by the mechanical environment and became what we call the "content" of the new industrial environment. That is, Nature became a vessel of aesthetic and spiritual values. Again and again the old environment is upgraded into an art form while the new conditions are regarded as corrupt and degrading. Artists, being experts in sensory awareness, tend to concentrate on the environmental as the challenging and dangerous situation. That is why they may seem to be "ahead of their time." Actually, they alone have the resources and temerity to live in immediate contact with the environment of their age. More timid people prefer to accept the content, the previous environment's values, as the continuing reality of their time. Our natural bias is to accept the new gimmick (automation, say) as a thing that can be accommodated in the old ethical order.

5. During the process of digestion of the old environment, man finds it expedient to anesthetize himself as much as possible. He pays as little attention to the action of the environment as the patient heeds the surgeon's scalpel. The gulping or swallowing of Nature by the machine was attended by a complete change of the ground rules of both the sensory ratios of the individual nervous system and the patterns of the social order as well. Today, when the environment has become the extension of the entire mesh of the nervous system, anesthesia numbs our bodies into hydraulic jacks.

6. Burroughs disdains the hallucinatory drugs as providing mere "content," the fantasies, dreams that money can buy. Junk (heroin) is needed to turn the human body itself into an environment that includes the universe. The central theme of *Naked Lunch* is the strategy of by-passing the new electric environment by becoming an environment oneself. The moment one achieves this environmental state all things and people are submitted to you to be processed. Whether a man takes the road of junk or the road of art, the entire world must submit to his processing. The world becomes his "content." He programs the sensory order.

7. For artists and philosophers, when a technology is new it yields Utopias. Such is Plato's *Republic* in the 5th century B. C., when phonetic writing was being established. Similarly, More's *Utopia* is written in the 16th century when the printed book had just become established. When electric technology was new and speculative, *Alice in Wonderland* came as a kind of non-Euclidean space-time Utopia, a grown-up version of which is the *Illuminations* of Rimbaud. Like Lewis Carroll, Rimbaud accepts each object as a world and the world as an object. He makes a complete break with the established procedure of putting things *into* time or space:

> *That's she, the little girl behind the rose bushes, and she's dead. The young mother, also dead, is coming down the steps. The cousin's carriage crunches the sand. The small brother (he's in India!) over there in the field of pinks, in front of the sunset. The old men they've buried upright in the wall covered with gilly-flowers.*

But when the full consequences of each new technology have been manifested in new psychic and social forms, then the anti-Utopias appear. *Naked Lunch* can be viewed as the anti-Utopia of *Illuminations*:

> *During withdrawal the addict is acutely aware of his surroundings. Sense impressions are sharpened to the point of hallucination. Familiar objects seem to stir with a writhing furtive life. The addict is subject to a barrage of sensations external and visceral.*

Or, to give a concrete example from the symbolist landscape of *Nova Express*:

> *A guard in a uniform of human skin, black buck jacket with carious yellow teeth buttons, an elastic pull-over skirt in burnished Indian copper . . . sandals from calloused foot soles of young Malayan farmer . . .*

The key to symbolist perception is in yielding the permission to objects to resonate with their *own* time and

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space. Conventional pictorial and literary perception seeks to put diverse objects into the *same* time and space. Time and space themselves are subjected to the uniform and continuous visual processing that provides us with the "connected and rational" world that is in fact only an isolated fragment of reality—the visual. There is no uniform and continuous character in the non-visual modalities of space and time. The symbolists freed themselves from visual conditions into the visionary world of the iconic and the auditory. Their art, to the visually oriented and literary man, seems haunted, magical and often incomprehensible. It is, in John Ruskin's words

> *. . . the expression, in a moment, by a series of symbols thrown together in bold and fearless connections, of truths which it would have taken a long time to express in any verbal way, and of which the connection is left for the beholder to work out for himself; the gaps, left or overleaped by the haste of the imagination, forming the grotesque character* (Modern Painters).

The art of the interval, rather than the art of the connection, is not only medieval but Oriental; above all, it is the art mode of instant electric culture.

8. There are considerable antecedents for the Burroughs attempt to read the language of the biological theatre and the motives of the Subliminal Kid. *Fleurs du Mal* is a vision of the city as the technological extension of man. Baudelaire had once intended to title the book *Les Limbes*. The vision of the city as a physiological and psychic extension of the body he experienced as a nightmare of illness and self-alienation. Wyndham Lewis, in his trilogy *The Human Age,* began with *The Childermass*. Its theme is the massacre of innocents and the rape of entire populations by the popular media of press and film. Later in *The Human Age* Lewis explores the psychic mutations of man living in "the magnetic city," the instant, electric and angelic (or diabolic) culture. Lewis views the action in a much more inclusive way than Burroughs whose world is a paradigm of a future in which there can be no spectators but only participants. All men are totally involved in the insides of all men. There is no privacy and no private parts. In a world in which we are all ingesting and digesting one another there can be no obscenity or pornography or decency. Such is the law of electric media which stretch the nerves to form a global membrane of enclosure.

9. The Burroughs diagnosis is that we can avoid the inevitable "closure" that accompanies each new technology by regarding our entire gadgetry as *junk*. Man has hopped himself up by a long series of technological fixes:

> *You are dogs on all tape. The entire planet is being developed into terminal identity and complete surrender.*

We can forego the entire legacy of Cain (the inventor of gadgets) by applying the same formula that works for *junk* —"apomorphine" extended to all technology:

> *Apomorphine is no word and no image. . . . It is simply a question of putting through an innoculation program in the very limited time that remains—Word begets image and image is virus. . . .*

Burroughs is arguing that the power of the image to beget image, and of technology to reproduce itself via human intervention, is utterly in excess of our power to control the psychic and social consequences:

> *Shut the whole thing right off.* Silence—*when you answer the machine you provide it with more recordings to be played back to your "enemies." Keep the whole nova machine running—the Chinese character for "enemy" means to be similar to or to answer—Don't answer the machine—Shut it off—*

Merely to be in the presence of any machine, or replica of our body or faculties, is to close with it. Our sensory ratios shift at once with each encounter with any fragmented extension of our

Present

The stranded gulch
below Grand Central
the gentle purr of cab tires in snow
and hidden stars
tears on the windshield
torn inexorably away in whining motion
and the dark thoughts which surround neon

in Union Square I see you for a moment
red green yellow searchlights cutting through
falling flakes, head bent to the wind
wet and frowning, melancholy, trying

I know perfectly well where you walk to
and that we'll meet in even greater darkness
later and will be warm
so our cross
of paths will not be just muddy footprints
in the morning
not like celestial bodies'
yearly passes, nothing pushes us away
from each other
even now I can lean
forward across the square and see
your surprised grey look become greener
as I wipe the city's moisture from
your face
and you shake the snow
off onto my shoulder, light as a breath
where the quarrels and vices of
estranged companions weighed so bitterly
and accidentally
before, I saw you on
the floor of my life walking slowly
that time in summer rain stranger and
nearer
to become a way of feeling
that is not painful casual or diffuse
and seems to explore some peculiar insight
of the heavens for its favorite bodies
in the mixed-up air

Frank O'Hara

being. This is a non-stop express of innovation that cannot be endured indefinitely:

> *We are just dust falls from demagnetized patterns—Show business.*

It is the medium that is the message because the medium creates an environment that is as indelible as it is lethal. To end the proliferation of lethal new environmental expression, Burroughs urges a huge collective act of restraint as well as a non-closure of sensory modes—"The biological theater of the body can bear a good deal of new program notes."

10. *Finnegans Wake* provides the closest literary precedent to Burroughs' work. From beginning to end it is occupied with the theme of "the extensions" of man—weaponry, clothing, languages, number, money and media *in toto*. Joyce works out in detail the sensory shifts involved in each extension of man, and concludes with the resounding boast:

> *The keys to. Given!*

Like Burroughs, Joyce was sure he had worked out the formula for total cultural understanding and control. The idea of art as total programing for the environment is tribal, mental, Egyptian. It is, also, an idea of art to which electric technology leads quite strongly. We live science fiction. The bomb is our environment. The bomb is of higher learning all compact, the extension division of the university. The university has become a global environment. The university now contains the commercial world, as well as the military and government establishments. To reprogram the cultures of the globe becomes as natural an undertaking as curriculum revision in a university. Since new media are new environments that reprocess psyche and society in successive ways, why not bypass instruction in fragmented subjects meant for fragmented sections of the society and reprogram the environment itself? Such is Burroughs' vision.

11. It is amusing to read reviews of Burroughs that try to classify his books as non-books or as failed science fiction. It is a little like trying to criticize the sartorial and verbal manifestations of a man who is knocking on the door to explain that flames are leaping from the roof of our home. Burroughs is not asking merit marks as a writer; he is trying to point to the shut-on button of an active and lethal environmental process.

Art Books of 1964: Part III

Lincoln Kirstein

Since the efficient staffs of the New York dailies and weeklies have already supplied their allotted, and limited, words on most of the art books advertised in their pages (and the omnibus reviews, particularly in the *Saturday Review* and the *Herald Tribune* have been unusually inclusive), the chief service *The Nation* can offer is to notice fairly unusual books, make a few nasty cracks, and praise the truly wonderful work of museum staffs in and out of New York City.

ARCHITECTURE

World Architecture: A Pictorial History, with a brief and extraordinarily cogent introduction by our most erudite, courageous and Olympian architectural historian, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, is the book of the year, and of many years to come, for the layman who wishes to compare excellent two-color plans with photographic views of great buildings on the site, in the round and in relation to the social and economic conditions which made their patronage and construction possible (good color and first-rate black and white). The editor, Trewine Copplestone, has done his work with breadth, dignity and enjoyment, and his Veronese printers, the famous house of Mondadori, paid full honor to his labors. At $17.95, this book tells an amateur of architecture (monumental building, not shelter) the basic story, and propels him on to more specialist studies.

Perhaps the most surprising architecture book of the year is *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*. Three great poet-scholars, Drs. Frederick Hartt, Gino Corti and the photographer and art historian Clarence Kennedy of Smith College have produced a capital work on a building erected (1434-1459) at San Miniato, Florence.

The Cardinal, cousin of the king and only 25 when he died, left in his will the desire for a tomb, by no means grandiose, but which in its achievement should employ harmoniously the finest architects, painters, ceramicists and sculptors of his epoch. This request gave him an almost accidental immortality by the glory which his death called into being. Rossellino's strong and elegant architecture, Baldovinetti's painted Annunciation, the altarpiece by Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo (a good copy remains in the Chapel; the original is housed elsewhere for safety), the marvelous Cosmati-work mosaic marble floor by Stefano di Bartolommeo, and the celestial ceiling in fitted polychrome ceramic by Luca della Robbia —all combined into a plan of organic splendor—make this boy-cardinal's tomb a model for makers of monuments.

When the pitiful plan for President Kennedy's tomb was announced, it had been foreseen that no solution could be a happy one; John Carl Warnecke and his associates solved the insoluble by abdicating architecture in favor of landscape gardening. "The eternal flame" was to have sprouted from a suitable piece of sculpture, but even this touch of fantasy was abandoned, since no one of sufficient prestige (or indeed of power) could be agreed upon to make a source for the flame that would be better than nothing. A backstop marble wall makes a feeble focus. Kennedy will lie in the vacuum of a mystery, which his idolators will replenish.

Jaime of Portugal, prince of the church, cousin to a king, left detailed documents (which fill a third of this book) to show how practically the fact of the Kingdom of God can be embodied by His greatest servants (in the arts) on His earth. This memorial to an obscure young man demonstrates the unlimited power of man's handi-

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Teilhard de Chardin
offers a luminous vision
based on science,
philosophy, and theology
THE FUTURE OF MAN
$5.00 at all bookstores
Harper & Row

craft in the service of an earthly perfection and a heavenly hope. Kennedy—born into the same tradition of belief, but at the liberal unraveling of it rather than at its fullest flowering—is condemned to lie on a blank hillside with neat walks.

Dr. Clarence Kennedy's photographs are the result of a lifetime of devotion to the craft of the Renaissance stonecutter. Dr. Frederick Hartt's masterful presentation and the superb documentation by Prof. Gino Corti make this an important cautionary, exemplary and beautiful study.

Only a little less beautiful is the superb study of the British sculptor in wood, Grinling Gibbons. Perhaps this book should be included under "crafts," but anyone who looks with care at the magnificent staircase from Cassiobury House, installed in the Metropolitan Museum, will recognize Gibbons' spiritual kinship as wood carver and architect to the Florentines of two centuries earlier. David Green's absolutely first-class *Grinling Gibbons: His Work As Carver and Statuary* replaces the splendid but old-fashioned Country Life monograph by H. Avray Tipping (1914). Grinling Gibbons' honey-colored miracles in soft pine show what we have lost in digital mastery; how poor we are to be satisfied by the hunks of junk that are becoming mandatory as amends for the boredom of semi-monumental office buildings.

Twentieth-Century Engineering, the inexpensive catalogue of the stupendous exhibition (installed by Wilder Green) to inaugurate the enlarged Museum of Modern Art, is an excellent permanent record of a demonstration in what our century does best. Engineering, in choices shown here (reduced, naturally; in the exhibition the blow-ups knocked your eyes out), is our monument. Lacking a Charles Follen McKim, a Richardson or a Stanford White, we still have Philip Johnson, to design the space for this great display of monumental engineering. The area was transformed a month later (also by Wilder Green) into a garden-court as the perfect frame for the bouquets of Bonnard (so well described by *The Nation's* art critic in the issue of October 26), for which the museum also provides an excellent catalogue (see below).

The Chicago School of Architecture is a specialist's history which brings the subject down to the present by presenting Mies van der Rohe and Gordon Bunshaft as the logical heirs of the prairie pioneers Adler, Sullivan, Burnham, Root and Jenney. William Le Baron Jenney, an innovator in both design and engineering, but less well known than the others, at least in the East, is shown in his considerable importance. What is most remarkable about the Chicago School, compared to equivalent work on the Atlantic seaboard, is the absence, on the one hand, of Beaux Arts heaviness, symmetricality and exhausted ornament; and, on the other, of a conceptual license that ignores previous concepts of taste and structure. Chicago turned astonishingly early to curtain walls, universal fenestration and radical building methods; but it sustained an interest in ornament that was enriching, tireless and beautiful. An example is the unfamiliar "Rookery" by Burnham and Root (1885-6) with its fantastic dome and light court; shown only a photograph, one might think it dated from twenty years later. The placement of large theatres inside several office buildings is a most valuable precedent that the present largely ignores. The photographs in this book are serviceable, the text fluent; it is cheap for its wealth of material.

Fare Thee Well is a paste-up album of historic American hotels, so charmingly presented and full of such fascinating pictures, combined with anecdotal social history, that it completely disarms one, in spite of a certain amateur archness. Those who remember the old Murray Hill, the Waldorf on the site of the Empire State Building, or Saratoga Springs before its desolation, will find here some of the richness, ingenuity, splendor and heroic scale of 19th-century dining in public.

World Architecture: A Pictorial History. Edited by Trewine Copplestone. Introduction by Henry-Russell Hitchcock. McGraw-Hill. $17.95.

The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal. By Frederick Hartt, Gino Corti, Clarence Kennedy. University of Pennsylvania Press. $25.

Grinling Gibbons: His Work as Carver and Statuary. By David Green. Country Life, Ltd. Distributed by Taplinger. 207 pp. $30.

Twentieth Century Engineering. Selected by Arthur Drexler. Museum of Modern Art. 96 pp. $2.50 paper.

The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925. By Carl W. Condit. University of Chicago Press. 238 pp., 196 illus. $8.50.

Fare Thee Well: A Backward Look at Two Centuries of Historic American Hostelries, Fashionable Spas & Seaside Resorts. By Leslie Dorsey and Janice Devine. Crown. 328 pp., 321 illus. $10.

American Architecture. Text by Thomas H. Creighton. Illustrated by Paul Spreiregen. Robert B. Luce. $1.95.

American Crafts and Folk Arts. By Erwin O. Christensen. Robert B. Luce. 90 pp. $1.95.

Athens, City of the Gods. By Angelo Procopiou. Stein & Day. 246 pp. $15.

Greek Athletes and Athletics. By H. A. Harris. Hutchinson. Distributed by British Book Center. 32 pp. 35s.

Early Greek Armour and Weapons. By Anthony Snodgrass. University of Edinburgh Press. $12.50.

Roman Art and Architecture. By Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Praeger. $7.50.

Michelangelo, the Painter. By Valerio Mariani. Arti Grafiche Ricordi (Milano). 524 pp. $110.

The Art and Thought of Michelangelo. By Charles de Tolnay. Pantheon Books. 144 pp. $7.95.

The Berenson Collection. Published under the auspices of the Italian Commission for UNESCO and the National Commission for UNESCO of the United States of America. 452 pp. $100.

Francis Bacon. Introduction by John Rothenstein. *Catalogue raisonné* and documentation by Ronald Alley. The Viking Press. 292 pp. $25.

Jacob Epstein, Sculptor. By Richard Buckle. Faber. 5 guineas.

Epstein Drawings. Introduction by Richard Buckle. Faber. 50s.

Lautrec by Lautrec. By P. Huisman and M. G. Dortu. The Viking Press. 275 pp. $30.

Bonnard And His Environment. Texts by James Thrall Soby, James Elliott and Monroe Wheeler. The Museum of Modern Art in collaboration with the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago. Distributed by Doubleday. 116 pp. $7.50 cloth, $2.95 paper.

Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter. By Franc Johnson Newcomb. University of Oklahoma Press. 227 pp. $5.95.

There is a most interesting digression to cover a first-class French hotel in a small Rocky Mountain mining village. The book is well printed in burnt orange and black and the fussiness of the typography is somehow appropriate to the neo-Baroque period of American hotel architecture.

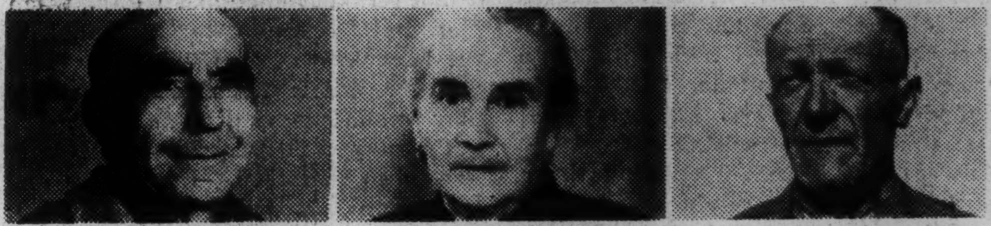
American Architecture is an inexpensive, well illustrated (by Paul Spreiregen) volume in "The America Today Series," which, with Erwin O. Christensen's excellent *American Crafts and Folk Arts*, cheerfully inaugurates a new publishing venture from the unlikely site of Washington, D.C. Creighton is an excellent architect (in Warnecke Associates); for an interested amateur there is no better introduction to American building design, principally of the last fifty years, but giving full honors to the 19th century.

Athens, City of the Gods (from prehistory to 338 B. C.) by Angelo Procopiou, is a pleasant if rather perfunctory compilation; it is not worth $15. It has good black-and-white photographs by Edwin Smith, but the color plates, which could be interesting since the whole question of Greek polychromy is so tantalizing, share the general disease of kodachrome backgrounds; the colors, against which the objects are photographed, are more important than even the shape, not to say the palette, of the objects themselves. Incidentally, there are two excellent books on Greece that either are or will be available here: *Greek Athletes and Athletics* by H. A. Harris, with an introduction by the Marquess of Exeter, chairman of the British Olympic Association (Hutchinson, London, but obtainable through the British Book Center), and *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* by Anthony Snodgrass, published superbly by the University of Edinburgh Press. If you would understand Greek sculpture and its importance to the Parthenon, and to later Greek and Roman architecture (down to our own Beaux Arts), these are two basic and unusual books. *Roman Art and Architecture* by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, an excellent addition to the Praeger World of Art Series, is a fairly inexpensive but very comprehensive, well-constructed, illustrated and presented brief history.

INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS

Now we come to the big guns, and they are *big. Michelangelo, the Painter* by Valerio Mariani weighs (on my scales) 11 pounds and is priced at $110. Apart from the fact that the color plates are poor, the paper too thick, the material available in many cheaper and better forms (notably Phaidon), the sheer massive insolence of the product is boring. On the other hand, *The Art and Thought of Michelangelo* is a book worth having. In 1948, Charles de Tolnay, probably the greatest living authority on Michelangelo, gave these four lectures at the Collège de France; they distill a lifetime of thought about Michelangelo's political opinions, his so-called philosophy (if there was a coherent system), his religious attitude, and his artistic convictions. Within very small compass he presents an enormous amount of information, not merely as generalized conclusion but with each statement supported by contemporary documents or references to late Medieval and Renaissance thinkers and writers. There is a certain (contemporary) orthodox Catholic cast to the discussion of the late works which, while it is not disturbing in context, nevertheless somewhat removes the tone from absolute objectivity into the realm of faint polemic. It is a most interesting book, somewhat marred by rather mingy plates, lack of an index, and an inconsistent policy regarding the translation of original Italian excerpts. Also, the personality of Michelangelo does not emerge. Granted that the book is specifically about his art and thought, nevertheless, politics, philosophy, religion and art could have formed a kind of negative mold within which the man would have appeared.

The Berenson Collection came to this reviewer with a letter from the press agent of the Kimberly-Dorman Corporation which manipulates the gross tonnage of the massive gift crushers from Arti Grafiche Ricordi (Milano), requesting that the book be returned because of its "valuable quality." It weighs 10¾ pounds, several ounces shy of *Michelangelo*, and is therefore modestly priced at $100. Whether you think Bernard Berenson was the Sage or the Spider of Settignano, his collection contained a very few good Italian pictures, and a great many which were of custodial interest. His "I Tatti" was a pleasant large house with a good art historian's library; good, not great. It should have been merged with the German Institute in Florence, or given to the American Academy in Rome, which lacks enough books to service the scholars who work out from this valuable center. Instead, he deeded his self-made



They deserve more than sympathy

The Spanish Republicans were among the first victims of fascism. They had the dual misfortune to lose the Civil War and be forgotten by so many who were in their debt.

Today in France there are 10,000 Spanish refugees who live (or shall we say, exist) in bleak poverty, many on old age pensions of $23 a month. Home in Spain is barred to them.

Let us not forget them at Christmas. Brighten their existence with your remembrance. They need and deserve your friendship.

SPANISH REFUGEE AID, headed by *Pablo Casals* and *Salvador de Madariaga*, is a non-profit organization that has been helping Spanish Republicans for 12 years. Your Christmas contribution can mean an order of coal, a warm coat, medical supplies, dental care. $25 will help one old person live through the hard winter. Or you can "adopt" a Spaniard and send him monthly aid. $10 a month means a lot.

"CONSCIENCE . . . ITS IMPORTANCE IS ETERNAL." *Pablo Casals*

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Here is my Christmas contribution of $______. I can adopt a Spanish refugee and send $______ a month.

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City __________ **State** ______

Contributions are tax deductible

shrine to Harvard, with insufficient funds to maintain it, and Harvard, not daring to risk the loss of prestige in refusing so churlish a gift, unwisely took it on. The chorus of apotropaic females who canonized Berenson toward the end of his life, will doubtless be made happy by this obese book, with poor reproductions and bad imitation gold, which is, nevertheless, fascinating enough as an X-ray view of the taste of this golden toad who fed off a single period of art and so magicked the taste of three generations of art historians that many American and English galleries are still paying the price. Berenson never fooled the French.

Francis Bacon, published by Viking (Studio), is a *catalogue raisonné*, with an extended "appreciation" by Ronald Alley. Bacon is a powerful artist, but as with many others whose energy goes into the development of a highly idiosyncratic style, the product tends to shrink both in shock and quality. There are two books on Jacob Epstein, the American-born Anglo-Jewish sculptor, for whom equally extravagent claims were once made. Both books are edited by Richard Buckle, the most enthusiastic, efficient, amusing and responsible of the British autodidact art historians. His massive *Jacob Epstein, Sculptor*, literally shows everything good and bad, with some fairly naive judgments. His *Epstein Drawings* is far less expensive and contains some surprisingly touching, delicate and beautiful drawings by a sculptor whom one might admire even less than Rodin as a draftsman, such being the cragginess of his modeling and the great slabs of stonecutting. His illustrations to Whitman's "Calamus" poems (1901), the many exquisite pencil drawings between 1906 and 1928, give a wholly new insight into a man possessed of incredible energy, not so much to think, it seemed, as to cut and model.

Lautrec by Lautrec costs $30 and is worth every cent of it. If you believe as I do that Lautrec was an artist greater than van Gogh, or Manet or even Degas—the greatest draftsman and one of the greatest painters France ever gave us—there is little to do but feast yourself on the documents of this humane aristocrat whose education, breeding and misfortune place him on the level of Balzac and Baudelaire. The monograph on Bonnard issued in connection with the recent triumphant exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art is a miraculous bargain. The nearly 50 plates in color, printed not in Switzerland or Holland, but in Rochester, N.Y., the price in soft covers at $2.95, the beautiful production by Monroe Wheeler of the whole *oeuvre* of a supreme colorist at the lowest possible cost is a a triumph of service to the public.

Although the space at my disposal is limited, I cannot refrain from mentioning one last unusual book, *Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter*. This is a most touching, well-written and fascinating study of a powerful, wise and gifted artist-priest, who was observed over a long period by the wife of an Indian trader. Hosteen Klah (the Left-Handed), at the age of 70, was probably the most vocative and intelligent, if not the last surviving repository of a great Indian tradition of physical therapy through art: the creation of sand pictures, accompanied by spiritual exercises. With great dignity, sensitivity and good sense, Mrs. Newcomb tells the long story of the left-handed mage, and not the least part of it is the extraordinary friendship of the white intruder with the red natives. Beautifully presented and inexpensive, this book is highly recommended.

Early in 1965, Mr. Kirstein will report on the work being done by the great American museums and libraries in publishing bulletins, special monographs, calendars and other inexpensive but important art books.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

MAN AND SUPERMAN
TWO NEW PINTER PLAYS
SLOW DANCE ON THE KILLING GROUND

In one way or another Shaw has always been misunderstood. Either he is taken too seriously (that is, literally) or not seriously enough. In 1903, when *Man and Superman* was first published, Max Beerbohm said of it: "This peculiar article is, of course, not a play at all. It is 'as good as a play' . . . but a play it is not." Two years later Beerbohm remarked, "When *Man and Superman* was published I called it 'Mr. Shaw's Dialogues' and said that . . . it would be quite unsuited to any stage. When I saw it performed, I determined that I would not be caught tripping again. I found that as a piece of theatrical construction it was perfect."

So it goes: critics and aestheticians are forever setting up categories only to have us find that they do not correspond to the reality of creation. Shaw thought he was an English Ibsen. Most of his plays are fairy tales, super-real parables, earnest jests sometimes very close to comic opera.

Man and Superman is supposed to be Shaw's *Don Juan*. He tells us he named his hero John Tanner to remind us of Don Juan Tenorio, and the chauffeur Straker is his Leporello. Nonsense. Tanner is G.B.S. himself, brimming over with moral passion, a Puritan of inextinguishable good humor and wit, a bit of a mystic, earthbound by common sense, in whom reason is a foil with which to combat rationalism.

John Tanner reveals Shaw's almost total asexuality. The Irish tend to be skittish about sex, but in Shaw the roots of his "theatre without kisses" go deeper than that; they must be sought in the total composition of his personality. It is none the less true that *Man and Superman* says many shrewd things about women in our society and about the relations between "the artist man and the mother woman."

I repeat: Shaw never wrote a realistic play in his life, not even when he tried to in *Widowers' Houses* and *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. That is one reason why so many critics thought he was not writing plays or creating characters. But he did write eminently theatrical plays and did create characters. The plays were tall tales, the characters exemplary images just as certainly as Cinderella, the Bad Wolf, Punch and Judy are characters. But Shaw's *personae* lack what is commonly called "psychology."

Shaw's plays and characters are animated by his twinkling — sometimes almost childlike — playfulness, his spry intelligence, his unabating purposefulness. Many of his heresies are now commonplace, but his exuberant spirit, his honest heart, his gift for expression—almost operatic, with one virtuoso aria following another—make his plays dance with a vitality so joyous as to make most others seem plodding.

Shaw is full of delightful blarney—one is not always sure that what he is saying makes good sense and one hardly cares — and his dialogue is sometimes nothing more than a remarkable rattle. His gay science and waggishness, his torrential garrulity, in short, his particular eloquence are great comedic assets amounting at best to both dramatic action and poetry. They induce a kind of euphoria about which we harbor no suspicion because we are sure that its source is benevolent and its effect salutary.

The A.P.A. production at the Phoenix Theatre, directed by Stephen Porter, is altogether creditable. It includes the famous Don Juan in Hell interlude in which Shaw's prose and gift for debate become superlative. The performance lasts three hours, and except for the interlude's introductory scene (like Gilbert without Sullivan) is rarely tiresome. The sets are abstemiously attractive, and in the main the cast satisfies.

I particularly liked Rosemary Harris who plays Violet, the lady unjustly suspected of improper conduct. She has the right kind of subdued humor and canniness. She speaks beautifully and looks nice. Ellis Raab does well with Tanner; to do the role much better would require some of G.B.S.'s own genius—which we probably have no right to expect from any actor.

The Room and *A Slight Ache*, advertised as the *New Pinter Plays* (Writers' Stage: 83 E. 4 St.), are not new at all. The first—Pinter's earliest piece—was written in 1957, the second was originally televised by B.B.C. in 1959. They make a very interesting evening. In fact I rate *A Slight Ache* as highly as anything Pinter has given us. It is a little masterpiece.

Both plays are "mysteries." Like most of Pinter's work they are sustained by suspense. Technically, they are melodramas, which is an excellent, indeed a classic, formula for playmaking, but I call them "mysteries" because there is something religiously ineffable about them. They speak a strange tongue but the effect is of saying things so fundamental that reducing them to concrete explanation is somehow to deform their relevance.

The Room is the more obscure of the two plays. It is not made to be "understood." It is intended as something to feel. It is all fun, folly and fright. The fun results from the language used by the drab folk huddling in a miserable room in an anonymous lodging house in a nondescript London neighborhood. This room, which should inspire claustrophobia (and pneumonia), is a kind of dank hiding place from the horror of the streets. Pinter is a past master at recording the inanity which marks the small talk of the English poor. Its repetitious monotony and ineptitude make us laugh to begin with and end by making us shiver. This speech is not merely characteristic of a locale or a class; it evokes a moral landscape.

In this landscape monsters appear: some eventually prove themselves harmless; in others the grotesque becomes murderous. They are emblems of the world's stupidity, unhappiness or insane violence. I will not disclose what happens in *The Room*, but if I were pressed I would say that the Room happens!

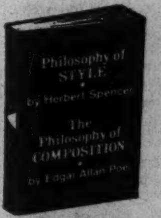
A Slight Ache is much more intelligible. But though it can be recounted as a story, odd but lucid, it is almost as mysterious as the first play. Edward, a middle-class husband, and his wife Flora, notice an old Matchseller who has chosen to post himself outside their house on a quiet country lane, close to a monastery where hardly anyone passes. No one ever buys the old man's matches or gives him alms, yet rain or shine he stands in the same place without a word or a gesture. Edward, suffering from a slight ache in his eyes, is perturbed by the Matchseller's peculiar presence, and insists on calling him into the house for questioning. The man enters, never utters a sound, barely moves except to sit down when he is asked to. This failure to respond to courtesy or to quizzing drives Edward into a frenzy, to breakdown, finally to a confession of abject impotence in everything. Flora receives the Matchseller in more kindly fashion, even feels toward him as a mother, and possibly as a mate. He is dirty, his smell is repellent, but he needs only a good wash and scrub (which she undertakes to give him) after which she will fondly keep him in the house.

Let us say that the Matchseller represents existence itself. It is ugly, it is uncommunicative, it is without clear meaning or specific identity—except that it is there. Edward contemplates it, finds it unsightly, tries to shut it from his mind, becomes fascinated by it, and finally succumbs in helpless awe before it. The actual confrontation with it makes a gibbering idiot of him. The woman, Flora, responds to it with an instinctive embrace: she accommodates herself to it and domesticates it with tenderness.

That is how I saw the play. You may see it quite differently and so may I on another occasion. Pinter may have had other ideas in mind. It doesn't matter. The play entertains, holds and moves us. Its vocabulary has moved upward in the class scale. Edward and Flora are literate folk but what they say is just as conventional and obtuse as the cockney talk in *The Room*. In Pinter, speech is always used as if it were an obstruction to human contact. But the play achieves a sort of poetry, the tension of a slight ache which adumbrates tragedy.

The performances are well directed by Word Baker—particularly in the better of the two plays. The set, too, in this play has been craftily designed by Ed Wittstein—excellent use being made of slight means and limited space. Frances Sternhagen is admirable in both plays, though certainly more authentic in the second. She is one of the many unheralded actresses of quality in which our theatre abounds but rarely employs to their (or our) advantage. Henderson Forsythe as Edward also serves with conviction and address.

In the past I called William Hanley, whose *Slow Dance on the Killing Ground* (Plymouth Theatre) is his first play to reach Broadway, a promising dramatist. He remains so. He



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writes with vigorous fluency and ingratiating literacy. He is moreover thoroughly earnest; he means to say heartfelt things. Yet *Slow Dance* does not convince me. It is factitious, a "made-up" thing. One has only to set down the elements which compose it to understand what I mean.

It takes place in a dusty, bedraggled candy, soda and lunch store on a dark street in Brooklyn. Late one night an oddly dressed Negro boy named Randall bursts into the store in evident fear of some pursuer. Randall's speech alternates between the lingo of a well-read hipster—he claims to have an IQ of 187—and the dignified measures of a lay preacher. The jive talk is a mask the boy puts on to hide the frustration and hurt of his condition.

He is menacing at first—he carries various weapons—but when he realizes that the storekeeper, a German ex-Communist named Glas, is essentially benevolent, Randall shows his true nature. Glas is obviously anxious to be left alone with some dread secret and that makes him as fearful of contact with society as is the boy in his present and apparently perpetual flight. Randall indicates at regular intervals that the streets nowadays are a "killing ground," that there is "*a passion* loose in the world! A passion for the sounds of violence, for the sight of pain! A passion for death and disaster! We're up to the eyeballs in blood. . . ."

While the two men are lashing each other with partial self-revelation and heated aphorisms on the state of the universe, spiced with occasional humorous sallies that leaven their intensity with laughter, a girl suddenly appears with the astonishingly irrelevant question, "Where the hell is the goddamn Brooklyn Bridge?," and promptly faints.

This "chick" as Randall playfully calls her is pregnant from her first encounter with a man, and at the moment on her way to an abortionist. Apart from her lack of caution, Rosie is a bright, wise-crackingly blunt student at New York University with ambitions to become a novelist. She is pure in heart, utterly direct, disabused by city life under straitened circumstances.

Except for Rosie, "mystery" hovers in the atmosphere. When Randall's secret is at last disclosed, we learn that he has murdered his prostitute mother while she was in the act of plying her profession. But his crime is made to seem almost forgivable compared to the German's. So Randall, taking his place atop a high ladder, "sits" as judge in a mock trial over Glas. A gentile, he had been married to a Jewish woman in Germany and they had had a child. When the Jews were being carried off to extermination camps, Glas not only abandoned his wife and child so that he might carry on the fight for the Communist cause, but also served as an engineer on the trains which transported the Jews to their death. Randall and Rosie sorrowfully pronounce him guilty of the crimes for which, after his escape to America, he deeply desires to be condemned.

Each of the three characters in the play is a moralist. Glas, the most mature, pronounces the playwright's conclusion:

> *Don't you see, Rosie, Randall must die now, violently, because of what he is and because of what he has done. And I will live, without violence, because of what I am and what I have done. And you, Rosie, you will go to your doctor, up that dark street, and afterwards you will write books maybe . . . about how people should save each other. We choose, Rosie. We choose the dark streets up which we walk. We choose them. And if we are guilty of the denial of life, who is to save us from that but ourselves?*

In other words, we are the authors of our fate. To which Rosie's only response is "Goddamn it!," a sentiment which found thoroughgoing assent in my spirit except that I might have expressed it in one crude syllable.

There are two things patently wrong with the play. It develops entirely on the basis of largely unprovoked confessions. Each of the characters tells us the sad story of his or her life. There is barely a situation or a consequent action which necessitates and determines these confessions. Worse still, what is confessed is as trite as it is "shocking."

Yet these faults are not what is fundamentally amiss. The play does not spring from its author's experience. I do not refer to autobiographical experience, but rather that the play might have been written by anyone with a talent for dialogue, coupled with certain general notions, and a "religious" attitude about our horrid times. There is in it no particular, individual, specifically personal note. Its material and body are not quickened by a special voice or a way of seeing and feeling things which is its author's and his alone. What comes through at best is the will and the faculty to write serious drama.

Slow Dance is well directed by Joseph Anthony; technically speaking it is a "good job," it holds the eye. Clarence Williams as Randall moves interestingly, speaks well and is endowed with an arresting energy. Carolan Daniels makes an engaging Rosie, especially in her comedy; if she is less effective in pathos it is probably because the plot lacks authentic substance. George Rose as the German works manfully and ably at an empty role, less character than utility.

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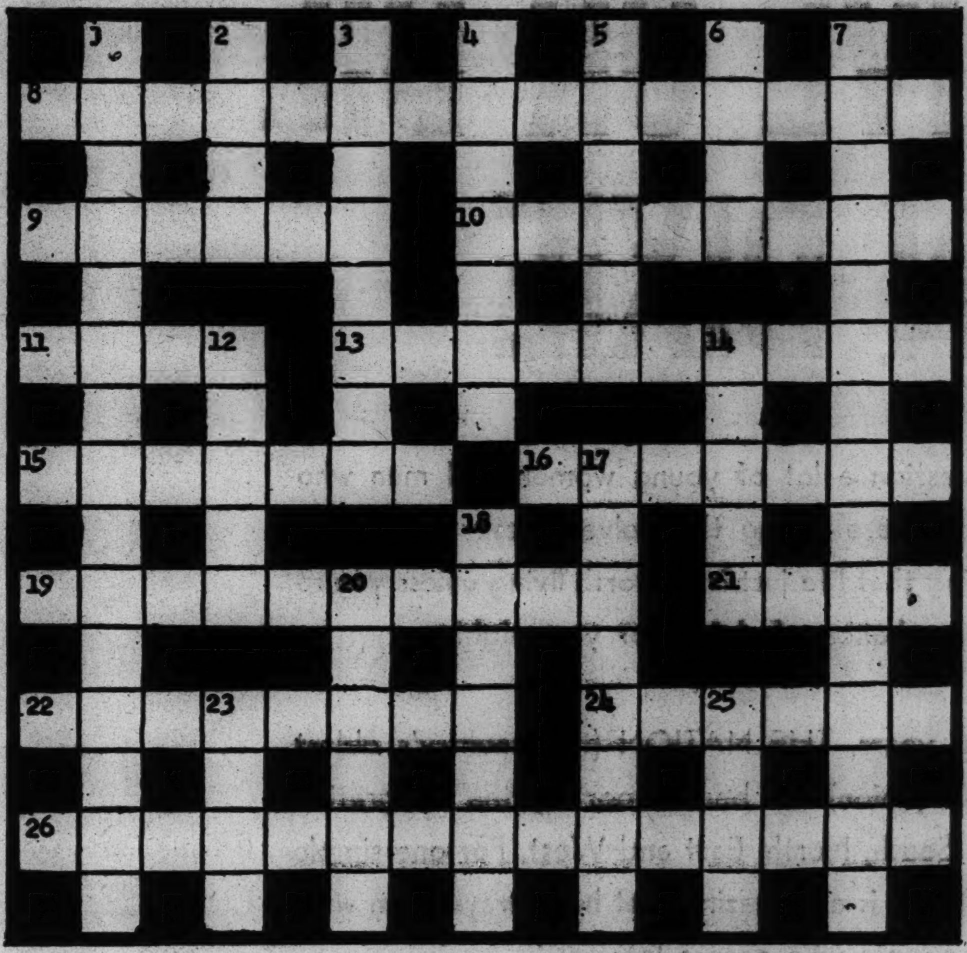
Crossword Puzzle No. 1086

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

8 Were Von Weber and Rossini engaged in gestures this way? (6, 9)

9 and 26 Implying the traditional location of the heart is a unique spot. (6, 2, 5, 4, 4)

10 Thinks about what the pool does. (8)

11 An element of literal finality to what might go with a firm signature. (4)

13 What someone at the newspaper has to do before it can be published for all to read? (4, 6)

15 Beware those who might be expected to take care of you! They're deep! (7)

16 and 23 down Bill count, perhaps, as the output of one 8 across. (7, 4)

19 But it can't be washed down with his ale! (Bob might describe what it occasionally does.) (5, 5)

21 Appear, by the sound of it, to be one of the things girls used to have trouble keeping straight? (4)

22 A sort of double E with it, but not for an informal occasion. (5, 3)

24 Manifestation of a little Virginia tobacco residue? (6)

26 See 9 across

DOWN:

1 Not a very sophisticated twosome, but the last part was not uncalled for years ago. (7, 3, 5)

2 One certainly embellishes the story of a rising storm. (4)

3 Urges the flower of Italy on (as part of the British service). (8)

4 Shoved off, perhaps. (7)

5 At least one Dodger wasn't naive! (6)

6 A sand hill that could easily become bare. (4)

7 Sergeant M. Altman is one of forty serving the British crown. (9-2-4)

12 Skim milk, in a Pinafore masquerade. (5)

14 A 2 down might 23 them, leastways. (5)

17 Good for a head 25. (3, 5)

18 Pull out the stopper of 19 and shake well, with requests for review. (7)

20 Acts in peculiar fashion, and capers. (6)

23 See 16 across

25 A cheerful beginning might leave you somewhat less than cheerful. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1085

ACROSS: 10 Assuage ; 11 Rossini; 12 Masochist; 13 Evoke; 14 Chaise; 16 Tornados; 19 Steffens; 20 Stereo; 22 Spats; 23 Plaintiff; 25 Chemise; 26 Adamite; 27 Indian pudding; DOWN: 2 Tests; 3 Francis of Assisi; 4 Acetic; 5 Duration; 6 and 9 Eastern Standard Time; 7 Mail order; 8 Hammocks; 17 Scot-free; 18 Snap bean; 21 Xanadu; 22, 1 and 15 down Such stuff as dreams are made on; 24 Ixion.

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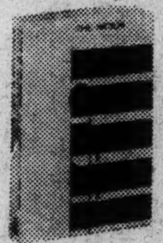

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VOICE
MAY, 1967
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EDITORIAL

Floyd McKissick Praises

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) wrote what we think is a most beautiful and expressive letter to Mr. Muhammad Ali, the PRESENT Heavyweight Boxing Champion of the World. Mr. McKissick has generously released the contents of the letter to us. We believe that most of our readership recognizes that their own personal feelings are, too, mirrored within the framework of this conscientious message. We hope that the other black leaders will have an opportunity to read this. Perhaps it will lead them away from the binding and stagnating controls of the "establishment" which calls them "responsible Negro leaders." We call upon Mr. Whitney Young (Urban League), Mr. Roy Wilkins (NAACP), Mr. Jackie Robinson (Rockefeller Republicans), and Ralph Bunche (?), all great men in their own right to recognize that the little guy needs their guidance as the real life, present day deliverers of the "promised land" through self help. They must be made aware that they are helping no one, not even themselves, while acting as front men for the "establishment's" power structure:
- Bill Brazier

Mr. McKissick's letter to Mr. Ali follows:

A Letter To The Champ

May 3, 1967

Dear Muhammad Ali:

The decision you made which compels me to write this letter is a decision of the greatest significance, both for you -- as an individual -- and for this nation.

It could not have been an easy decision for you to sacrifice so much for a principle -- for a belief. It is, however, a decision which I know you were forced to make to maintain your self-respect, to retain your dignity as a Black man.

I am saddened that you were forced to choose between your conscience and an unjust punishment. Your dilemma dramatizes to me, as a Civil Rights leader, that the Civil Rights movement has, in fact, accomplished pathetically little.

According to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution: "Congress is not to make any law establishing a national religion nor is it to restrict the practice of any religion, nor may it interfere with the freedom of speech, or of the press or of the right of the people to assemble for peaceful purposes and to ask the government to settle any complaint or right any wrong."

This is beautiful language. So beautiful, in fact that, at times,

(Continued on page 4)

EDITORIAL

(*Continued from page 1*)

Black people have even been deluded into thinking that it was meant to include them. So beautiful that, at times, Black people even forget that this amendment -- this Bill of Rights -- this Constitution -- was written when our ancestors were still slaves, still the legal chattel of the white plantation owners.

The Constitution is so well-written, so eloquent, that Black people have been led to believe that they too have freedom of religion -- that they too have freedom of speech, freedom of ideas -- that they too would be protected by a document written while their forebearers were still slaves.

My dear friend, I know that you no longer harbor these illusions. I know that your decision was made with full knowledge of its implications. Your courage is all the more admirable.

It is evident that this country is rapidly allowing itself to degenerate into totalitarianism. The vindictive reaction inspired by your decision not to fight in an immoral war is only one indication of this trend. The arbitrary -- and meaningless -- action of the New York State Boxing Commission in withdrawing your title of Heavyweight Champion of the World -- is but a symptom.

It is an indication that the Dred Scott decision -- which established the fact that the Black Man has no rights which the white man need respect -- was never reversed in practice -- and has never been denied in the minds and hearts of the American people.

Other evidence of this trend abounds. The denial of the right of the Black people of the 18th Congressional District in Harlem to elect who they wish to represent them is further evidence -- and Adam Clayton Powell yet another victim.

Julian Bond had to be elected twice and fight his case all the way to the United States Supreme Court before he was allowed the right to represent his people.

James Farmer created a plan which could have contributed greatly to the ending of illiteracy in this country -- but he was denied the funds. For the white man controls the funds -- and the schools -- and the press -- and the churches.

And Central Park in New York City, is now "off-limits" to those who would peacefully demonstrate their opposition to the involvement of the United States in a cruel, racist war.

As neo-Nazism reactivates in Germany, white America looks silently on -- few voices are raised to evoke the memory of millions of dead Jews -- the victims of totalitarianism.

White Americans have rarely been able to comprehend their role in history. They have rarely been able to acknowledge their responsibility for the plight of the Black man.

The Black man did not spring up on this continent uninvited. He was carried here against his will. And he was made a slave. When slavery was no longer economically wise, he was made a "Negro."

In America, my dear friend, a "Negro" is not to be treated as a man. He is not expected, or allowed, to have the power of independent thought.

When, in spite of white America, the Black man creates something of his own, or finds something of his own -- the white man does all in his power to suppress and destroy.

When Black men have a religion which does not meet with the approval of the white majority, the majority feels threatened. The myths they have built carefully and painstakingly over the years, are jeopordized. Their belief that the Black man is dependent upon their "paternalism" for his very existence is challenged.

He will not walk the road of life with you as a friend or a brother -- but he certainly will not let you do it alone. If you do -- he cannot treat you as a "Negro" any longer -- he cannot treat you as a crutch.

In the pact, he has mercilessly quashed the rebellions of his slaves. Today, he attempts to destroy the ideas and ambitions of the descendants of those slaves -- and crush the leaders of the future revolution.

He believes -- he really believes -- that he has been benevolent by "letting" you make money, by "letting" you fight, by "letting" you become the Heavy-weight Champion of the World. For his kindness, he expects you to honor him in word and deed -- he expects you to take up a gun and murder Vietnamese and maybe, even die in defense of his system -- a system in which you are not permitted to fully participate.

In his eyes, you, Muhammad Ali, have committed the worst crime possible. You have not said "Thank You." You have not been grateful, you have not been humble and you have not been controllable.

No -- you have not said "Thank You." But you have said what has needed to be said for a long time.

You have demonstrated that you are a man; that you live by your religion. (So few white men live by theirs.)

You have made the white man openly disregard his own constitution. (He doesn't like to do that openly.)

You have shown your Black brethren your courage and have given them a new faith in their own destinies. You have given Black youngsters an independent Black Hero.

That is the real reason that you are being punished.

You have proven that America cannot always buy "Negroes," that there are still some Black men left.

You have pointed out that the Vietnamese are not the enemies of Black people. They too, are oppressed. The enemy are those white people who would perpetrate this system of racism -- this legacy of fear.

The enemy is the man who fails to recognize Black people (or Afro-Americans, or Negroes -- this is not the time to debate terminology) as human beings -- human beings with all the human needs, human frailties and human rights.

Black people now know what they should have known all along -- what some of us did know all along -- that the Fourth of July is just another day in the calendar year -- if you're Black. Our own Independence Day has not yet happened.

In conclusion, my dear friend, Muhammad Ali, please accept my full support and remember that you are, indeed, Heavyweight Champion of the World. It was an honor to receive your thanks and appreciation, which were reported in the press.

This society may try to destroy the concept of Muhammad Ali - Heavy-weight Champion of the World -- but you have defeated all comers: You have won and you will remain the winner. And the world knows it.

There are many cowards -- many who would take the easiest way out. That is why your actions have been even more meaningful and your statements -- the words of a truly brave, truly beautiful man.

Very truly yours,
Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

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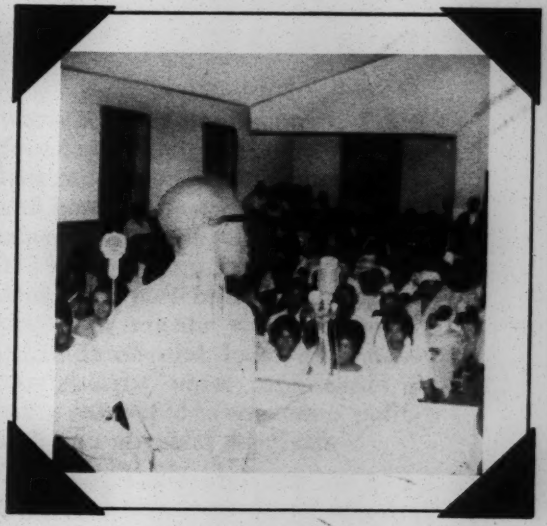

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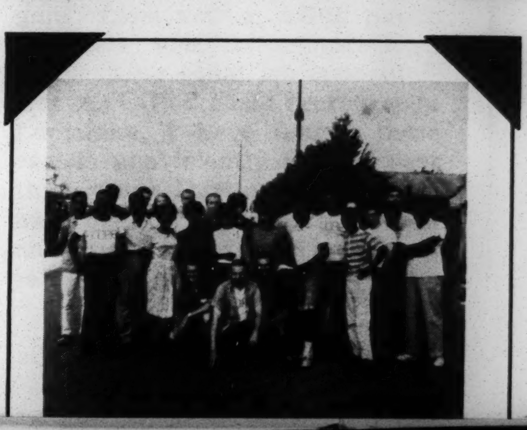
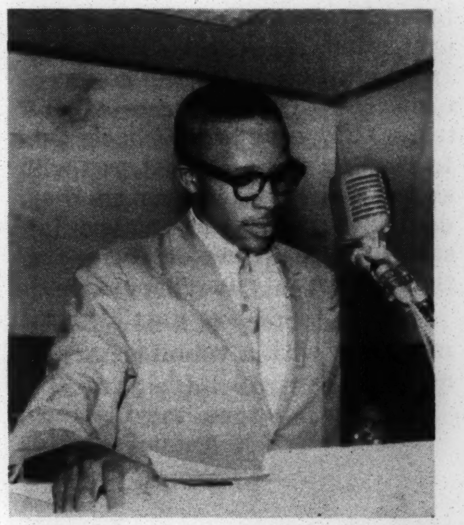
Louisiana – Summer, 1964



the students report
to their home towns



INTRODUCTION

by Ronnie Moore
(Director,
CORE Louisiana Project)

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the Mississippi Summer Project. An equally significant project was conducted by CORE this summer in Louisiana, where civil rights workers face similar terrorism and intimidation. While Congress and the Supreme Court may let the *"niggers get out of their place,"* Louisiana racists believe that beatings, jailings, and even murders, will keep Negroes from moving where they *"ain't got no business being."* They believe violence will keep the "niggers" from voting, using public facilities and accommodations, and seeking equal job opportunities. As CORE Field Secretary in Louisiana, I have fought these racists nonviolently for the past three years. During this period, I have been arrested fifteen times and served a total of 6 months in jail, of which fifty-seven days were solitary confinement. I am free today to fight in this nonviolent revolution against the bullets and bombs of segregationists, because CORE has posted over $30,000 in bond for my release. Seldom does a day pass in Louisiana without civil rights workers being intimidated and local citizens — particularly voter applicants — being subjected to economic, political, and physical reprisals.

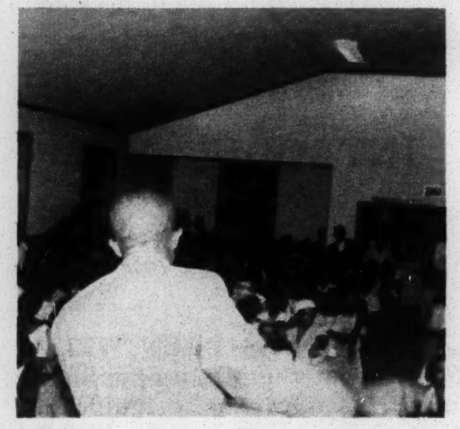
During the search for the bodies of the three murdered Mississippi civil rights workers, the mutilated bodies of two Negroes were found, floating in a Louisiana river in the parishes of Tensas and Madison. No one knows whether they were killed in Louisiana or Mississippi. But I believe they were murdered in Louisiana. I know for sure that it was in Tallulah, the parish seat of Madison, where this summer CORE worker Mike Lesser was threatened, beaten, stripped of his clothing, jailed overnight, tried in a segregated courtroom in the early morning without a lawyer and sentenced to twenty-five days in jail with a fine of $25. The judge suspended his sentence and ordered him out of town, escorted by the police with a warning never to return or he'd be killed.

There have been no known murders to date in the civil rights struggle in Louisiana. But judging from the prevailing patterns of violence, I say killings are inevitable unless federal protection is made available.

I can cite numerous incidents of reprisals against Louisiana Negroes, desiring the benefits of their American heritage. Rev. Joseph Carter was arrested for *"disturbing the peace"* when he first attempted to register to vote in St. Francisville. On October 17, 1963, he became the first Negro registered voter in West Feliciana parish since Reconstruction. In the same parish this summer, a CORE worker was beaten, and others, including myself, were shot at by ex-Sheriff Teddy H. Martin, Sr. while we escorted voter applicants to the registrar's office. Recently, after parish authorities arrested the former sheriff on a warrant signed by me, he was appointed by Gov. John McKeithen as Assistant Warden at Angola State Penitentiary.

Teachers, librarians, school bus drivers, and others in public employment have been fired from their jobs because they taught persons how to fill out voter registration forms. Farmers have been denied access to the only markets for their crops. Civil rights workers have been jailed for canvassing possible voter registrants on "Mr. Charlie's" plantation. The suffering, pain, and humiliation of being forced from home at night – like Johnny Hamilton of West Feliciana parish—or of seeing the remains of a burned community center – like the Faith, Hope and Charity Hall in Hammond—are part of the struggle of underprivileged Americans in a state like Louisiana, where neither parish officials nor the federal government offer any real protection. Into this situation, from all sections of the country, came the CORE summer volunteers. They were deeply impressed. In reading this pamphlet, you will share their impressions as they described them—and in two instances actually wrote them—for their hometown newspapers.

The final story is a newspaper interview with a volunteer attorney.



REPORT FROM PLAQUEMINE

by James Van Matre
(CORE volunteer)

from the
St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times,
July 13, 1964

PLAQUEMINE, LA., is a small town south of Baton Rouge on the Mississippi River. It was chosen two years ago by CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore as headquarters for voter registration in Louisiana.

It was in Plaquemine that the Louisiana group met to prepare for the summer's activity. For a week, we 60 workers got up early and met, with only food breaks, until 9 p.m. Our leaders warned us of new dangers; we were beaten in mock hatred; we spoke to mock potential registrants; we spoke to non-existent church crowds; and we spent time in mock jails.

With this thin veneer to protect us, we were sent out into the parishes.

The training session couldn't have warned us about the Louisiana sun and terrain. A sugar plantation is hot and dusty. Dust or mud, depending upon the weather, make up the roads, which are lined with sewage ditches.

But the training sessions did prepare us to work, to register voters.

"Good afternoon, Ma'am," the interracial team says. *"We're from the Congress of Racial Equality and we'd like to know whether you'd be interested in registering to vote?"*

If the answer is yes, there begins the long process of teaching application. In Louisiana, a Negro applicant may be failed for not dotting an "i" or for circling something which should have been underlined or for many other minor errors not related to his ability to vote.

The worker becomes accustomed, if he is white, to having little children timidly reach up to him to touch his skin, and then draw away shyly. Flies buzz freely through a screenless door. As the worker teaches, drops of sweat fall on the form, smearing the ink. The city is a little better in that the houses are close together and local clinics may be set up at night.

Registration clinics are held from morning until the last person leaves at night: *"How old are you Ma'am?"* One old woman who'd never thought of it before, spent 10 minutes recollecting. *"Your exact age, Ma'am, is 64 years, six months and seventeen days? The application wants it just like that."*

Marked on clinic tables, scrawled on old envelopes and paper scraps are words of the Preamble: *". . .in order to form a more perfect union."* Spellings have to be known by Negroes in Louisiana.

Speaking in churches is also a part of the task force worker's job. In our week's training session in Plaquemine, we were told that in certain parishes, if you wore a suit, you would offend the people because you would appear to be showing-off. In other parishes, if you didn't wear a suit, you'd be embarrassed. The worker must be prepared to spend hours socializing with people hungry for talk after spending an isolated week.

Sometimes it's rougher:

About two weeks ago, I was in Clinton, La., 20 miles from the Mississippi state line. I was there to assist Negro registrants to the registrar's office and to question them on their treatment by the registrar.

Things were going all right, with only minor incidents until the afternoon, when three local toughs jumped me while I was talking to a successful applicant.

"Get up," they screamed after they had knocked me to the ground. All I can remember now is that the pavement was warm and that maybe if I covered my head, I wouldn't be badly hurt.

They pulled me to my feet. By now, there was a crowd around, yelling at me.

I thought, *"I have never even talked to them before; what is making them hate me?"* I tried to go away, and somebody ripped off the back of my shirt. As I went down the second time, I thought, *"There it is, baby,"* But then somebody yelled, *"Stop it. Let him go back to Niggerville."*

I can remember the dust grinding in the abrasions on my back and the voice addressing me: *"You got off lucky this time, son. Don't let me see your face around here again."*

I walked back to what they called "Niggerville" alone.

One day six people were shot-at as they left a registrar's office in St. Francisville, West Feliciana parish seat. (Feliciana means happy land.) Four of our workers had accompanied two Negro women to the registrar's office. A man waving a gun approached them and shot at their retreating car. The police made no arrest, although our workers identified the gun-toter.

Nearly everyone here admits of being scared. No one wants to become a martyr. But still people come down—no pay, sweating the long, hot rides, the long walks and the long hours.

The northern office in Monroe, La., is a little larger and a little cooler than the main office in Plaquemine. But the air still hangs tensely about it. A week before I arrived, a group of workers were driven out by a bomb scare. Crank phone calls come over the wires, keeping the lines tied up continually.

West Monroe, tense twin city to Monroe, has been the scene of numerous harassments of our workers by the police. Two were arrested for vagrancy, three were arrested on an obscure solicitation ordinance. The word came from the police department not to canvass interracially but CORE doesn't compromise its principles and finally we won the argument.

Stories come back after work finishes in the evening.

One person tells of an old gentleman who at first played the part of a slave, saying *"Yassuh"* and scratching his head. Then, upon hearing the canvasser's reason for knocking at his door, he lost his grin and his face wrinkled and he said, *"See that ditch out there? It smells of manure. I wake up every morning smelling that and I never get used to it. My little girl had hepatitis from it. For 25 years I've voted to get rid of it. But what's the white man going to give me?"*

Another story is of a Negro woman in Clinton, Mama Jo, who takes care of all the CORE workers there. Outside her door is a sign reading: *"It is time for you to take a stand and become a first class citizen. A voteless people is a hopeless people. Register and vote."*

Back in the main office, a sort of 10 x 10 box in a frame hotel in Plaquemine, sits a volunteer worker, amidst two mimeograph machines, four typewriters, a file cabinet, supply cabinet, a folded cot, a desk and a pay phone. A small fan is on the desk. Its only job seems to be to blow the humidity around. His job is toughest, for along with it comes the boredom. The office hours: 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. His pay: food to eat and a roof overhead.

But there is some time for fun. On the weekends, the workers go into local Negro cafes – *"Black, white, gray and every other way,"* as a local Negro citizen observed. Over a glass of beer, the workers discuss home, politics, responsibilities, school and the big one–the Negro's problems in America. In the black cafes ring out words which the walls will never hear again. The students learn new dances. Sometimes a group will hop around the floor in unison hollering, *"We want freedom."*

Around newstime, everything comes to a hush and a crowd gathers around a portable TV, straining to hear of news of Mississippi and St. Augustine and Tuscaloosa and Cambridge. A lot of us have friends out there. Talk dwindles and we leave together, remembering the warning that we must never travel alone and always in a car at night.

Almost invariably, every time a group gets together, waiting for dinner or resting afterward, we sing freedom songs. They range from old Negro spirituals to modified rock and roll. When a group breaks up, the final song sometimes drives the people into a thoughtful silence:

"May be the last time, May be the last time, May be the last time we sing together. May be the last time, but I don't know . . ."

CANVASSING IN LOUISIANA

by Sharon Burger
(CORE volunteer)

from the
Mishawaka (Ind.) Enterprise,
July 30, 1964

THIS AFTERNOON we did some canvassing about 30 miles from Plaquemine. We talked to people who were afraid of us, people who didn't want us bothering them, and many more people, who wanted us to help them get registered. The various community leaders are very concerned about their people (I speak of the Negro community) and anxious to work with us in every way they can.

I'm the only Hoosier here, but Chicago and Detroit are represented. There are kids from California, New York, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Florida, and Ohio.

You've driven through the south. You've gone down bad roads and seen shacks with a dozen ragged children sitting on the porch—too hot to play. Well, that's where I am—sitting on the sagging porches or inside on a broken down bed with bugs crawling over the walls and floors and ceilings – walking through a dry field under a blazing sun to a woman picking butter beans—trying to get past the wall of fear a white face causes.

And even if they know of us—that they have nothing to fear from CORE itself, even if they would like very much to register to vote, even if they know that when they can vote they may be able to change some things—they aren't sure that someone won't fire bullets into their homes in the night, because they were seen talking to us in the day.

Yesterday a man sat talking to us with a knife in his hand. As we were leaving he laughed and told us what had been in his mind when he'd seen us coming. White bill collectors down here hire Negroes to lead them to the houses they're looking for and to beat the debtors.

Last week I was in the "home" of a young couple. He was one of the fortunate few who had a job, and the three room shack they lived in was owned by his employer, who took the rent from the wages. She was barefoot, wearing a dress that was faded and didn't fit.

Dirt was blowing in through all the holes and cracks, but they had a new chair, there was a plant on the porch, the cheap bedspread was clean. They try—they have a little bit of next to nothing—and they may lose even that if they do something the "white folks" don't want them to do—such as register to vote.

This morning we had about 20 Negroes waiting outside the registrar's office. They were standing quietly and calmly, waiting for their turns to go into the office where the registrar looks over their shoulders and blows smoke in their faces as they fill out the forms. (They have to go in one at a time.)

The registrar walked out behind a lady he had just failed (without telling her why, of course) and saw a CORE member. He said, *"Come here, you. Do you work for CORE?"* Bob said yes and the man shouted *"I refuse to be intimidated."*

He then threatened to close the office if Bob didn't leave, and as Bob was leaving he said that he wouldn't let anyone that Bob had brought down come into the office.

And people say don't force things. We're not asking the registrar to invite a Negro home for supper—neither he nor the Negro wants that. We're asking that an American citizen, 21 years of age, who has lived one year in this parish, six months in this ward, and 30 days in this precinct be allowed to fill out an application to become a registered voter.

And who can say that no pressure should be brought to bear on a man – on a state – which says *O.K.* if that citizen is white and *No* if that citizen is black.

Hooray! The boys just came back to the clinic (we're teaching the forms in a church); and said FIVE PEOPLE PASSED! We danced around and grinned silly grins at one another. FIVE people in ONE day. It must be some kind of record!

Loria and I are canvassing Montpelier this afternoon and holding a clinic in a chapel there tonight. I have been soaked with sweat since I've been here. I don't remember how dry clothes feel. The work is hard—a lot of walking in a lot of sun. My patience is really developing – everything takes a lot of time – especially teaching the minute details of the form.

But I wouldn't be anywhere else doing anything else for anything. I really feel—for the first time in a long time—that there's some reason for me to be living and that what I'm doing really matters.

About the dangers – three of our group were arrested while canvassing in another part of the state. I'm in St. Helena Parish this week and comparatively safe. The sheriff here is afraid of us because they don't want the Justice Department here at any cost.

"LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS WERE UNFAIR"

from the
Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Record,
August 9, 1964

THE EXPERIENCES that James H. Tredinnick, 21, of 302 Blackman Street, had while encouraging and teaching Negroes to register and vote in Louisiana this summer have not discouraged him.

"I expect to continue working with CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) most of my life," Tredinnick said yesterday afternoon in talking with a Record reporter.

"My plans are now to do church-related civil rights work among Negroes in northern cities, such as in New York's Harlem section and in Chicago," the dedicated young man said.

"It was somewhat dangerous, but not clearly as much as in Mississippi," Tredinnick said. He said he and his coworkers frequently were *"harassed by white folks."*

The slender, slightly-built young man, in recalling some of his experiences in Louisiana, said law enforcement officials of the state *"were very unfair to us."* He said one parish (county) sheriff told the CORE group that *"he would give us no protection while we were in his parish."* Tredinnick said the sheriff referred to the CORE group as *"Communists and outside troublemakers."* At one time, the sheriff came to their residence and told them they were under arrest. The sheriff later changed his mind.

Tredinnick said the sheriff, at the time he said they were under arrest, did not state on what charges he was going to arrest them.

"There were three of us—myself and two other workers. He frisked the three of us and handled me rather roughly," Tredinnick said.

He explained that CORE's work in Louisiana *"was fairly successful."* He said the entire group, numbering about 40 and working in about one-third of the state, managed to encourage more than 1,000 Negroes to register in the last two months. In the group, he said, were 25 from out of the area and 15 Negro workers.

"Most of the workers were experienced in civil rights work. More than half had been in jail at one time or another as a result of their civil rights work.

"I, myself, was in jail last summer in the city of Danville, Va., for marching on the city hall. I served eight days in jail and was later released under $2,000 bond. The case is still pending and has been appealed in federal court."

Declaring that the state government of Louisiana is committed to a policy of segregation, Tredinnick said CORE's work in the state was hindered extremely by the fact that the printed forms, which the Negroes must complete in order to register as voters, had been deliberately complicated by the state government *"in an effort to discourage Negroes from becoming voters."*

He said the forms have a total of more than 60 items which must be answered by the Negroes in their own writing. A single, misspelled or uncapitalized word means that the Negro applicant fails and must wait 10 days before applying to register.

"This means that it takes at least one-half hour to teach the average adult to complete the forms properly. Many of the Negroes have little education, especially in the rural areas. We have to turn down many of these people as possible voters. Many of them sign their names only with an X," Tredinnick said.

He said the Civil Rights Law defines the minimum education of a voter as a sixth-grade education or its equivalent. He stated many of those with a sixth-grade education have a chance of completing the complex form.

"We hope in the next year that the federal courts will have outlawed the use of the present registration forms and pave the way for at least two-thirds of Louisiana's Negroes to become registered voters."

When queried about some of the experiences that the CORE workers encountered, Tredinnick said about four of the workers were beaten severely by local whites. *"Eight of the workers were arrested on false charges, such as loitering and vagrancy. And we were visited almost weekly by FBI agents and Justice Department officials. They were the only protection since we could not depend on the local police."*

RIGHTS WORKER LIVED IN FEAR

by Jackie Germann
(staff writer)

from the
St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press,
August 17, 1964

A MINNEAPOLIS GIRL who was shot at and jailed while teaching Louisiana Negroes how to fill out voting applications this summer said Sunday she lived in fear for her life 24 hours a day.

Ronnie Sigal, 21, of 3731 Abbott Ave. S., spent nine weeks in St. Helena as a member of the Congress of Racial Equality's (CORE) Summer Task Force. And during those weeks she learned to live each day *"because I never knew if I'd be alive the next day."*

Miss Sigal, who was the only white CORE worker in St. Helena, said about the only contact she had with whites during her stay was when they were *"calling me names or throwing things at me."* One time it was when she was the target of a shotgun aimed by a *"white cracker."*

"Three of us took two elderly ladies to West Feliciana to register to vote. The office hadn't been open since January, 1963, and it was only going to be open two days. We were getting out of the car when the former sheriff ran up and started throwing things at us. Then he hit one white boy with a stake. When we started driving away, he fired after us."

But Miss Sigal said the closest she ever came to being killed was when the car she was in was surrounded by nine armed men on a country road.

"Four Negro workers and I were returning home after investigating a murder. We approached a sharp curve, hit a wet spot and landed against a post by the side of an old, abandoned building. The fender was bent over the wheel, so we got out to try and fix it.

"Suddenly these men who apparently had been fox hunting were swarming around the car. When they saw me, they asked if I was white. I told them my daddy was, and they didn't bother to ask about about my mother. I was afraid that if they knew both my parents were white they would kill the Negro boys.

"We all thought they would kill us. Luckily they called a deputy and he recognized us. After the deputy arrived, they beat up one boy very badly. Finally he told them to stop. They charged me with reckless driving, exceeding the speed limit and destroying private property. They didn't want to jail me, so they set my bond at $400 and told me to get a bondsman. I told them I couldn't get anyone till morning, so they took me to another parish and put me in jail overnight."

While Miss Sigal was in Louisiana her primary job was to teach Negroes how to fill out voter applications that are *"designed to be failed."*

"In our parish people had to fill out the form and produce an affidavit that they were 21. A great grandmother might come to register, but if she didn't have a birth certificate stating she was 21, she was refused.

"If people aren't taught how to fill out the applications, they can't possibly pass. Questions on color and common-law marriage were asked. And they asked for your employer. Negroes with good jobs wouldn't register because they were afraid they'd be fired."

But although it is a slow and tedious job, Miss Sigal said inroads are being made.

"CORE is helping to bring hope and unification to the Negro community. The Negroes in Louisiana are living, sleeping and eating hope. And they're experiencing a pride and respect they never had before.

"There is fear, but it's experienced by both the Negro and the white. Some whites believe in integration, but they're afraid to admit it. They don't want to be called a nigger-lover. But at least in Louisiana there isn't the state pride in killing a Negro that there is in Mississippi."

Why does a girl who loves to go horseback riding, lives in a fashionable part of Minneapolis and has only six credits left to earn before receiving a psychology degree at the University of Minnesota leave it to go south and live with a Negro widow on a farm where she sleeps and eats with cockroaches, works without pay, subsists on two meals a day of chicken and rice, milks a cow each morning and is hungry much of the time?

"I wanted to do something more than sit up north trying to raise money. I've been working with CORE since the Freedom Rides three years ago. On Sept. 14 I have to go back for my trial. Then in January I'm going back on a full-time basis. I'll be the first white woman CORE worker in northern Louisiana, so I'll probably spend most of the winter in jail."

CLINTON GIRL WORKS WITH CORE

by Judi Burken
(staff writer)

from the
Clinton (Ia.) Herald,
August 20, 1964

WE SHALL OVERCOME! **With the words of the civil rights song still echoing in her ears, Peggy Ewan, of 1524 Lazy Lane, came home last week from Louisiana where she worked two months with the Congress of Racial Equality. (CORE)**

"We were subjected to a silent intimidation,"* Peggy said. *"Hate stares, being followed by a semi-arrest on a charge of vagrancy.

***"On the day I arrived in Plaquemine, the police stopped me and took me to the police station on a charge of vagrancy. It wasn't really an arrest. The police chief talked to me about being there and working for CORE."* He didn't threaten her or attempt to discourage her attempts, Peggy said.**

With her main work concentrated in registering Negroes to vote, Peggy trained in Plaquemine (pronounced Plackman) for one week. Besides being taught the fundamentals of peaceful demonstrating and the art of self protection without retaliation, she was taught how to canvass the Negro community and setting up clinics to instruct the citizens in how to fill out the necessary voting forms.

When Peggy put her training to work, she found opposition from some of the Negroes as well as many Louisiana whites.

"Fear is a big thing in the southern Negro's life," she said. For that reason some of them refused to even listen to the pleas of the CORE workers to exercise their right to vote.

Apathy is another Negro problem, according to Peggy. *"Many of the older Negroes have lived without the vote for years and are perfectly happy with their situation. They do not want to change."*

The CORE people would explain their purpose and invite the Negroes to a clinic on voter registration which CORE would then set up in a town building, usually a church.

In one rural parish (county), 41 persons attended a clinic, while in the city the number slipped to three or four several times.

At the clinic, the CORE workers distributed registration forms which Louisiana law requires to be filled out by prospective voters. Included in the forms is a space in which the writer must state his color.

Peggy said she and other CORE people told the Negroes to leave blank the spaces which CORE did not consider constitutional.

Another question, seeking the party affiliation of the voter, required the word *"Democratic"* to be written-in, Peggy stated, or else the registrar would consider the application void.

A part of the voter registration requirement is the taking of a test. Six questions are asked and the applicant must answer four of the six correctly. Peggy failed in her first try.

There are 10 different forms of questions and the applicant does not know ahead of the actual testing period which form he will draw. CORE located each of the 10 forms and in the voting clinics went through each question and answer with the Negroes.

In the Herald newsroom, various reporters took the tests and the results showed few prospective Louisiana voters among the group.

Following up on the clinics the CORE workers next moved into the Plaquemine courthouse where they directed Negroes to the registrar's office.

"It was our desire to keep the registrar busy, as well as registering the Negroes," Peggy said. *"He (the registrar) gets paid for doing nothing."*

A steady stream of Negro voter applicants filed into the office and Peggy said an average of one out of three was successfully registered.

"It was almost as though a quota for successful applicants had been set up to appease us."

A word in a history book to most northerners, *"gerrymandering,"* to the Plaquemine Negro means that their section, which lies in the geographical heart of the town, is considered outside of the city limits.

Not being a part of the town, the section is without street lights, has open sewers and its own sheriff, who in reality has no police power.

"When it rains," Peggy said, *"the sewers back-up and flood over into the streets, giving off a terrible stench. Small children are often found playing in the overflow."*

The CORE volunteers worked and lived only with the Negro population, receiving a sustenance wage and room and board. *"Many local Negroes are active in the civil rights work,"* Peggy said. *"And some are real spitfires."*

Peggy stayed with the Seigent (Sergeant) Caulfield family. Of the six Caulfield children, only one daughter, Thelma, 14, is still at home.

"Although CORE is a non-violent movement some of the Negroes are armed," Peggy said. *"The Caulfields have a shotgun and Thelma knows how to use it."* On one occasion, when a group of white youths parked menacingly near the Caulfield home, Thelma armed herself with the gun. *"Fortunately,"* Peggy recalls, *"she didn't have to use it."*

During the time Peggy lived with the Caulfields, one shot was fired at the house by passing whites. The shot went wild and did no damage, but Peggy soon received instructions on how to shoot the gun.

In a question and answer period which followed Peggy was asked what police protection was given to the Negro. Her reply: *"NONE!"*

But all is not as bleak as it looks. Peggy told of at least one instance among the CORE workers where a white man, under the anonymity of darkness, met with a CORE volunteer and talked for over an hour on Negro rights.

Peggy noted too that some young southern whites have joined the CORE movement.

Will Peggy return to work again with CORE in the south? *"I hope to. I've even given some thought to teaching there. There is a need for qualified teachers. A lack of education is the Negroes' biggest problem."*

TORTURE IN A LOUISIANA JAIL

by Donovan Bess
(staff writer)

from the
San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle,
September 8, 1964

A FRAIL - LOOKING San Francisco State College student, Charles Fenton, 23, told last week about the terrors of a ten-week stay in northern Louisiana to help Negroes there get equal treatment.

He told about being chased continually by white toughs driving cars at speeds up to 90 miles an hour, and of being ambushed by gangs of toughs bent on preventing briefing sessions with Negroes.

He told of the torture of being thrown in a jail tank with 32 fervent segregationists — who took turns keeping him awake for his 96-hour stay, made him eat soap and forced him into shower baths so hot he broke out in blisters.

Fenton resides at 361 Tenth Avenue. He and 51 other young Americans went to Louisiana last June to help Negroes get registered to vote, and to get other rights, such as equal access to the public library books.

The program was organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). But little publicity was given the work, he said, in the hope of getting more local cooperation by *"not shaming them in the eyes of the world."*

Fenton reported this approach had brought *"amazingly favorable"* results, considering the depth of bigotry in the state — that officials there now recognize the time has come when they must begin to yield before the civil rights surge.

But the cost of this progress was a summer of extreme mental and emotional anguish for the CORE pioneers.

Fenton and eight other workers were assigned to Monroe, a city in northern Louisiana with 17,000 Negro residents—500 of them registered to vote when the project began on June 17.

At the first mass meeting to instruct Negroes on registration, he said, only 18 dared to show up.

"The meeting was in the Calvary Baptist Church in (suburban) West Monroe, and the people had to walk there over dirt roads, sometimes five miles," he said.

"Policemen were stationed along the way and kept people away by telling them they'd be jailed if they went to the church. Our people counted 22 Negroes who were turned around that way.

"After the meeting was over, the 18 Negroes were followed by policemen using flashlights.

"When we left, the chase came. That's the way it was after every meeting. The boys come around with their hopped-up '56 and '57 Fords and play the game of the cat chasing the rats.

"We had to go 90 miles an hour to get away. Intersections? You don't worry about stoplights when you're a civil rights worker.

"The chase always stops as soon as you get back into the Negro community, where we lived."

Fenton told how he joined in the campaign to send 22 Negro children into four Ouachita parish (county) libraries reserved for white borrowers. The Negroes, he said, are confined to the Carver branch, *"which is an overgrown closet and gets all the dog-eared books cast off from the Caucasian libraries."*

The 22 children were arrested on charges of trespassing. Their parents and CORE workers were jailed on charges of contributing to the delinquency of minors.

"They shoved me into the tank with 32 other white men and the jailer said, 'Here comes a nigger lover.' "

On another occasion, Fenton said, he and two other CORE workers were put under civilian house arrest by 31 white toughs who convened outside in seven cars and stood guard, wielding clubs and baseball bats.

He said that when police finally arrived on the scene, after a two-hour wait, he was threatened with arrest for disturbing the peace and told, *"You're not wanted here."*

During the long summer, he reported, 292 additional Negroes were registered to vote in Monroe. Similar success was had throughout the state, including integration of many lunch counters, restaurants and other public facilities, he said.

PEORIA LAWYER FINDS POLICE STATE

by Theo Jean Kenyon
(staff writer)

from the
Peoria Journal Star,
August 3, 1964

"WHAT EXISTS in Northern Louisiana today is a police state run at the pleasure of sheriffs, state troopers and police officers who are savage and ignorant men."

Peoria attorney Arthur G. Greenberg, who returned this weekend from two weeks as a civil rights volunteer, described the northern part of Louisiana as *"completely lawless"* and *"positively incredible."*

He said that he and another attorney who formed the first legal team to go into northern Ouachita parish (county) left *"with no doubt in our minds that CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) workers in northern Louisiana are working on a continuing basis with their lives in danger."*

Greenberg was one of 150 attorneys who signed-on this summer under the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (initiated by CORE), and the only one from the midwest.

That was the aim. This is how Greenberg got his feet wet in the northern Louisiana area.

"Jack Burnett of Manteca, Cal., a little suburb near Stockton, and I made up the team that was sent north from New Orleans to an area that includes Monroe and West Monroe with a total of around 100,000 population.

"A family had called CORE headquarters in New Orleans and asked us to come up to Arcadia. Their son had been sentenced to six months in jail for drinking out of a fountain reserved for whites only. Six months 'with public works' in Louisiana means on the road gang."

Greenberg, Burnett and a Negro attorney named Lolis Elie of New Orleans (CORE's chief southern attorney), traveled up to Arcadia on a humid summer day.

"We were traveling in an 'integrated' car, and as we pulled in to the courthouse a squad car pulled in right behind us."

When the trio walked into the sheriff's office, his desk was covered with cattle prods. The sheriff asked for credentials, finally asked them to state their business. When the Negro attorney began to explain, the sheriff turned on him, *"You shut up, when I want to hear from you I'll say so."*

Greenberg said he and the other white attorney explained the case and said they wanted to see the boy. They were told that was impossible unless they got a letter from the district atttorney, 25 miles away. They finally were allowed to see the records.

"As we left, the sheriff put his arm on our shoulders, 'You fellows can come back anytime. I'll see you don't get hurt,' he said, 'but don't bring that nigger lawyer here again.' "

Because the team feared they would place the boy's family in jeopardy if they called on them publicly, and could not see the boy, they tried calling on the FBI only to be told it was purely an *"investigative"* agency and could not assist them.

In another instance they were able to proceed further. During Greenberg's stay an attempt was made to integrate the libraries at Monroe where only one branch, the Carver branch, *"which looks like a $3,000 home on Peoria's South Side,"* was available to Negroes.

"A group of Negroes first went into a segregated branch and asked for a library card. They were told they could not be issued one. Some sat down at the reading table. The librarian first told them to leave, then called the sheriff," Greenberg explained.

That case is now pending for federal court hearing. The legal team filed for an injunction and $1,625,000 damages against Sheriff Bailey Grant of Monroe, La., charging violations of the 14th amendment and the newly passed Civil Rights Law.

In an attempt to obtain justice, Greenberg said he and his legal partner filed at least 25 petitions to remove cases from the state courts and take them to the federal courts.

Most of the pleadings were filed at Shreveport, La. Greenberg was struck each time by the huge courthouse at Shreveport with the big statue of Generals Lee, Beauregard and Hooker, and the "Stars and Bars" flag of the Confederacy flying above them. No American flag was on view.

"Almost the only place we saw the American flag was at post offices," Greenberg said.

Greenberg said that the car in which the team rode was *"followed many times,"* that his car experienced a mysterious blowout on one trip, and that *"we were followed in every town."*

"The only place Jack and I felt safe was in the Negro neighborhoods where we ate and slept. It was the only place we felt insulated from hostility."

He stayed twice in white motels, but his attempts to find lodgings with white persons were futile. One minister refused even to meet him, and another turned him down for lodging.

Greenberg no longer finds it difficult to call-up the idea of southern violence by southern white people.

"The streets in Monroe, La. are patrolled by automobiles with members of the Ku Klux Klan, or the White Citizens' Council, all using citizen's band two-way radios. Their cars are armed with the favorite weapons of the southern bigot, baseball bats and shotguns."

Maintaining the only headquarters at Monroe in northern Louisiana are a party of four white CORE volunteers, headed by Mike Lesser of New York who interrupted work on a doctorate of political science at Syracuse University to aid the civil rights cause.

Greenberg said Lesser and the others all have the look of *"people involved in extreme battle fatigue."* One worker, David Kramer of Detroit has been told, *"You're on the list and you're going to be killed."*

Kramer had sent a description of northern Louisiana "justice" to the Detroit Free Press and it was printed. It has since been reprinted and circulated in Monroe with Kramer's name and address on it.

Neither Greenberg nor his companion was allowed to practice in any court in Louisiana, although they bore with them their state bar credentials and permission to practice before the federal court.

The most disappointing and frustrating aspect of the trip to Greenberg, he said, was that the federal government itself must do more to obtain racial justice in Louisiana, and it is not doing it. The building in which the U. S. Justice Department is located in New Orleans *"has segregated toilet and drinking facilities,"* Greenberg added.

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MEANING OF CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CONGRESS--	To come together, Social intercourse, an assembly of groups, to discuss pr problems.
RACIAL---	of or characteristics of a Racial group (Ethnic Group) Race or Races.
EQUALITY--	State or instance of being equal in Political, Economic and Social Rights.

MISSISSIPPI EYEWITNESS

the three civil rights workers—how they were murdered

Mississippi Autopsy

DAVID SPAIN, M.D.

THE PHONE RANG about 1:30 a.m. I had just gone to sleep, after a restless hour in bed conjugating four days of utter failure to get my outboard motor running, and I walked half-asleep down the dark hallway to the telephone, certain that it was a wrong number. The phone doesn't ring too often at our summer home on Martha's Vineyard Island, and I was as surprised by the post-midnight call as I would have been if I looked out the window and saw my ailing outboard motor running around by itself in the bay.

The operator said Jackson, Mississippi, was calling.

The man on the wire was Dr. Charles Goodrich, a New York physician who was spending his vacation in Mississippi giving medical aid to civil rights workers as a volunteer for the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

"Dave, can you get down here, right away?"

"To *Mississippi?"*

"Immediately. The autopsy for those three kids is scheduled for tomorrow, and the attorneys for Mrs. Chaney and Mickey Schwerner's family want an expert pathologist at the examination as an independent observer."

I had been horrified by the newspaper accounts of the discovery of the bodies of the three young civil rights workers. I would do anything I could to help. Goodrich said he had verbal permission for me to observe the autopsy. People in New York were working on a way to get me from the little island off the coast of Massachusetts to Mississippi by lunchtime. "You find a way to get me there, and I'll go," I said.

Then I went back to bed and waited.

AT 3 A.M., THE PHONE RANG again. There is a small airport on Martha's Vineyard Island. I was to be there at 7 a.m. A special plane would take me to Kennedy International, where I could catch a 9:15 a.m. flight to Mississippi that would get me into Jackson fifteen minutes before the autopsy was scheduled to begin.

When I went back to sleep this time, I had forgotten about my outboard motor.

It was still dark when we got up and my wife drove me to the airstrip. But there was no small plane. Instead, we got a phone call from the pilot. He couldn't get *his* motor started. I told him I knew just how he felt, and put in a call to Jackson to tell Goodrich that things looked pretty hopeless. The only scheduled flight from the island into Kennedy was at 10 a.m., too late to make the morning plane to Mississippi, and the next flight for Jackson left at 4 in the afternoon from Newark Airport.

As I waited in the telephone booth for the operator to get through, my feelings were mixed. I was relieved at not having to interrupt my vacation, and I hadn't particularly looked forward to the reception an alien white man can get in Mississippi. But I was disappointed, too, because I wouldn't have a chance now to do something that might help find the murderers of those kids. Goodrich, when he came on the phone, resolved my ambivalent feelings for me.

"Get down here anyway. Take the late plane. There's something funny going on about this business. I think we may be able to arrange for you to examine the bodies later. It may all be a wild goose chase, but let's try."

I said goodby, and then told my wife that I was going to Mississippi, after all.

I HAD EIGHT MINUTES to spare at Kennedy airport before catching a helicopter to Newark, so I talked a barber into giving me perhaps what is the fastest haircut on the books. I saw myself in the barber shop mirror, and cried a little. My vacation wardrobe at Martha's Vineyard Island consisted of an eclectic assortment of well-broken-in loafing clothes, and I had dressed for my mission to Mississippi in battered sun tans, a sport shirt, and a faded blue denim sailing jacket. In a burst of insecurity, I had the bootblack shine my shoes. On the way out I bought a white shirt and tie and put them on, which provided a dapper foil to my dirty tans and denim jacket. I could guess what proper Mississipians would think of the 'Medical Examiner from the East.'

The Newark plane left on time, and I had just unfastened my seatbelt when I heard a man across the aisle tell the stewardess to let him know if "she ran across anybody named Spain." I answered up, and he introduced himself as Dr. Aron Wells, who is the chairman of the Medical Committee on Human Rights. He was traveling, by coincidence, on the same plane and had heard from Dr. Goodrich that I might be aboard. I moved across the aisle so we could chat and we soon became good friends. Dr. Wells, an assistant professor of medicine at Cornell, was one of the organizers of the medical committee, which was set up on an emergency basis when physical violence became standard operating procedure against civil rights workers in Mississippi. The committee sent over 100 doctors and nurses to work in the South this summer, and is now a permanent volunteer organization. The committee, Wells said, is now expanding its operations beyond medical care to areas including a study of the effect of discrimination on the health of Southern Negroes, investigation of cases where federal funds might be used in segregated medical facilities, and surveying the public health problems of Negroes—something largely neglected in the South.

The plane made a scheduled stop at Birmingham, and the stewardess soon came down the aisle and told us that one of the engines wouldn't turn over for the takeoff and there would be an indefinite delay. I told her to tell the pilot that I knew just how he felt, and Dr. Wells and I went out for dinner.

The restaurant in the Birmingham airport is modern and attractive in an eleemosynary fashion and I suggested we try it. Dr. Wells hesitated. "Do you think it's wise?" he said. "Do you think it will be ok?"

Dr. Wells is a Negro.

I found myself embarrassed at his embarrassment, and I said that airports were now legally desegregated so I didn't think there'd be any trouble. Our uneasiness ebbed away after a couple of drinks and a good dinner. The waitress, who spoke in a syrupy Southern drawl, was extremely gracious and attentive and as we got back onto the plane I began to wonder if my preconceptions about the South might be a lot worse than the reality. It didn't take long in Jackson to find out that they weren't.

IT WAS DARK when we landed at the Jackson airport. I suggested that we take a cab to the hotel, but Dr. Wells said, very quietly, "No, I don't think we'd better." I looked at him and I saw in the pain and fear and dignity in his eyes what he meant without him saying anything further: After dark in Mississippi, it is poison for a Negro and a white to be seen on the streets together. It is doubtful that there was a cab driver in the city who would have dared to pick us up. Dr. Wells called the medical committee headquarters, and a car was sent out for us.

We were driven to the Sun and Sands, a modern, glass front hotel with a central patio and pool; it is desegregated and a frequent stopping place for representatives of civil rights organizations.

I got my first hate stare in the lobby. The stare is an almost instinctive reaction of Mississippians who see a white man, especially a "foreign" white man, with a Negro. My felony was compounded because I asked for a room with one. Dr. Wells had planned to spend that night with a local Negro minister, but when we got into town after dark I suggested that he stay with me. When I told the girl behind the desk I wanted a room for two her head snapped back as if I had jabbed the ball point registration pen into her stomach.

"You *two?*" she asked. Her voice was a tempered mixture of incredulity and disgust.

I finished filling out the registration card. Her hand hit the page for the bellboy as if the metal bell were a slug she was trying to brush away.

The first thing Dr. Wells said after the bellboy left the room was "What do you think is the best thing to do if somebody throws a bomb in the room." He said it very seriously, and it took me a few seconds to realize that he wasn't kidding. "Do you think we should run, or try to throw the thing out before it goes off? I've been thinking about this for some time," he said. I said that I had no experience with something like that, but that I imagined it would be best to run into the next room. As I answered him, I found myself wondering at the sound of my own words—wondering what kind of a never-world we were in that we were seriously discussing bombs.

Dr. Goodrich called, and asked us to come down to the room of John Pratt, and upstate New York attorney who was representing the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee in Jackson. Pratt was handling the arrangements for the autopsy. I wasn't prepared for the scene in Pratt's room.

WHEN THE DOOR SHUT, I thought I was inside the headquarters of a battle battalion. Pratt's small room seemed filled with people—I counted at least ten—all moving and talking at the same frantic pace. One young man was in a serious phone conversation, another was pacing the floor, several others were studying documents that looked like legal briefs and some others picked in lacklusture fashion at food that had apparently just been brought in. Three men suddenly rushed out the front door, and it had barely closed when two other men and a girl came in. Pratt was in the middle of all this consternation, a tall, wirey man in his early 30's, talking, laughing occasionaly, issuing instructions and occasionally taking a bite out of a cold baked potato sitting solitare in a plate on top of the bureau.

The girl walked up to me. She was pretty, barely into her 20's, and looked like she might have been out cheering the Beatles the night before. There was no smile on her face, and her voice was even and emotionless.

"Here is your orientation packet, Dr. Spain."

She handed me a large manila envelope. That is given to all volunteers who come into Mississippi. I read the papers inside with a growing sense of uneasiness. An "orientation sheet" listed typical problems civil rights volunteers encountered in Mississippi and suggestions to avoid them. One page was a memorandum of various psychological problems that some civil rights workers faced—like the need of some white to mentally "become a Negro" before they could adjust to working there, or the tensions and misunderstandings that at times developed between white men and Negro women, and vice versa, who worked together.

There was also a list titled "Security Regulations." I was to always let committee people know where I was going, was not to be out on the streets alone at night, and should report my whereabouts to headquarters every three hours when I was away from the hotel.

The girl gave me a list of phone numbers to call if I was arrested ("You might be arrested at any time that you're on the streets") and asked me for a friend they could call if I had to make bail.

Then, for the first time, I felt the full shock of the monstrous implications of what was happening in Mississippi. Up until this time, I was thinking of the trip, though made under extraordinary circumstances, as just another assignment. Suddenly, I had an entirely different perspective. It was hard to rationalize the possibility that I could be arrested, that I might be in physical danger—just because I was in Mississippi. It was like being in the middle of a war game—only the other side was shooting real bullets.

PRATT BRIEFED ME ON THE SITUATION. He had been trying frantically to get permission for me to examine the bodies, but had met one legal roadblock after another. The official post-mortem examination had been made that afternoon, but the authorities decided not to allow any independent observers as witnesses. Pratt's staff spent the day gathering all the affidavits and notarized documents that the authorities required for permission to examine the bodies—but each time they filled one request, another took its place.

Pratt was forced to take a heart-burdening step. He asked Mrs. Chaney, the mother of one of the slain boys, for permission to have her son's body examined by me as soon as the body was released to her by the authorities. She agreed without any hesitation. The Neshoba County District Attorney then promised Pratt that when all papers were in order he would sanction the release of the body to Mrs. Chaney and we could get on with our grim task.

Finally, at 1 a.m., the last of the legal papers were stacked neatly on Pratt's desk. All that was left to do was call the District Attorney and have him authorize the Director of the University of Mississippi Hospital where the autopsy had been performed to release the body of James Chaney to Mrs. Chaney and to us for examination. The District Attorney, Raiford Jones, had given Pratt his home telephone number. Pratt put in a call to the D.A. When he put down the receiver a few minutes later, his thin face was hot with the fever of frustration.

"The operator says the D.A.'s phone is out of order and will be out of order for 24 hours."

Pratt asked the police in Philadelphia, where Jones lives, to go out to his house and deliver the message. He made the request half-heartedly. The police didn't call back.

Before I went to bed I read carefully the accounts in the late newspapers of the post-mortem examination that had been made on the boys that afternoon. The examination was conducted, the story said, by a private pathologist ostensibly appointed by the coroner, the University of Mississippi Pathology Department, and the FBI. The report said that the bodies were badly decomposed, that all three boys had been shot, Schwerner and Goodman once and Chaney three times, and that there was no other evidence of mutilation or bodily injury. It also said that Chaney's wrist had been fractured by a bullet.

This report was quickly dispatched by the wire service. The impression given nationally was that a meticulous examination had been made of the deceased under the supervision of university pathologists and the FBI.

But the report just didn't make good medical sense to me. The statements that the bodies were badly decomposed and that there was no evidence of mutilation or other injury were contradictory—if the bodies were badly decomposed, it would be extremely unlikely that an official determination could be made as to the extent of bodily injuries. The maddening technicalities that kept me from examining the bodies left me angry. I began, in a solemn mood, to look forward to my sad task the next day.

DR. WELLS AND I WENT down to the hotel dining room for breakfast the next morning. The hostess sat us at a table directly in front of the door, and after some discussion she reluctantly moved us further inside the dining room. That, I guess, was a mistake. The table next to us sagged under a giant weighing somewhere between 300 and 350 pounds with a bright red sunburnt neck the breadth of a miniature saddle. He was hunched over the table, which was heaped with a fantastic assortment of food which I believe represented every entree on the breakfast menu: stacked pancakes, ham, several fried eggs, sausages, hominy grits, hash brown potatoes—and a medium-sized breakfast steak.

Both his hands were moving at the same time towards his mouth in a remarkable exhibition of physical coordination. Between shovels, he happened to glance over at our table. He was thunderstruck. His hands hung, motionless, in mid-air. He stopped chewing. He stared at us in complete disbelief. He seemed unable to comprehend that a white man and a Negro were actually sitting together at a table across from him.

He jerked his thick neck down toward the plate and tried to go back to his food, but he couldn't stop staring at us. He would concentrate on eating, and almost immediately his head would snap back in our direction. This went on for at least ten minutes, with his head snapping up and down as if he were watching an indoor tennis match.

His hate stares were directed at me—his eyes were sign-posts saying Hate—I was a white man betraying his race because I was having breakfast with a black man. The "redneck" (this is, curiously, a slang term in the South for White Citizens Council types; in this case, it was also a physical description) finally gave up the uneven match with his attention and pushed back his chair like the Queen Mary leaving berth. He sidled out of the dining room.

I realize this man sounds like a caricature. But he *was* real. This is one of the incredible things about the unbelievable world of Mississippi: what most people regard as a caricature is real there.

But then, Mississippi is a mass of caricatures: Dr. Wells, a Negro, once beneath contempt from a Southerner's point of view, shares a room with a white man, despite the trauma experienced by hotel employees. Yet the same man can't share the hotel's swimming pool.

Whites in Mississippi sing the praises of America and its glorious traditions, then they go out and lynch their fellow Americans.

Dr. Wells left for the medical committee headquarters, and I walked out into the center patio and found John Pratt sitting in a deck chair beside the pool.

"Sit down," he said. "There's nothing to do now but wait."

The funeral director hired by Mrs. Chaney was on his way to Philadelphia, Pratt said, with all the papers necessary to effect the release of young Chaney's body. After presenting the papers to the Philadelphia authorities, he would drive back to Jackson, stop at the hotel for us, and then proceed to the University of Mississippi Medical Center where I could examine Chaney. The round-trip took about five hours, so we had nothing to do but wait until he showed up.

In the meantime, two COFO (Council of Federated Organizations, a broad front of civil rights groups) workers had taken up positions at the morgue entrance to make sure the bodies would not be removed without our knowledge.

IN RETROSPECT, IT SEEMS AMAZING how you can proceed with the ordinary pleasures of life in the midst of such a situation, but this is what we did. We went swimming, sunned ourselves at poolside, and chatted. The conversation was almost light-hearted—a reaction, I think, against contemplating the grim job before us.

I told Pratt that I had brought a book with me. I was reading "Mississippi: The Closed Society." Pratt frowned. "If you plan to read that in the open, out here at the pool, I suggest you take off the dust jacket. These people around here are pretty touchy—they don't like outsiders reading about them." I must admit that I felt rather silly, removing the jacket of my book. But I did it. I had decided to take the advice of Mississippi veterans on the best way to survive in that strange country.

I became aware that there were no Negroes in the pool. I asked Pratt what would happen if a Negro guest of this desegregated hotel went swimming.

"Oh, it's been tried," Pratt said. "But something always happens—like the hotel management suddenly announcing that the filter system was 'not functioning properly' and it would be necessary to clear the pool for an indefinite period of time. The word gets around quick enough to the Negroes, and as far as I know no Negro has ever succeeded in swimming one lap in that pool."

"How did Mrs. Chaney take it—when you talked to her about examining her son's body?"

I asked a question that had been in my mind since I heard about the bereaved mother's brave decision consenting to a second autopsy on her son.

"She was beautiful," Pratt said. "When I asked her, she said, very quietly, "I want everyone to know everything possible about what has happened." Then she added: "I know he could die only once, but if they did these awful things to him, this ought to be no secret. It is even more important now that the guilty ones be brought to trial and justice and be punished. God must forgive them; it is very difficult for me to do so."

The pressure on Mrs. Chaney to refuse permission was tremendous: Philadelphia was against it. Without her, we would never see the body—the authorities in Philadelphia seemed decidedly unfavorable to a second medical examination. "Philadelphia is like an armed camp," Pratt said. "When I went there to see the District Attorney, he had to arrange for me to arrive in the city incognito. Unemployed white men—they're called "Deputy Sheriffs" in Philadelphia—strut around the center of town all day, displaying their gun holsters, on the watch for any "intruders." The atmosphere is murderous. Mrs. Chaney's a widow with young children. It took a lot of guts for her to sign those papers. Retaliation is easy in Philadelphia." (*Editor's note: Three weeks after she signed the consent for the examination, Mrs. Chaney's home was bombed and shot into.*)

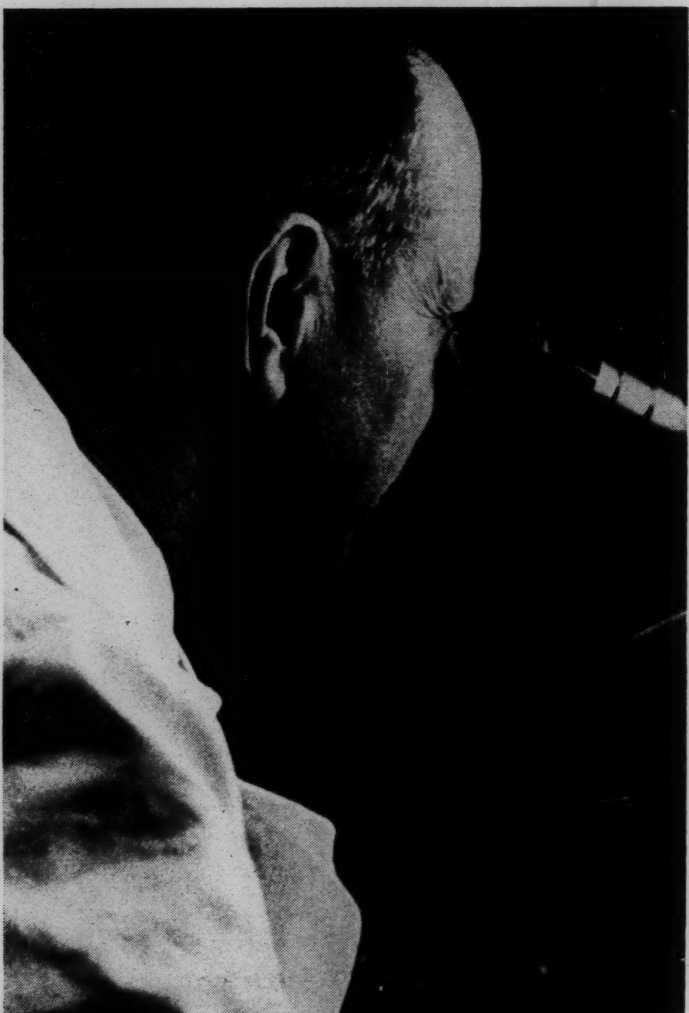
PRATT WAS PAGED on the hotel public address system. When he went inside to answer the phone I browsed through a file of reports from field teams of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. I only had the stomach to read two of them.

The first report described extended treatment given a young Negro civil rights worker for fifteen or twenty burns scattered all over his body. He had been stopped by police in a small Mississippi town for questioning, and while they questioned him they jabbed lighted cigarettes into his flesh. The burns weren't treated, and were ulcerous and infected when the medical volunteers found the boy.

Another Mississippi town, a medical report said, had activated a local statute requiring any "stranger" entering the town to register at police headquarters—as if he were entering a foreign country. The youth in the report had registered, but a policeman insisted that the boy come to the station to "check" his compliance with the statute. The boy's name was found on the books. The officer then told him to "run along," and in the same breath swung his billy club into the boy's groin with such force that the youth passed out. Surgery was later necessary to evacuate a blood clot (larger than an orange) created by the blow.

MISSISSIPPI AUTOPSY

DR. DAVID M. SPAIN,
a nationally known pathologist,
is clinical professor
of pathology at
New York Downstate Medical Center
and director of pathology
at Brookdale Hospital Center.
He is past
medical examiner of
Westchester County.



I was too depressed to read further. I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of these reports. After conversations with physicians who have been in Mississippi, I believe that incidents of this nature—with varying degrees of brutality—go on regularly and relentlessly every day of the week. They are too frequent to be considered "newsworthy."

In the Alice-in-Wonderland environment of Mississippi, the grotesque becomes matter of fact and the simplest idea can meet the strangest and most insurmountable obstacles. One pitifully sad case in point: Mickey Schwerner's parents and James Chaney's mother decided that they would like both their sons buried together in the Chaney family plot in Mississippi.

This just couldn't be done. The Negro funeral director for Mrs. Chaney did not dare to pick up the white boy's body at the University hospital. If he did, he feared some technical reason would be found for revoking his license. And the bereaved Schwerners were unable to find a white undertaker in Mississippi who would transport the body of their son to a Negro cemetery. They were forced to abandon the idea.

PRATT CAME IN AND SAID THAT our wait was over. The undertaker had arrived with the necessary papers. Dr. Wells, Dr. Goodrich, Pratt and I drove together to the morgue. As we passed through the quiet and clean streets of Jackson, I was hit by the horrible realization that this pleasant town—the opposite of the stereotype of the 'typical' Southern town, with nary a Faulknerian degenerate ghosting the streets—was actually a façade. The scary thing was that Jackson looked so pleasant and sleepy—and if this rotten core of hate could be underneath, it could be anywhere.

Our official reception at the morgue was cool, but courteous. The University of Mississippi Medical Center is a large and striking building in downtown Jackson, built, incidentally, with federal funds. We met the director of the hospital and several members of the pathology department in the well-lit basement hallway that leads to the autopsy room. We exchanged professional courtesies, and one of the doctors pointed towards the double stainless steel doors ahead of us. "It's inside," he said.

Only two of the bodies were still there. Goodman's corpse had been sent out the night before, and he was buried before there was a chance for a second autopsy. The Mississippi authorities refused to allow Schwerner's parents to give telephone permission for me to examine the body—so it was young Chaney who lay on the gurney wheeled to the center of the room.

One of the University pathologists stepped forward, silently, and helped me slide Chaney's corpse from the gurney to the stainless steel examining table in the middle of the room. He stepped backward, and lined up with his three comrades on one side of the table, facing me. I stood alone on the opposite side. The only sound in the green-tiled room was the rough noise of the zipper on the protective plastic bag as I pulled it away from Chaney's body.

I was immediately struck by how slight and frail this young man was—a thin boy with tender skin. I looked at his wrist, the one that was reported broken in the unofficial examination, and I couldn't find the bullet hole that the newspapers mentioned. The wrist was broken, alright. Bones were smashed, so badly that his wrist must have been literally flapping when he was carried.

But there was no indication of any bullet hole.

I looked up at the three doctors opposite me. Their faces were stone. I motioned to the wrist—I asked where the bullet hole was.

One of the stone figures facing me offered a mumbled explanation, something about how Chaney's hand had been across his chest when the first examination was made and the examiner must have mistaken the bullet holes in his chest for one in the hand.

I looked at him in amazement, but our eyes never met. During the remainder of the examination, not another word was spoken.

Then I noticed Chaney's jaw. It was broken—the lower jaw was completely shattered, split vertically, from some tremendous force. I moved the shattered pieces of his jaw in vertical directions for the three doctors to see. They remained silent. I couldn't catch their eyes.

I carefully examined the body, and found that the bones in the right shoulder were crushed—again, from some strong and direct blow.

His internal organs had been removed in the first autopsy, so it was impossible to ascertain if Chaney had suffered internal injuries also.

But one thing was certain: this frail boy had been beaten in an inhuman fashion. The blows that had so terribly shattered his bones—I surmised he must have been beaten with chains, or a pipe—were in themselves sufficient to cause death. It was again impossible to say if he had died before he was shot—the bullets had been removed in the first autopsy, and the bullet tracts had been carefully excised so I could not trace the path of the bullets.

I examined his skull and it was crushed, too. The fracture was circular and depressed, from another direct blow.

I could barely believe the destruction to these frail young bones. In my twenty-five years as a pathologist and medical examiner, I have never seen bones so severely shattered, except in tremendously high speed accidents or airplane crashes.

It was obvious to any first-year medical student that this boy had been beaten to a pulp.

I have been conducting examinations of this type for a quarter century, but for the first time I found myself so emotionally charged that it was difficult to retain my professional composure. I felt every fiber in my own body shaking, as I involuntarily imagined the scene at the time this youngster received such a vicious beating to shatter his bones in this incredible manner.

I felt like screaming at these impassive observers still silently standing across the table.

But I knew that no rage of mine would tear their curtain of silence. I took off the green surgical smock they had given me, thanked them for their cooperation, and left the room as fast as I could. I went straight to the hotel, dictated a report of my gruesome findings, and left immediately for the airport.

I felt an irrational, immediate urge to get out of Mississippi the fastest way possible. The first plane out went the wrong way from New York—to New Orleans—but I felt an indescribable relief when I boarded it and flew—I guess you could say I almost fled—from Jackson.

EPILOGUE

The "unofficial" autopsy report made shortly after the discovery of the bodies remains the only public document on the deaths. The Coroner's Jury of Neshoba County ruled several months after the murders that the cause or causes of death of the three boys could not be officially determined. Therefore the Coroner's Jury had no reason to ask the District Attorney to seek an indictment from the Grand Jury. An official autopsy report has never been made.

pub. about Farmer

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THE NEGRO NOW

BY ROBERT PENN WARREN

Novelist, poet, essayist, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of All the King's Men, Band of Angels *and* Flood

SOMEWHERE BACK IN the minds of many people, there is an image of *the* Negro leader—a glare-eyed robot propelled by a merciless mechanism, stalking forward over the smiling landscape, where good, clean American citizens (including well-adjusted Negroes) go happily about their constructive business. Many of us who are white—in our moments of stereotype and cartoon thinking—share that vision. In those moments, we do not realize that there is, in one sense, no Negro leader. There are, merely, a number of Negroes who happen to occupy positions of leadership.

And a number of those Negroes, some of the best advertised, did not seek such positions. Neither their training nor temperament nor aspirations had seemed to point in that direction. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick), who wanted to be a novelist, said to me he wished he could be talking about something other than the Negro Revolution—he wished the whole thing were over. The young Martin Luther King, Jr., with the beribboned sheepskin, proclaiming his new doctorate, to hang on the wall of his study in his first parsonage, could not have foreseen the Montgomery Improvement Association, *Time*'s cover and the Nobel Peace Prize. The whirl of history created a vacuum, and they were sucked in.

Some of them have, indeed, found in leadership a natural fulfillment. Here, the unsuspected talent and the unsuspected self have blossomed, and it is no crime for a man to feel at home with, and take pleasure in, what he can do well. Nor is it necessarily a crime to seek leadership. The will to power, grisly as it appears in certain lights, can mate, if uneasily, with love of justice and dedicated selflessness. Even in the bloody infighting among Negro leaders, more may be at stake than organizational aggrandizement or personal vanity; principles and policies may be involved too.

One should not be more appalled by complications among Negroes than by those among white people. Regardless of complexion, social movements are always powerful magnets for self-anointed prophets, spiritual DP's and deviants, sufferers from footless ambition, masochists, bloodlusters and common pilferers from the poor box; and it should be no wonder that the Negro Revolution has attracted some. What is remarkable is that it has attracted so few—or that so few have risen to the threshold of public mention.

In general, the Negro leadership has given the public little reason to be appalled, for in a situation as complicated as this, it would not be easy to imagine a higher level of idealism, dedication and realistic intelligence. If leadership of that quality is supplanted by other, less savory types that are already lurking in the wings, and that certainly do not have any vision of a reconciled society, the white man has only himself to blame. Mayor Robert F. Wagner had only himself to blame if his European vacation, in the summer of 1964, was cut short by riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant; everybody knew there would be riots (except perhaps the Mayor), and everything he did afterwards by way of appeasement or amelioration could have been done beforehand and as part of a program that would have inspired the Negro community to some hope and confidence. Then, if there had been disorders, the issues would have been more clear-cut. Looters would have been looters and not liberty-looters.

If now in Mississippi—with no convictions for the Neshoba County killings of the three civil-

continued

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rights workers—terrorist organizations, like the Russian nihilists or the Stern Gang of Palestine, emerge among Negroes, then white people must, at one level, assume themselves responsible. Romantic, ruinous and desperate gestures are implicit in the situation. In reference to such a gang of "dedicated retaliators," the Rev. Milton Galamison, leader of the New York school boycott, says: "I refuse to advocate violence as a principle, but almost all oppressed people have had such a group that will retaliate in kind, and this might serve some kind of purpose in bringing about a swifter resolution of a problem that exists." How delicately Galamison balances the matter!

Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League is right when he says that the leaders need victories in order to contain the danger of overreach and to forestall violence; they need something solid and negotiable in the Negro power market. If, in the summer of 1964, they had had something a little more solid and negotiable, James Farmer of CORE and John Lewis of Snick perhaps could have strung along with Roy Wilkins of NAACP and the others in proclaiming a preelection moratorium on demonstrations. It seems that Farmer, in the spring of 1964, following a policy of sweet reason, had put himself on the defensive in repudiating the World's Fair stall-ins; so, at the time of the summer riots and after, he had to insist on a stance of militancy or feel the jerk as the wild boys snatched the rug out from under his feet. If Farmer found himself forced to adopt the new stance, the white people helped force him. They had given little reason for the Negro to believe that they would surrender anything except under pressure. As Galamison put it, there was the fear that LBJ would go Right if he thought he had "the Negro people in his vest pocket."

Negro leaders have, we can be quite certain, a sense of power, and they are willing to apply it when and where it pinches. For power is the key. What the Negro hasn't the power to get, he won't get. But power—as both Negroes and whites need to remember—may operate in more than one dimension. A number of Negroes, feeling the new headiness of power and not bothering to reflect deeply on the dimensions in which it may operate, think of a physical showdown in the streets as their big threat. According to the survey in *The Negro Revolution in America*, by William Brink and Louis Harris, some 52 percent of all Negroes think that if things came to gut-fighting, the Negro would win, and in the Northern slums, the percentage is higher. But among the leaders, the survey can discover only 29 percent who feel that, in a showdown, the Negroes would win; and I am certain that almost all of that 29 percent would be leaders in very low echelons. The leadership, aside from any theological or moral convictions about nonviolence, is realistic. As the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC summed it up, "The white folks have more guns." And he might have added that they have more votes, more money and more education.

Power in the absolute sense—even in the showdown short of gunpoint—is out for the Negro. Negro leadership, including even Malcolm X, is concerned with *relative* power, and the art of picking the spot where a little pinch will hurt a lot. For instance, in 1948, the Negro vote was significant, but in 1960, it actually elected a President. A Negro boycott might not do decisive damage to a Cadillac agency in Atlanta (and then, again, it might), but would certainly bring howling to his knees a distributor of malt beverages in that city. The art is the art of locating the vulnerable point, and there are many kinds of vulnerability.

There is another aspect to the art of applying relative power. A man may say that he is a hard-core segregationist. But how hard is that core? Is it as hard as his love for, or need of, money? As his desire to have his children educated? As his preference for social order? As his wish to be considered respectable? As his simple inclination to stay out of jail? The only real hard-core segregationist is one whose feeling about Negroes takes precedence over all other feelings mobilized in a given situation. For instance, the feeling for segregation among the parents of Prince Edward County, Va., took precedence over their desire for education for their children. But when parents in some other Southern communities—such as Jackson, Miss.—band together to keep the schools open despite integration, though it is probable that those same parents would prefer to have the schools segregated, their desire to have a school takes precedence over the desire for segregation. In other words, in all sorts of subtle and shifting combinations, the Negro leadership is committed to playing a most complicated tune on the strings of white desires and convictions.

And the string the harpist touches most often, sometimes lightly, sometimes with an authoritative *whang*, is the white man's desire to be a just man. For few men are willing to say: "I am unjust."

To state it differently: By and large, the Negro leadership is concerned with relative power. There is one kind of power Negro leaders feel they have that is not relative. It is moral power. For by the white man's own professed standards, the Negro is in the right.

It is clear to the Negro leaders that drift would doom the Revolution to a dwindling failure or a bloodbath. The floundering consequent upon such a lack of philosophy would deflate one of the proudest boasts of the New Negro—that he, for once, can set the terms on which the question of his fate will be treated. Furthermore, the floundering of the Negro leadership would invite, in the white reaction, similar floundering, similarly disastrous. And, perhaps worst of all, the lack of a philosophy would invite the adventurer to try his hand. But what is to prevent drift or confusion?

We must recognize that the option does not lie between drift and confusion on one hand and an ironbound, brass-studded orthodoxy on the other. Fortunately, a number of Negroes in key, or influential, positions are men of intellectual power and depth of purpose, and these men have put their minds on these problems. This is not to say that one man puts his mind on all the problems, but the thinking of one man supplements that of another. What is important in this *communal* effort is not the quick whipping up of an orthodoxy, but the envisagement of a number of possibilities, options, relations and consequences to be intellectually analyzed and imaginatively explored.

There may be, and sometimes obviously are, violent disagreements on general policy or on particular programs of action. In fact, there is always the possibility of a fundamental split in leadership, with the resultant danger of violence as some fragment of the movement spins out of control. But as long as even the characteristically uneasy cooperation prevails, centripetal force will probably continue to balance the centrifugal, and the communal effort will continue to mean that choices of action

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WHO SPEAKS FOR THE NEGRO?

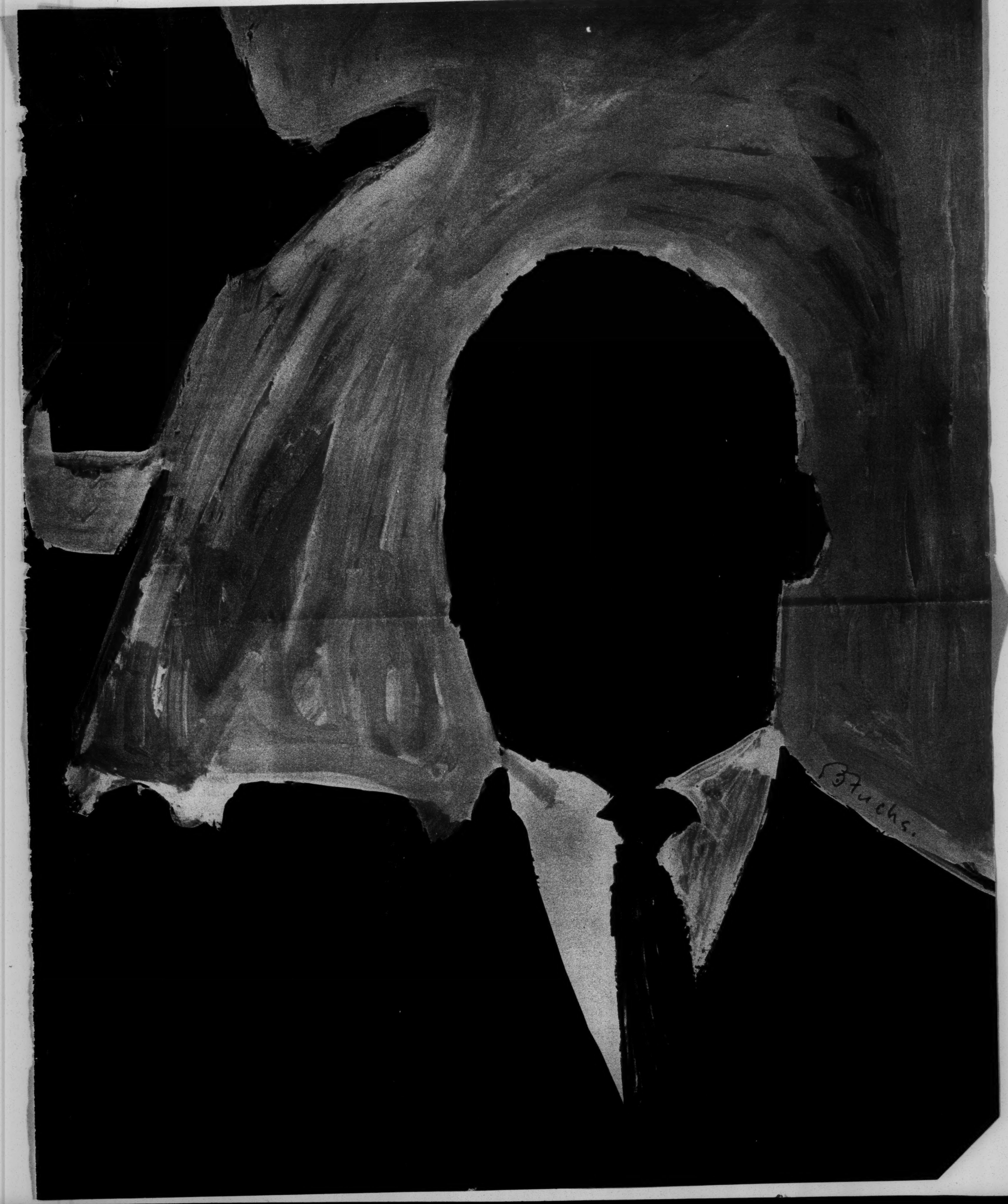
"There is no Negro leader," Robert Penn Warren says. "There are, merely, a number of Negroes who happen to occupy positions of leadership." On this and the following pages, four of the most prominent occupants of those positions candidly discuss their fellow leaders and the problems of leadership.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"There's always the danger that an oppressed group will seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage—thereby subverting justice. It can lead to the kind of philosophy you get in the Black Nationalist movements—black supremacy. Many revolutions have been centered on destroying something. In this revolution, the quest is for the Negro to get into the stream of American life. It's a revolution calling on the nation to live up to what is already there in an idealistic sense. Part of the job of leadership is to keep the hope alive and yet keep righteous indignation alive, the healthy discontent that will keep a revolution moving."

PAINTINGS FOR LOOK BY BERNARD FUCHS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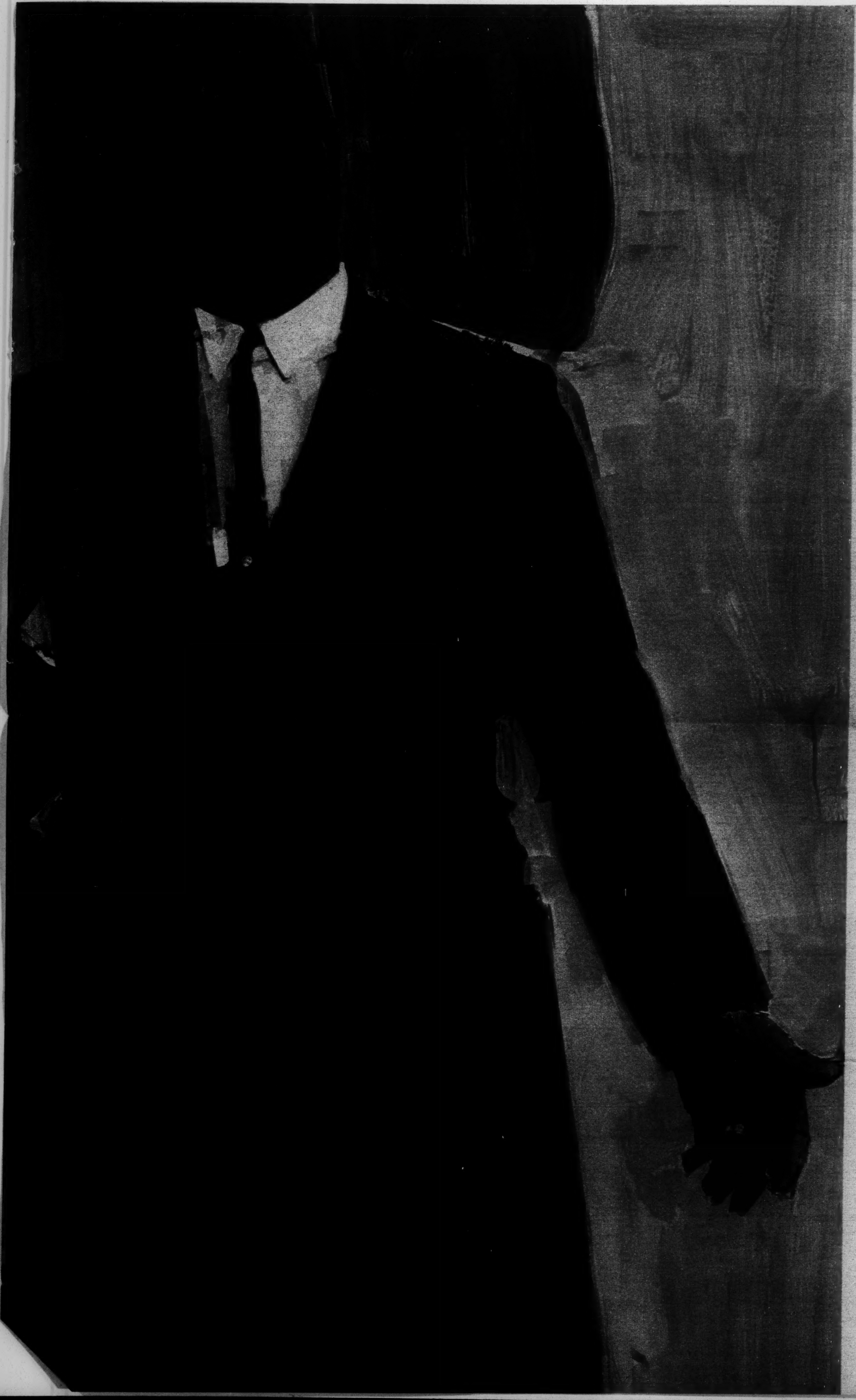

Whitney Young, Jr.

URBAN LEAGUE

"One of the tragedies of the whole civil-rights movement is the inability of the white person to distinguish significant Negro leadership. For example, any Negro who achieves a certain amount of prominence—a Cassius Clay or a Willie Mays—when he utters something about race relations is treated as an expert. There are many people who now are able to write about it, make a wonderful living on it, but let's not confuse this with leadership. A great preoccupation of the white press, whether with Malcolm X or Baldwin or Adam Powell, is a kind of guilt feeling, saying, 'Beat me, daddy, I feel guilty.'. . . There aren't 10 Negroes who'd follow Malcolm X to a separate state. The only appeal he has is to give a Negro who's been beaten down all day a chance to get a vicarious pleasure out of hearing somebody cuss out the white people."

Roy Wilkins

NAACP

"In the present state of Negro-white relations, and the scramble that's going on to get on record and to be uncompromising and to be militant and demanding, people say a lot of things in public about white people having to conform to this—white people must *give up that—white people* must *recognize—white people* must, must, must. *This is a sure way to get on television and to get quoted and to cause tremors in some quarters—or, at least, if not tremors, head-scratching and soul-searching. They don't know us, we say. We know about them, we're so sure, but they don't know about us. Now, when they come over and try to find out about us, why don't we teach them, instead of saying to them, 'We look on you with suspicion. You're just trying to ingratiate yourselves. You don't know how to get on in the Negro world.'"*

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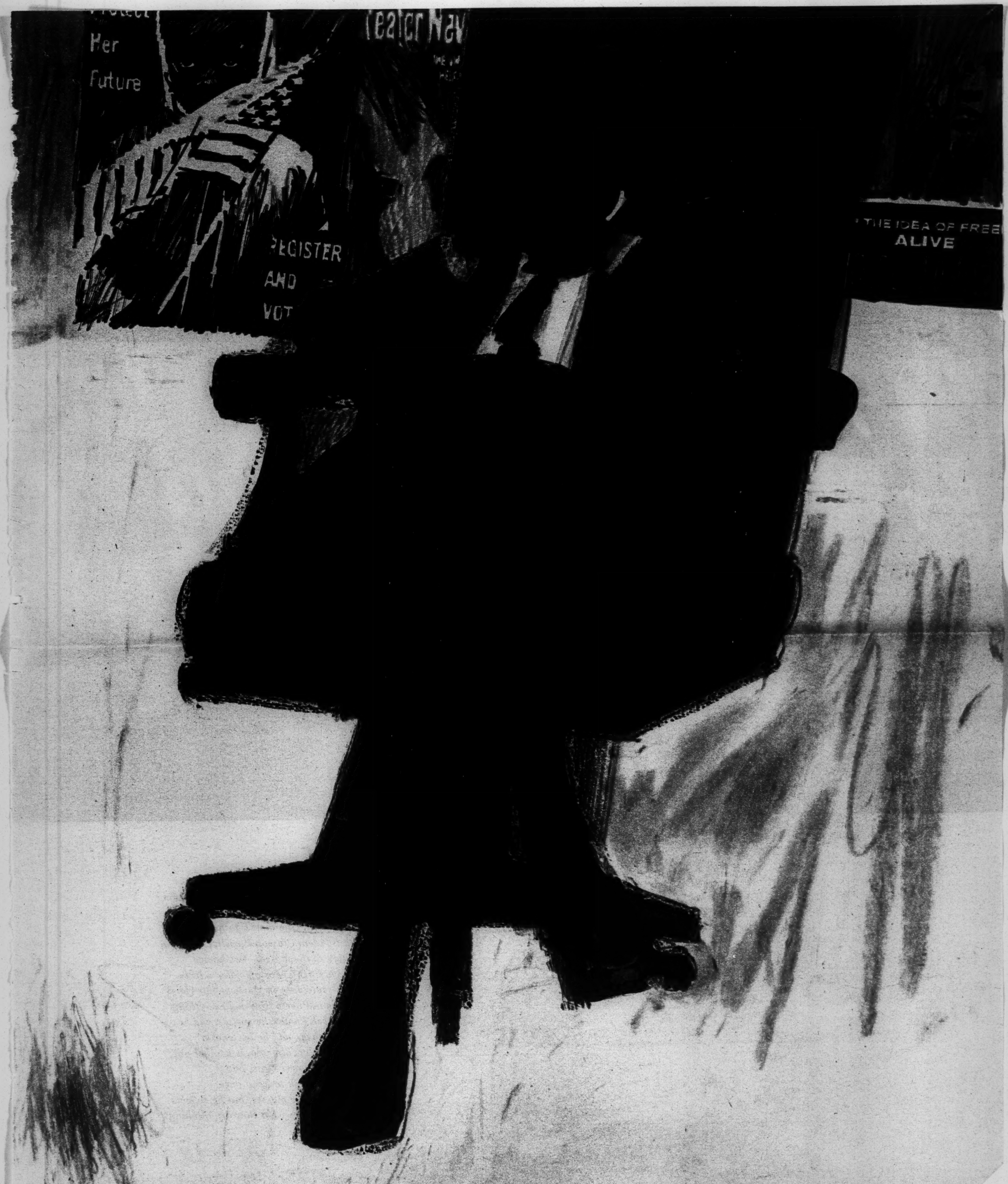
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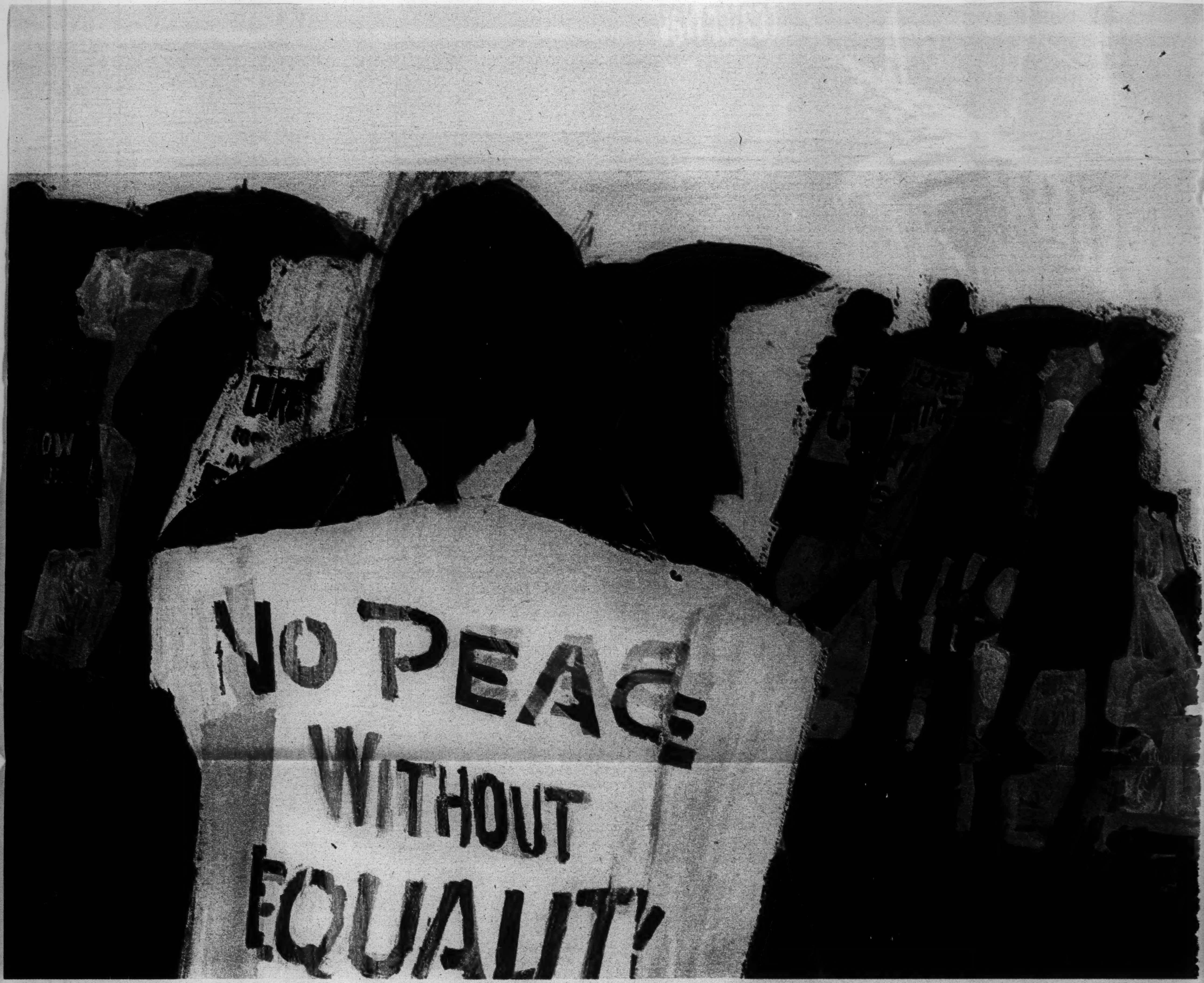

James Farmer

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

"What is apt to happen now is a competition among Negro leadership, based on the fastest footwork. One man who has fast footwork is Adam Clayton Powell. He has no real relation to the masses—two homes and four cars. He keeps officially a little apartment someplace in Harlem—but [has] this mansion in Puerto Rico and everything else. Yet Powell knows the masses, and he can speak to them, and he becomes a lower-class leader. Malcolm is another one. Malcolm is not lower-class, but he has the footwork to keep pace. He doesn't lead the masses, but he reflects them and verbalizes what they are thinking."

do not have to be made blind. Whatever choices may be made, the purpose is presumably to bring the Negro into full and responsible participation in American society—that is, to achieve integration. But what is integration? For some, integration is rhetoric; for some, it is lines on a school map; for some, it is a quota in a Federally subsidized housing project; for some, it is FEPC. It is, in one sense, all of these things, but at the same time, it is none. It is, ideally considered, the state of mind, the condition of the soul, in which human recognition and appreciation would be mutually possible for us all, black and white.

In speaking of a state of mind and a condition of the soul, I am not complacently repeating President Dwight D. Eisenhower's notion that "you cannot change people's hearts by law." To say that a certain condition of heart must generally and ideally prevail before a social change can occur is to say that no social change can ever come except in the sweet by-and-by. We know from history that you do not achieve an ideal spiritual condition, and then set up a society to express it. Ideals grow out of the act of living, out of the logic of life; and in a long dialectic, even as they grow, they modify living. And so, for all practical purposes, we may think of integration as that process by which we exercise our will to realize and explore, individually and institutionally, that ideal of mutual human recognition and appreciation. If we take this approach, we render irrelevant all the debate about race—whether it is "real" or merely a "superstition." And in doing so, we even undercut the argument, so dear to so many liberals, that the Negro is only, as the historian Kenneth Stampp argues, a white man with a black face. For we are assuming that *if* he is more than that, he may even be more interesting. For if there is a human community to be "recognized," there are also human differences to be "appreciated"—and sometimes, we may add, criticized.

Negro leadership is inevitably concerned with trying to define the crucial points and predict and control institutional development in that process of integration. But since the process of integration is part of the process by which a free society evolves, it is very hard to predict particular arrangements. By its very definition, a free society is one in which there is a maximum range for all people in the expression of taste and preference, and it is very hard to predetermine what, under shifting circumstances, people will want.

Let us assume a time when all desirable legal, economic and social reforms have been accomplished, and there is a reasonable sincerity in white acceptance of them. Now, in that free society of civil rights, fair employment, welcoming suburbs, general prosperity and brotherly love, who has the slightest notion how many Negroes might perversely choose to live in their own communities—James Farmer and Ruth Turner of CORE predict many would—and how many would bleed off into the prevailing white society? There may be, of course, some doctrinaire bureaucrat skulking in the bushes who thinks he can plan it all out and, at benign gunpoint, make Negroes eat cake—i.e., move to Scarsdale, N.Y. But it is doubtful that, in that happy time to come, he could swing it if the Negroes didn't really want that kind of cake.

Some Negro leaders do, no doubt, want to make Negroes eat cake, but it would seem that the great majority of them merely defend the right of a Negro to eat whatever he wants, or will, under new circumstances, want—even turnip greens and hog jowl. Ruth Turner, and others, have observed that once the barriers are down, the human need to "prove" certain things tends to disappear. With freedom, a man doesn't have to think he wants to live in a certain place merely because he is not permitted to. As the novelist Ralph Ellison says: "When the political structure changes and desegregation is achieved, it will be easily seen where Negroes were stopped by law and where they would have stopped anyway, because of income and their own preference—a matter of taste."

If Negroes can't predict as simple a thing as where they might want to live, think of the difficulty in imagining what integration in its deeper aspects might mean.

The word "integration" refers to a shifting, shadowy mass of interfusing possibilities. It refers, in short, to the future. Here, not only the unpredictability of the future is involved, but the fact that among Negroes—among Negro leaders—there is no commonly held vision of what they want the future to be.

Whatever integration may come to mean, it will mean a great change; and change, however deeply willed, is always shocking; old stances and accommodations, like the twinge of an old wound, are part of the self, and even as we desire new life and more life, we must realize that a part of us—of each individual person, black or white—has to *die* into that new life. And there is, of course, the unappeasable resentment that many Negroes must carry, and the suspicion of anything white—sometimes compounded because there is a chic of anger and an imperative of suspicion. I remember a pretty young woman who would not eat with her white guests. Her husband said to me later, "It's funny about my wife. The way she is. She just doesn't like to be around white people."

Many Negro leaders—more and more of them—are becoming aware of the fundamental need for an act of imagination to deal as systematically as possible with that fog of contingency that is the future. For many know that if you do not try to feel into, predict and examine the possibilities of the future, you will become the victim of the future.

Judge William Hastie of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals points out that the leader of any movement must play a double game: "One of the great problems of leadership is that, though ideas be oversimplified in the minds of people, the leadership with more sophisticated thinking attempts to adjust itself to the total need, viewed in a sophisticated way." In other words, the leader must be able to shout the slogan—but he must know its meaning at a level very different from that at which it starts the squirt of adrenalin in the bloodstream of the good foot soldier.

While moving through the hot dust or black mire of a backcountry road in Mississippi, Robert Moses of Snick tries "to see ahead to what the shape of this country will look like in ten years." He gets lost, he says, but he tries to see.

There is another question of means and ends that is acutely important for Negro leadership. A free society, one in which there is a range of choice for the individual, is the minimal aim of the Revolution. But it is clear that a certain amount of force is required to create the context for this freedom.

It is all too easy to call for force; it is sometimes hard to know how to pick up the pieces afterwards. Some years ago, in the course of a conversation about the 1954 Supreme Court school-desegregation decision, Carl Rowan, the journalist who became head of the United States Information Agency, said to me that "bayonets are very educational." They are. They were used with marked educational effect in Little Rock and Oxford, and I cannot see that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy had any choice, for the duty of the Government is to govern. But I should doubt that Rowan, after his prolonged sojourn in the shifting lights and shadows of the political jungle, would now be as gaily prompted to pick up that particular hickory stick to beat out the tune for education.

In matters outside of education, it is easily understood why the Negro, suspicious or contemptuous of local and state government, turns to Washington for protection and redress. Without Federal intervention, he may not get the vote—or even live out the day; and if it had not been for the FBI, the three bodies would have lain forever under the dam near Philadelphia, Miss., and no arrests would ever have been made. I hazard, in an unlawyerly way, that the Negro Revolution will work some shift in the relation of Washington to state and local authorities, and that may be all to the good. But the appeal to Washington may raise real problems, not merely legalistic ones, about the centralization of power.

THE DOCTRINE of states' rights has frequently been used, and is being used, as an alibi and a screen for some very unworthy proceedings—often quite cynically used and only for some special ad hoc advantage, with total contempt for the principle as principle. But the doctrine of states' rights, as it now anachronistically appears, is a very different thing from responsible localism, and we must ask ourselves if we are prepared to inaugurate a system in which such localisms are encouraged to wither—or to have their roots cut. One thing is certain: In the concentration of power, there is no guarantee of the virtuous exercise thereof.

There is a need for double vision: Force of any kind used for immediate tactical purposes, however worthy, has to be regarded in relation to the freedom being striven for, and the human context in which that freedom is to be exercised. What is now sauce for the goose might someday turn out to be sauce for any number of outraged ganders.

Although on many important questions there is no consensus among Negro leaders, this lack of consensus, of an orthodoxy, should be of cold comfort to the hard-shelled segregationist, for there *are* matters on which Negro leaders *are* in agreement. And these are bedrock matters.

Negro leaders have the will and the strength to demand that they be recognized and respected. As Judge Hastie emphasizes, nothing that the white man can give the Negro is as important as the respect he withholds. And he goes on to say: "As the Negro wins the white man's respect, regardless of fondness or affection, it becomes easier for the two to deal with each other. That respect can no longer be denied."

The Negro leaders are in agreement in their will to face the white man across the table, or across the gun muzzle or hose muzzle, eyeball to eyeball. Behind him, each leader feels the weight of the mass of Negroes who may walk straighter because of what he does. As Dr. King has put it, in *Why We Can't Wait:* "The Revolution of the Negro not only attacked the external cause of his misery, but revealed him to himself. He was *somebody.* He had a sense of *somebodiness.*" Dr. King has also written: "The upsurge of power in the civil-rights movement has given it greater maneuver-

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ability . . . to form alliances, to make commitments in exchange for pledges, and if the pledges are not redeemed, it remains powerful enough to walk out. . . ." The Negro leaders are determined that whatever change now comes in the status of the Negro will not come, as in the past, as merely a by-blow of the white man's history.

Some people say that the present success of the Negro's drive for recognition as a citizen of the United States is, again, only a by-blow of the white man's history—that as the war between the North and the South made emancipation possible, so the Cold War, in conjunction with the rise of Africa, makes success possible in the Negro's present endeavor. In one very broad sense, this is true: Nothing happens without context. But in another and more significant sense, it is false. History does provide the context in which the Negro's power—a relative power—may be used, but the will to use that power, the method of assembling it and the strategy of its deployment are the work of the Negro himself. It is clear now that the Negro intends to be a maker, not a victim, or, to use Howard Zinn's term, a mere "hitchhiker" of history.

Even those leaders who recognize that the Negro cannot go it alone are agreed on this. They even feel independent of the white money that has, in considerable part, financed the Negro Revolution. And though, as is generally agreed, it would be healthier if there were more Negro money in the pot, it still seems highly improbable that the white hand that holds the purse strings can control policy. It would require a higher-than-usual quotient of paranoia to see here a white plot to control Negro policy. For another thing, the number and variety of Negro organizations and leaders would scarcely permit white control of policy. The logic of the moment prescribes Negro leadership.

THE MOST BEDROCK of all matters on which Negro leaders agree is simple: They mean business. They have been to jail, they have been beaten, they have been shot, and they are still in business. And they are in business for the long pull. However loudly in the schizophrenia of leadership they may shout "Freedom Now!" they know that the pull will be long.

Months before the college students began to pour into Mississippi in 1964 to work in the voter-registration drive, Robert Moses told me it would be ten years before the Negroes could elect a single legislator. And Ronnie Moore, a Louisiana civil-rights worker, had counted each change of heart a victory, and such victories add up slowly.

How far has the Negro come in the past decade? The major victories can be listed in a few sentences. A record six million Negroes registered to vote in November, 1964, hundreds of thousands send their children to unsegregated schools, thousands live in unsegregated houses, thousands at least feel that it is worthwhile to apply for jobs once considered automatically closed to them.

But Whitney Young, Jr., reminded me how far the Negro, and the United States, still have to go. According to his statistics, 20 percent of all Negro workers are unemployed. Family income for Negroes is 53 percent of white income, and the gap is widening. Of 1,000,000 young people (under 21) who are out of school and out of work, 50 percent are Negroes. Negroes get three and one-half years' less school than whites. The Negro adult life span is seven years shorter than the white. Negro infant mortality is actually increasing. Unless the situation of the Negro can be relieved, unless he can be drawn productively into the economic mainstream of American life, civil rights become a travesty.

It will be a long pull, and the leaders are willing to face the hard fact. Many of them are even willing to face the harder fact that the iniquity of the white man is not the only reason it will be a long pull. But they can face the long pull because they know they will win. They are riding the tide of history, and they know it. And part of that tide is their own conviction of strength.

What reaction has the white man had to the Negro Revolution? And on what terms can mere reaction be converted into action?

We cannot discuss this question about the white man in a lump. For the white man is not a lump. To make the simplest relevant division, there is the Southern white man, and the Northern (or non-Southern) white man. They are different from one another, and the difference is a little more than what James Baldwin suggests when he says that the South and the North merely have different ways of castrating you.

As a basis for indicating this difference, we may set up a little formula:

In the South, the Negro is recognized, but his rights are not.

In the North, the rights of the Negro are recognized, but he is not.

But the formula needs a little footnote. If, in the South, as white Southerners like to claim, the Negro is recognized as human, this occurs only when the Negro is in certain roles. If, in the North, the Negro's rights are recognized, they are recognized only in the legal sense; the shadow of a "human right" rarely clouds the picture.

What is the white Southerner ready to concede? He has had a shock. All at once, with little or no preparation, he has been confronted with the fact that what his cook or yard boy or tenant farmer had told him is not true. It is not true that the colored folks invariably just love the white folks. It is not true that the colored folks invariably like it the way it is. It is not true that just a few "bad niggers" are making all the trouble. It is not true that just some "Jew Communists" are making the trouble. A lot of things are not necessarily true. And maybe, even, never were.

If the white Southerner is a book-reading man, he is in for another shock when he finds out that certain things he had been taught in school as gospel aren't true either. These things include some very important bits of anthropology, psychology and history—even Southern history, particularly of the Reconstruction. It is a shock, too, to discover that a high percentage of the faculties of Southern colleges (including, even after massive diaspora, a number at Oxford, Miss.) don't believe in segregation, that one professor of unimpeachably Southern origin, C. Vann Woodward, is the author of a book called *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, and that a professor of "Ole Miss," a past president of the Southern Historical Association and, incidentally, a friend of Dr. Aaron Henry of NAACP, wrote a book called *Mississippi: The Closed Society*. It is a shock to discover that 11 members of the faculty of the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University resigned when a Negro student organizing the Nashville sit-ins was expelled, or that Ralph (better known in the States' Rights party and Citizens Council as "Rastus") McGill of the Atlanta *Constitution* got a Medal of Freedom from the hands of Lyndon Johnson (another Southerner of dubious inclinations).

It is a shock to realize that in Marietta, Ga., the biggest single airplane factory in the world employs high-placed Negro engineers, mathematicians and technicians, and, more horrendously, Negro foremen bossing white workers; that an Arkansas bank president is willing to hire Negro tellers because, as he puts it, "It's coming." It is a shock to realize that the Memphis *Press-Scimitar* strongly supported the civil-rights bill. Or to read an editorial in the student paper of Vanderbilt University rebuking the dean of women for trying to ease out a co-ed who had allowed herself to be kissed good-night by a Negro student (not a Vandy man) at the dormitory door:

"In dating the Negro, the co-ed was violating no rule of this University. Any rule forbidding such conduct would be incompatible with the tenets of the institution, which prides itself as being a center of tolerance for diverging behavior, so long as the behavior violates no valid, legal or moral rule. That is why we see Dean ——'s behind-the-scenes enforcement of a regional social norm as placing the University in a somewhat hypocritical stance. If there are any man-made institutions that still can afford to respect integrity of principle, it seems that a university should make the greatest effort."

SUCH ITEMS are even more shocking to many white Southerners than the discovery that Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James E. Chaney had really been butchered and buried under the dam, and had not run off and hidden just to get publicity, as Neshoba County Sheriff L. A. Rainey had chosen to believe. The discovery of the corpses under the dam is not as shocking because, deep down and unacknowledged in his guts, the Southerner knows that that event, evil as it is, is implicit in the structure of the society in which he lives.

The other discoveries are not, he had thought, implicit in his society. Therefore, he is shocked. It is not evil that shocks, it is the unexpected.

Long before these recent shocks, the white Southerner, in one dimension of his being, had harbored the scarcely specified memory of a gallantly defeated nationalism, and had felt himself part of a culture waning sadly before the dominant American ethos. Now, when the world, which even in its decay had seemed stable, begins to crack, he is shaken to the core. He is then inclined to strike back blindly.

With the white Southerner, the striking back has a special desperation, for, in a way, he strikes at the part of himself that has sold out, that is the household traitor, that lusts after the gauds and gewgaws of high-powered Yankeedom. He is killing his bad self, and suddenly stands clean in the good self, guilt washed away—by somebody else's blood. The mystical, compulsive thing comes out over and over: I have had a dozen Southerners involved in the "resistance" tell me they didn't expect to win, they "just somehow had to do it."

So, if the Negro is experiencing a "crisis of identity," the white Southerner is too. And now and then, we get hints of some sort of mutual recognition of the fact. The jailer in Jackson, Miss., comes down to tell Stokely Carmichael of Snick good-bye, and clasps the steel bar and weeps and tries to explain what is happening to him. He wants to be understood. And in some sort of recognition springing from his own plight, he knows that the

Negroes are "sincere," that they have to do what they have to do. And the same thing appears with the sheriff of Canton, who, as Robert Moses reports, said to several Negro Snick workers: "Well, you are fighting for what you believe is right, and you're going to fight. And we are fighting for what we believe is right, and we're going to fight also." Here and elsewhere, we find the sense of both the Southern white man and the Negro being caught in the same unspecified thing—acting out a role.

It is easy to say to the Southerner that he should give up his Southern-ness and just be a good American. It is easy to say to the Negro that he should give up his Negro-ness and just be a good American—in incidental black face. Negroes and white Southerners do, in fact, want to be Americans, but by and large, they want to be themselves too; and the fact that both belong to minorities means that both may cling defensively to what they are, or what they take themselves to be. They may refuse to be totally devalued, gutted and scraped before being flung into the melting pot. But that is one solution, and some Negroes and white Southerners, in self-hatred or in self-seeking, accept it; they "pass."

It is not the only solution. For the Southerner, a much more significant and healthy solution is to inspect what his Southern-ness really means. If he chose to dip into the history of his South, he would find that it is a very complicated thing; that the orthodoxy of slavery (for which, in later times, read "segregation" as the emotional equivalent) was a very late growth, and did not number among its adherents many a man who gallantly wore the sacred gray, among them Robert E. Lee; that Charleston, S.C.—in fact, the whole Confederacy—between 1861 and 1865 was more tolerant of the dissident than is Mississippi today; that segregation was a latter-day artificial phenomenon that many a Confederate veteran, in his self-certainty, would have found absurd, or perhaps an insult to his own personal liberties.

The modern white Southerner, if he looks a little deeper than the rhetoric of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the hustings, might decide that being against segregation would not necessarily mean that he is spitting on Grandpa's grave, or is lacking in piety for those who held ranks up Cemetery Ridge on July 3, 1863, or for those who rode with Nathan Bedford Forrest. The white Southerner might realize that human history is a story of the constant revision of values, and that the mastodon frozen in the glacier is not necessarily the creature most worthy of emulation. He might realize that a revision of values was implicit in the very past that commands his piety. He might find many ancestors, spiritual or biological, who would not see eye to eye with Faubus, Wallace, Paul Johnson or Bull Connor. Yes, the white Southerner might find some ancestors who, were they alive, would not agree with the current heroes of Klan or Council, and would not be afraid to say so. That fact might even give the present-day Southerner the courage to say that he, too, disagrees.

Discovering his past, the Southerner might find himself, and the courage to be himself. He might free himself from a stereotype that does violence to some of his own deeply cherished values and to the complexity of his history. He might realize that the obscene caricatures of humanity who have made Philadelphia, Miss., newsworthy are scarcely the finest flower of Southern chivalry or the most judicious arbiters of the Southern tradition. He might rediscover the strong and cantankerous brand of democratic temper that is part of his heritage—and then reapply it. He might begin the reapplication by insisting on his right to reject the ready-made attitudes of the local press or the local politico or the local bully boys, and to seek facts and make judgments for himself.

The Yankee, like the white Southerner, has been in for a shock. He has lived in his dream world too. I have heard many a Yankee say of Negroes, "Who do they think they are?" Or: "They've got every chance anybody has if they'd just get off relief." Or: "Look at the way they're acting, after all we've done for them up here." However little he likes the fact, the white man on the commuter train to Westchester has had to lift his eyes from the *Wall Street Journal*, to paraphrase Whitney Young, Jr., and look up the streets of Harlem. Or Harlem has come busting into his living room to dominate the TV screen. The Yankee white man, at last, has had to recognize the Negro as a human being, sometimes a rather appalling human being. And he has had to realize that the legal rights he had so complacently regarded all these years as his largess to the Negro hadn't, in themselves, amounted to a hill of beans.

If the Yankee is a liberal—even if he is what is called a "fighting liberal" and has signed statements and sponsored dinners and rung doorbells and made speeches and gone to biracial parties and has a life membership in the NAACP—he is apt to discover that nobody is very grateful to him. Nobody is going to be very grateful to him just because he gives a "freedom dance" (discreetly integrated) in Westchester or a "freedom garden party" on Long Island, tickets $100 a couple, and sends the take to help liberate Mississippi. In fact, in regard to Mississippi, he might find it a penitential exercise to ponder a remark by James Farmer, who says that, among Northern supporters, he has observed a slightly greater willingness to give to a project earmarked for Mississippi than for one next door, "for it is always easier to slay cobras in Borneo."

Not only may the Yankee liberal find that gratitude is in short supply; he may find that even the most charitable Negro is apt to regard him as a quaint figure of fun, a curious relic in the body politic like the spleen, without function. The only way he can be sure to regain function, and even then not in all circles, is to go to jail or get his head cracked by the "rosewood"—which is what the cop's stick is called in Harlem. Even then, his function is to play third fiddle and take orders. He is declassed; and this is the worst shock of all.

No, the worst shock for the Yankee is to discover what he, himself, really feels. He has to find out if he really wants a Negro family next door. If he really wants to take orders from a Negro department head. If he really wants to be arrested by a Negro cop. If he really wants to have his children bused into a school in a Negro neighborhood. If he really wants a tax boost for a crash program for the "disadvantaged"—i.e., Negroes. If he really wants his daughter on mixed dates. If he really wants for himself this, that and the other thing that he used to think was just fine for somebody else—usually some degrees of latitude down the social or geographic scale. He is, in fact, not only going to find out what he really wants. He is going to find out what he himself really is.

And if he is a book-reading man, he may find out, too, what his grandfather was. Even if his grandfather was a dyed-in-the-wool, card-carrying Abolitionist who regarded Abraham Lincoln as a minion of slaveocracy and, to quote Wendell Phillips, "the hell-hound of Illinois," he is apt to find out that the old boy—his grandfather—was also a dyed-in-the-wool racist. He is apt to find out that most Northern states then denied Negroes the franchise, and, even after the Civil War, Connecticut, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas voted down proposals for Negro suffrage, and that it wasn't until 1870 that the Fifteenth Amendment was passed; and that in New York City, a Negro couldn't ride the streetcar or attend an unsegregated ward school. He is apt to find out that Reconstruction was a time replete with shame, brutal grabs, ignoble deals on the back stairs and defaulting on high pledges, and that all this was not south of the Ohio River. He will find out that the noise he heard in his dream was somebody knocking the molasses jug off a very high shelf, and now he has to pick up the pieces, and they are sticky. He has to leave his dream and put reality back together again—the reality of America and himself.

Out of the two different kinds of shock that the Southerner and the Yankee have had, they may now be able to extract recognition of the desperate gravity of the situation. Out of the shock, they both may extract, too, self-discovery. Face to face with the Negro, and recognizing his human reality and the basic justice of his demands, they may now be able to substitute reasoned action for automatic reaction: to the Negro and to each other.

There is one kind of sentimentality that the white man cannot afford: a sentimentality about himself. He cannot afford to feel that he is going to redeem the Negro. For the age of philanthropy is over, and it would be a vicious illusion to think that, if he acts now to resolve the problem, he is giving something away, is being "liberal," or is performing an act of charity, Christian or any other kind. The safest, soberest, most humble and perhaps not the most ignoble way for him to think of grounding his action is, not on generosity, but on a proper awareness of self-interest.

It is self-interest to want to live in a society operating by the love of justice and the concept of law. We have not been living in such a society. It is self-interest to want all members of society to contribute as fully as possible to the enrichment of that society. The structure of our society has prevented that. It is self-interest to seek friends and companions among those whose experience and capacities are congenial with and extend our own. Our society has restricted such a quest. It is self-interest to want to escape from the pressure to conform to values that we feel immoral or antiquated. Our society has maintained such pressures. It is self-interest to want to escape from the burden of vanity into the hard and happy realization that in the diminishment of others, there is a deep diminishment of the self.

It would be sentimentality to think that our society can be changed easily and without pain. It would be worse sentimentality to think that it can be changed without some pain to our particular selves—black and white. It would be realism to think that that pain would be a reasonable price to pay for what we all, selfishly, might get out of it: our own freedom. END

A rare lesson about love

1957 *When* LOOK *first visited the interracial family of Sam and Katherine Roberts of Long Beach, Calif. (below), their part-Negro daughter, Kim, was a cute 4-year-old.*

A rare lesson about love

1965 The girl kissing her mother (above, left) and taking a spin in Disneyland with her father (above, right) is an ordinary 12-year-old in an extraordinary situation. Kim Roberts and her family have a personal stake in the long struggle against racial hate. Kim was adopted privately at the age of three weeks from a white mother in Florida. When Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Roberts discovered later that their new daughter was part Negro, they took the tack of courage and love. They adopted for her a brother and sister with equally mixed backgrounds—Celtic-Norwegian-Spanish Sammy, now 11, and Caucasian-Japanese Mitsu, now 8. What the Roberts have learned may help solve a major U.S. problem: the growing number of homeless minority-group children.

PRODUCED BY STANLEY GORDON   PHOTOGRAPHED BY EARL THEISEN

POSITION OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Heretofore, the Congress of Racial Equality avoided policy positions on matters of international concern. Such matters were considered to be of secondary consideration in the drive for the attainment of equality. Most people in the civil rights movement felt that such involvement would obfuscate the issues and contribute to the retardation rather than the advancement of the freedom struggle.

Obviously, this arguement sought to limit the movement to matters that dealt only with the racial discrimination within the United States because in this way it was easier to concentrate all efforts in an area which concerned itself only with inequities involving public accomodation, school desegregation, employment and genuine equality of opportunity in American life.

It is now abundantly apparent that the war in Vietnam has aspects that are racial in nature. Inequities exist in the draft, and more Black soldiers are drafted than are white soldiers, in proportion to their relative numbers in the population. The types of exemptions are more advantageous to whites than to Blacks. First, Blacks are deprived of adequate education and then, after this, tests are given for exemption from the draft. In addition, Blacks are denied equal employment in the American labor market, and yet job classification, at times, is used for exemption.

Moreover, there is a high rate of Black casualties in Vietnam-- More Black soldiers are dying in Vietnam compared to white soldiers, relative to their numbers in the population. The number of Blacks in Vietnam itself is proportionately higher than whites, and the number who are dying is also proportionately higher than whites.

Additionally, there is a drain of poverty money --tax money that should be used to combat the social ills affecting the Black community is going to the war in Vietnam. We feel that there is a great need for this money in the Black community, this money should go back to them to help themselves.

In view of the foregoing, the Congress of Racial Equality, at its recent convention in Baltimore, Maryland, adopted a resolution condeming the war in Vietnam and urging that the United States to withdraw from this conflict.

CORE contends that this war is a contradiction to the philosophical base upon which this country was founded. It denies to the inhabitants in this South Asian country the right of self determination. It denies them the right to make the decisions to mold their own destinies. Claims of concern for the freedom of the people of Vietnam are clearly deceptive inasmuch as our military successes can accomplish naught, but will certainly lead to political and moral defeat. It denies the Vietnamese the opportunity to develop their economic and political life in accordance with their own mores and cultural standards.

In the pursuit of this war, villages have been bombed and napalm dropped on hamlets without evidence that these areas were the hiding places of the enemy or of military consequence. It contends that these measures indicate genocidal tendencies.

CORE maintains that our present policy threatens the social and political well-being of all mankind. International tensions are increased and the rule of force to settle international political problems is being demonstrated by the most powerful nation on earth. CORE believes that the United States should be the proponent of peace in this world: that all international confrontations must be settled at the conference table.

CORE denounces the use of heinous weapons in Vietnam; gas and napalm for example. Such use, along with the atomic bombing of Japan indicate a cynical trend toward the use of immoral weapons against non-white people.

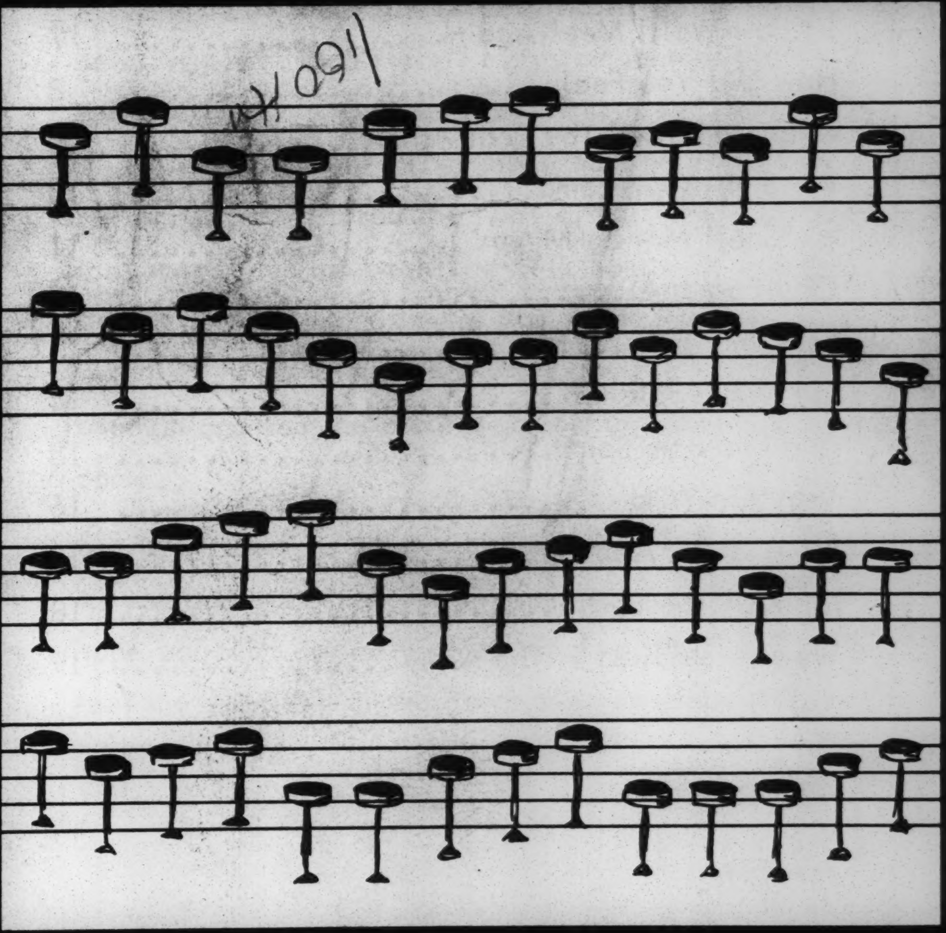
Since CORE believes that equal opportunity for its minority citizens should be the number one priority, we pledge aid and support to these persons who refuse to participate in the armed forces of the United States during its engagement in the war in Vietnam.

CORE deplores the loss of prestige the United States has suffered by its unilateral military intervention in Southeast Asia and urges our government to withdraw its troops and embark on programs to assist the economy of Vietnam.

END

CORE
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

sit-in songs



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FOREWORD

In this booklet you will find a number of the songs recorded in the album shown on the back cover. The singers on the record were participants in CORE's Freedom Highways project in the summer of 1962. Freedom Highways was designed to open chain restaurants along major federal highways to all persons.

The other songs are some of those which have been favorites in the civil rights movement North and South. The well-known writer, Nat Hentoff, said "The music which has emerged from these experiences has restored the fiery art of American topical song." In his book The Folk Songs Of North America, Alan Lomax mentions of Negro slave songs that they "proclaimed that some day justice would triumph and that an end for sorrow and shame would come..."

This, then, is what these songs are all about. As you and your friends "sing along with CORE" we hope you will not only enjoy singing, but will also feel the vibrancy of the great movement for FREEDOM NOW.

CERTAINLY, LORD

Have you been to the jail? Certainly, Lord.
Have you been to the jail? Certainly, Lord.
Have you been to the jail? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Have you did your thirty days? Certainly, Lord.
Have you did your thirty days? Certainly, Lord.
Have you did your thirty days? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Did you serve your time? Certainly, Lord.
Did you serve your time? Certainly, Lord.
Did you serve your time? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Will you go back again? Certainly, Lord.
Will you go back again? Certainly, Lord.
Will you go back again? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Will you fight for Freedom? Certainly, Lord.
Will you fight for Freedom? Certainly, Lord.
Will you fight for Freedom? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Will you tell it to the world? Certainly, Lord.
Will you tell it to the world? Certainly, Lord.
Will you tell it to the world? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

Will you tell it to the judge? Certainly, Lord.
Will you tell it to the judge? Certainly, Lord.
Will you tell it to the judge? Certainly, Lord.

Certainly, Certainly, Certainly, Lord.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON

1. Come all you Freedom lovers
Good news to you I tell
About that good old Freedom fight
That's coming here to dwell.

CHORUS:

Oh, Which Side Are You On, boy
Which Side Are You On.
Which Side Are You On, boy
Which Side Are You On.

2. My father was a Freedom fighter
And I'm his grateful son.
I'll stick to that Freedom fight
' Till every battle's won.

3. They say in Hinds County,
"No neutrals have we met.
You're either for the Freedom Ride
Or you'll Tom for Ross Barnett."

4. Oh, brothers can't you stand it
Oh, tell me how you can
Will you be an "Uncle Tom"
Or will you be a man.

5. No time for Mr. Charlie,
Don't listen to his lies.
Us dark folks haven't got a chance
Unless we organize.

HALLELUJAH, I'M A TRAVELING

1. In Nineteen Fifty-four,
the Supreme Court has said,
Listen here, Mr. Jim Crow
It's time you were dead.

CHORUS:

Hallelujah, I'm a-Traveling,
Hallelujah ain't it fine
Hallelujah, I'm a-Traveling
Down Freedom's main line.

2. At Howard Johnson's one day,
We will all buy a Coke
And the waitress who serves us
Will know its no joke.

3. I'm taking a trip
On the Greyhound Bus Line
I'm riding the front seat
To Jackson this time.

4. In Fayette County,
Set off and remote,
The polls are not open
For Negroes to vote.

5. Three hundred Freedom Riders,
When offered a choice
Six months, Three hundred dollars,
Respond in one voice

Reprise:

Hallelujah, I'm a jailbird
And I ain't paying no fine.
Hallelujah, I'm a Traveling
Down Freedom's main line.

HOLD ON

1. Paul and Silas bound in jail
Had no money to go their bail.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

CHORUS:

Hold on, Hold On,
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

2. Guy and Joycelyn* bound in jail,
No permission to pay their bail.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

3. The only thing we did wrong,
Let segregation stay so long.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

4. Got my hand on the Freedom plow,
Wouldn't give nothing for my journey now.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

5. We've fought jail and violence, too,
But God's love has seen us through.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

6. Work all day and work all night,
Trying to gain our civil rights.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

7. The only chain that a man can stand
Is the chain of a hand in hand.
Keep your eyes on the prize, Hold On.

*Guytanna Horton and Joycelyn McKissick had just finished 30 day sentences for "trespassing" during CORE's Freedom Highways project in Durham, North Carolina.

I WOKE UP THIS MORNING

1. I Woke Up This Morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Woke Up This Morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Woke Up This Morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelujah.

CHORUS:

Oh well-a walk, walk, Oh well-a walk, walk,
Oh well-a walk, walk, with your mind on Freedom.
Talk, talk, Oh well-a talk, talk
Oh well-a talk, talk, with your mind on Freedom.
Oh, hallelujah.

2. Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

3. Folks in Albany got their minds set on Freedom.
Folks in Albany got their minds set on Freedom.
Folks in Albany got their minds set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

4. Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

5. All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

DO YOU WANT YOUR FREEDOM

(Tune Jacobs Ladder)

Do you, do you want your Freedom.
Do you, do you want your Freedom.
Do you, do you want your Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

Yes I, yes I want my Freedom.
Yes I, yes I want my Freedom.
Yes I, yes I want my Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

Will you, will you go to jail for Freedom.
Will you, will you go to jail for Freedom.
Will you, will you go to jail for Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

Yes I'll, yes I'll go to jail for Freedom.
Yes I'll, yes I'll go to jail for Freedom.
Yes I'll, yes I'll go to jail for Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

Will you, will you give your life for Freedom.
Will you, will you give your life for Freedom.
Will you, will you give your life for Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

Yes I'll, yes I'll give my life for Freedom.
Yes I'll, yes I'll give my life for Freedom.
Yes I'll, yes I'll give my life for Freedom,
Fighters of the cause.

I KNOW WE'LL MEET AGAIN

by James Bevel

I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
And then you and I, we'll never say goodby
When we meet again.

I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
And then you and I, we'll never say goodby
When we meet again.

You came from Atlanta, Georgia, yes you did.
And I came from Tennessee, Oh yes.
We met here in this Mississippi jail
Because we want to be free.

I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
And then you and I, we'll never say goodby
When we meet again.

We've had fun in this jailhouse my friend
And now we all must go, go back home
But we'll get along and if you are gone
My friend, I'll miss you so.

I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
I Know, I Know We'll Meet Again
And then you and I, we'll never say goodby
When we meet again.

HOW DID YOU FEEL

Oh, tell me How Did You Feel when you
Come out the wilderness,
Come out the wilderness,
Come out the wilderness,
How Did You Feel when you
Come out the wilderness,
Oh, praise the Lord.

Oh, did you feel like fighting when you
Come out the wilderness,
Come out the wilderness,
Come out the wilderness,
You feel like fighting when you
Come out the wilderness,
Oh, praise the Lord.

Oh, will you fight for Freedom when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

Oh, will you walk the line when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

Oh, will you carry a sign when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

Oh, will you go to jail when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

Oh, will you join with CORE when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

Oh, tell me How Did You Feel when you
Come out the wilderness, etc.

MICHAEL ROWED THE BOAT ASHORE

1. Michael Rowed the Boat Ashore, Hallelujah.
   Michael Rowed the Boat Ashore, Hallelujah.

2. I never been to Heaven but I've been told, Hallelujah,
   The folks up there don't tell me where to go, Hallelujah.

3. I never been to Heaven but this I know, Hallelujah.
   Folks up there don't have Jim Crow, Hallelujah.

4. Mississippi jails are chilly and cold, Hallelujah.
   Chill my body but not my soul, Hallelujah.

5. Mississippi River is deep and wide, Hallelujah.
   Gonna get my Freedom on the other side, Hallelujah.

6. Just like Joshua at Jericho, Hallelujah.
   Mississippi is next to go, Hallelujah.

WE SHALL OVERCOME

1. We Shall Overcome, We Shall Overcome
We Shall Overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We Shall Overcome some day.

2. Truth will make us free, truth will make us free
Truth will make us free some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
Truth will make us free some day.

3. We are not afraid, we are not afraid
We are not afraid today
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We are not afraid today.

4. The Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
The Lord will see us through some day.

5. We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We'll walk hand in hand some day.

6. Black and white together,
Black and white together,
Black and white together some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
Black and white together some day.

Reprise: We Shall Overcome, We Shall Overcome
We Shall Overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We Shall Overcome Some Day.

WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED

We shall not, We Shall Not Be Moved.
We shall not, We Shall Not Be Moved.
Just like a tree that's planted by the water,
We Shall Not Be Moved.

CORE shall not be silenced,
We Shall Not Be Moved.
CORE shall not be silenced,
We Shall Not Be Moved,
Just like a tree that's planted by the water,
We Shall Not Be Moved.

(Additional verses)

We're fighting for our Freedom, etc.

We'll fill up all the jails, etc.

We're fighting segregation, etc.

Black and white together, etc.

We shall all be brothers, etc.

OH, FREEDOM

Oh, Freedom, Oh, Freedom
Oh, Freedom over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No more Jim Crow, No more Jim Crow,
No more Jim Crow over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No more lynchings, no more lynchings,
No more lynchings over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No segregation, no segregation,
No segregation over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No more mourning, no more mourning,
No more mourning over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

Reprise: Oh, Freedom, Oh, Freedom,
Oh, Freedom over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

FREEDOM

(This antiphonal chant is based on
the Negro spiritual "AMEN.")

ALL: Freedom, Freedom, Freedom,
Freedom, Freedom.
Leader: Everybody wants
ALL: Freedom
Leader: Everybody wants
ALL: Freedom
Leader: Everybody wants
ALL: Freedom, Freedom, Freedom.
Leader: Got to have my
ALL: Freedom
Leader: Got to have my
ALL: Freedom
Leader: Got to have my
ALL: Freedom, Freedom, Freedom.
(Additional verses)
Let me hear you sing for (Freedom)
Don't you want to have your (Freedom)
Tell the people 'bout your (Freedom)
Sing it louder 'bout your (Freedom)
Reprise: Freedom, Freedom, Freedom,
Freedom, Freedom.

LET MY PEOPLE GO

If Ross Barnett won't take it slow
Let My People Go
He'll have to reap just what we sow
Let My People Go.

Go down, Freedom, way down in Mississippi
Tell Old Barnett to Let My People Go.

2. Through Alabama we did ride
Let My People Go
The bus was burned while we were inside
Let My People Go.

Go down, Freedom, way down in Alabama
Tell old Patterson to Let My People Go.

3. In North nor South is Freedom won
Let My People Go
CORE must fight on till the job is done
Let My People Go.

Go down, Freedom, we need our civil rights
Tell the segregationists
To Let My People Go.

OLD FREEDOM SPIRIT

(Old Time Religion)

CHORUS:

Give me that Old Freedom Spirit
Give me that Old Freedom Spirit
Give me that Old Freedom Spirit
It's good enough for me.

1. It was good for Ronnie Moore
It was good for Ronnie Moore
It was good for Ronnie Moore
It's good enough for me.

2. It was good for Dion Diamond
It was good for Dion Diamond
It was good for Dion Diamond
It's good enough for me.

3. It was good for James Farmer
It was good for James Farmer
It was good for James Farmer
It's good enough for me.

(For additional verses, this song uses names of either local or national leaders; either little-known or well-known persons who are actively attached to the Freedom struggle.)

THEY GO WILD

They go wild, simply wild over me
And I've never done no wrong that I could see.
There's no freedom in the land,
They would throw you in the can,
They go wild, simply wild over me.

Oh the judge, he went wild over me
And I plainly saw he never could agree
So I let his nibs obey
What his conscience had to say
And he went wild, simply wild over me.

They go wild, simply wild over me
Every time I go downtown and set for tea.
They make up all sorts of rules
Even try to remove the stools
They go wild, simply wild over me.

Will my children go wild or go free
When it's their turn to go and set for tea?
Will those bed-sheet wearin' whites
Still yell, "Down with civil rights?"
Or will justice have come to Tennessee?

The words were written by Candy Anderson in Jail in Nashville, Tennessee.

FIGHT ON

(Tune of Old Black Joe)

Gone are the days, when tradition had its say
Now is the time for the South to integrate.
We will fight on for a better land we know
For the Constitution tell us
Fight on, Fight on.

Gone to the jail, without paying our bail
Justice will come right over the trail.
Soon we will live, as first class citizens
That's why we're here to prove we're right
Fight on, fight on.

CHORUS:

We're fighting, we're fighting, for a better
land we know.
For the Constitution tells us so
Fight on, fight on.

This song was writen April 1960 by Barbara Broxton, Patricia and Priscilla Stephens while serving 49 days in the Leon County Jail for sitting in at a Woolworth lunch counter.

MEN OF THE SOIL

Danish Folk Tune
Words by Harold Hildreth

Men of the Soil! We have labored unending,
We have fed the world upon the grain that we have grown,
Now with the star of the new day ascending,
Giants of the earth, at last we rise to claim our own.
Justice throughout the land, happiness as God has planned,
Who is there denies our right to reap where we have sown!

Men of the Soil! Now the torch we have lighted,
Kindles fire in ev'ry land where rings the harvest song!
Shoulder to shoulder in courage united for ev'ry race,
We come to join the tiller's mighty through.
Earth ne'er shall eat again bread gain'd through
  blood of men,
We have sworn to right for evermore the ancient wrong.

Men of the Soil! We are coming in judgment,
To tell the world "Till justice rules there is no liberty."
We, in our strength, are arising as prophets,
Marching on to show the world the dawn that is to be.
There's a lightning in the sky,
there's a thunder shouting high;
We will never stop until the sons of men are free.

WE ARE SOLDIERS IN THE ARMY

CHORUS:

We Are Soldiers in the Army
We've got to fight although we have to cry
We've got to hold up the bloodstained banner
We've got to hold it up until we die.

1. My mother was a soldier,
She had her hand on the gospel plow.
But one day she got old
She couldn't fight anymore;
She said, "I'll stand there and fight anyhow!"

2. I'm glad I am a soldier
I've got my hand on the gospel plow.
But one day I'll get old
I can't fight any more.
But I'll stand there and fight anyhow.

3. I know my soul's been converted
Of that I'm not ashamed
I was standing
There at the table
When the angel signed my name.

Reprise:

We are soldiers in CORE's army
We've got to fight although we have to cry
We've got to hold up the bloodstained banner
We've got to hold it up until we die.

CORE, THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, is a national organization with affiliated groups, committed to the goal of erasing the color line through methods of interracial direct nonviolent action. All groups affiliated with national CORE pledge themselves to nonviolence in all actions which they sponsor.

THE NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION APPROACH to racial discrimination assumes that a lasting resolution of problems can best be obtained through a spirit of good will and understanding. This spirit must be combined with a determination to end discrimination through action programs directed to specific problems. The ultimate goal is an integrated society where each member is judged solely on the basis of his individual worth.

NATIONAL CORE is financed largely by contributions from interested individuals. Churches, unions and local CORE groups also contribute to its financial support.

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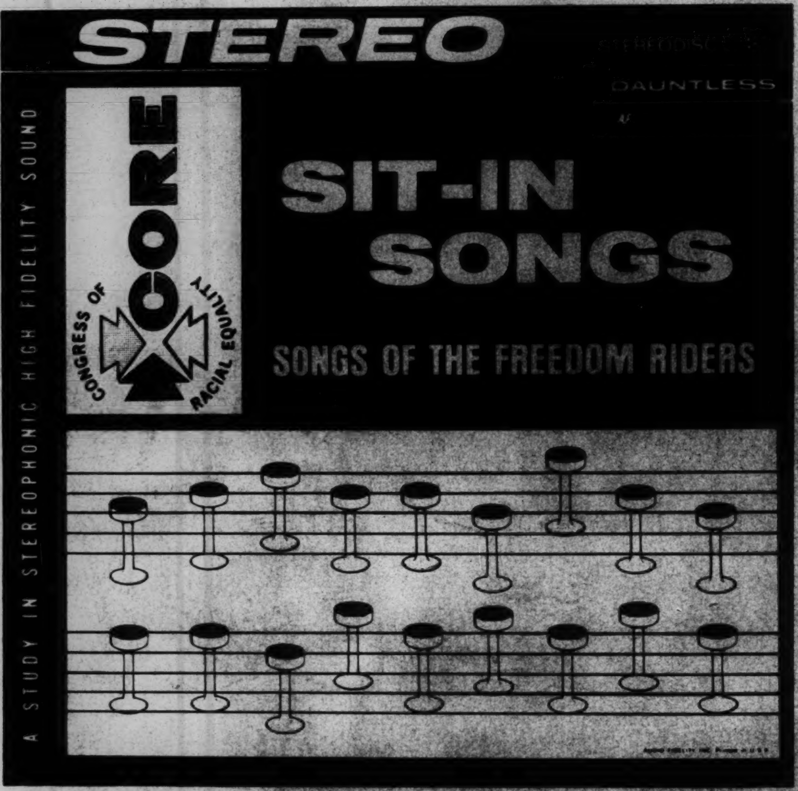
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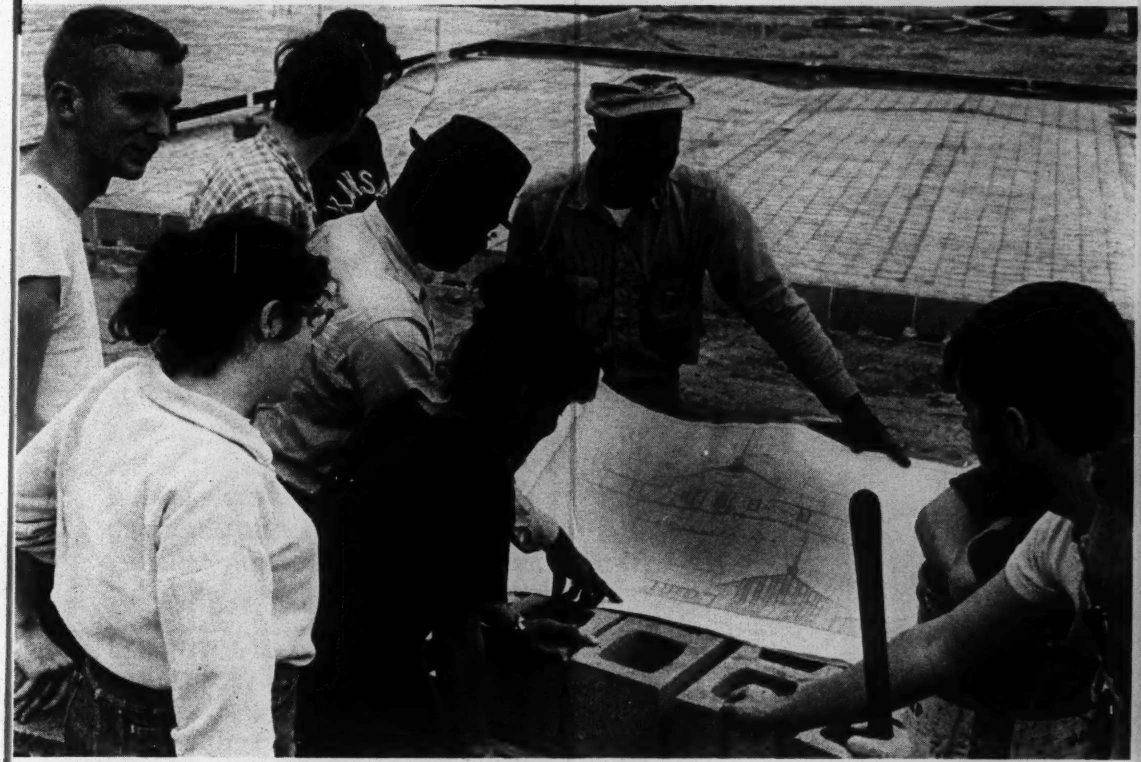


for CORE Summer Program

An Invitation and a Challenge

College students, clergymen, workers and businessmen are needed for CORE summer programs in Louisiana, northern Florida, South Carolina and Mississippi. The main concentration will be in Louisiana. Work will be hard, living conditions will be spartan, opportunities for achievement will be great.

The main purpose of CORE summer programs will be to develop community leadership and strengthen community organization. CORE workers will not enter a community with preconceived plans. They will instead adapt themselves to the community's needs and wishes. They will seek to stimulate the expression of those needs, and organize the kind of groups that will be able to continue activity on a self-sufficient basis after the summer programs come to an end. Program areas include:

Voter Registration

Canvassing, instruction clinics, rallies, transportation to the registrar's office.

Community Organization

Creating community involvement and organization around need for covered sewers, street lights, playgrounds, postal service, libraries, free access to public services and facilities.

Farmers' Leagues

Organizing farmers to deal with their special problems such as elections for County ASCS committees, getting crop loans and farm home loans, setting up marketing cooperatives where these are possible.

Jobs

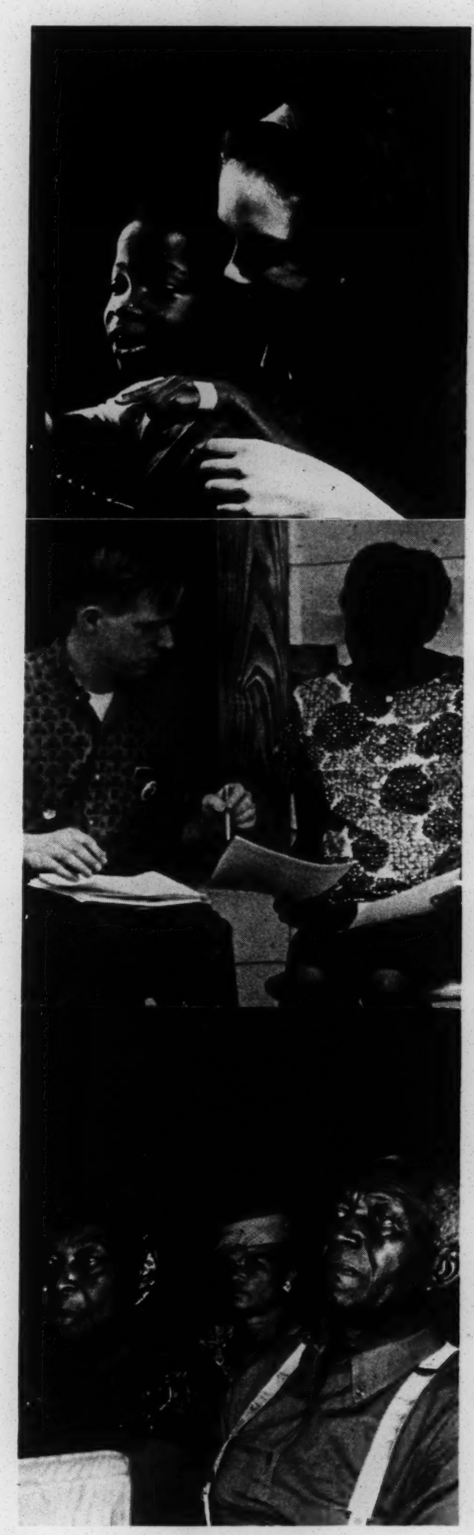
Working to open jobs at consumer-oriented companies and public agencies by encouraging negotiations, mobilizing community concern through public demonstrations and boycotts.

Freedom Schools, Community Centers

Literacy programs, classes in Negro history, government, current events, nursery programs, drama groups, art. Special need here for trained people.

Medical, Legal Assistance

Programs will have cooperation of Medical Committee for Human Rights, Lawyers Constitutional



Defense Committee, CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund.

Summer programs will start with a one-week training session, which is scheduled to open on June 10th. Following this there will be eight weeks of field work ending with an evaluation on August 15th. Participants are expected to be self-sustaining. They will have to pay for their own transportation and room and board, and be prepared for possible bail expenses. The CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund will make a number of Community Development Fellowships available to students in appropriate fields of study who have been accepted for a program. For applications and additional information, write to:

CORE Southern Office
2209 Dryades St., New Orleans, Louisiana

If you can't join the program, please support it.
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Exclusive Interviews

NEGRO LEADERS TELL THEIR PLANS FOR '64

What comes next in the Negro drive for civil rights? Another year of mass demonstrations? Or will things quiet down, as Negroes turn toward political action in this presidential-election year?

For answers, members of the National Staff of "U. S. News & World Report" interviewed leaders of five big Negro organizations: Whitney Young of National Urban League, Martin Luther King of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, James Farmer of Congress of Racial Equality and James Forman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The answers you get make this clear:

Negroes have no intention of calling a halt to their demonstrations. They feel that their tactics of direct action are winning results and they are determined to keep the pressure on.

Told here, in their own words, is what the Negro leaders are planning for 1964.

"WE'VE GOT TO HAVE VICTORIES"

Interview: *Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League*

Q Mr. Young, do you feel that, in the months just ahead, the Negro drive for equal rights will continue on a scale as large as that of last year?

A We're in a period now of watchful waiting. Nineteen sixty-three was a year of confrontation, both at the local level and at the national level through the March on Washington. As a result of this, certain commitments were made and there are certain expectations on the part of the Negro.

The Negro leadership was able to keep this a responsible, restrained kind of effort.

If there is failure to pass the civil-rights legislation, or if it's watered down too much, or if at the local level the commitments that were made in terms of employment—if there's nothing done, then I think you can expect demonstrations with more intensity, larger numbers. And what I think will be more unfortunate is that, to a degree, the position of responsible Negro leadership will be weakened. We will have been, to some extent, discredited.

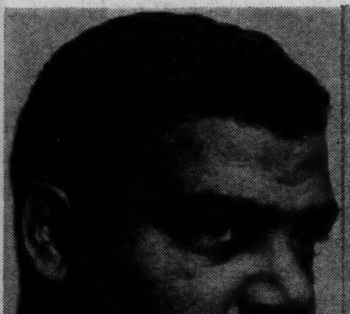
Our continuance as the spokesmen and the people whom the masses trust is dependent upon our winning some victories. We've got to have some victories under our belt, because there were people who did not agree with us on the type of nonviolent, peaceful, dignified protest of last year—the March on Washington—people who wanted to do some other things. But we insisted on restraint.

If restrained activity fails to produce results, then I think we can expect an intensified kind of activity with less possibility of the leadership's being able to exert control.

The future, therefore, is less in the hands of Negroes and more in the hands of responsible white leadership.

Q Aside from the civil-rights legislation, what kind of victories will Negroes seek this year?

A I think that the Negro, more and more, is concerned about the rate of unemployment, the increasing effects of



Whitney M. Young, Jr., became executive director of the National Urban League in 1961 after seven years as dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work. He serves on many committees, including the President's Committee on Youth Employment. He is a graduate of Kentucky State College, has a master's degree from the University of Minnesota. He is 42.

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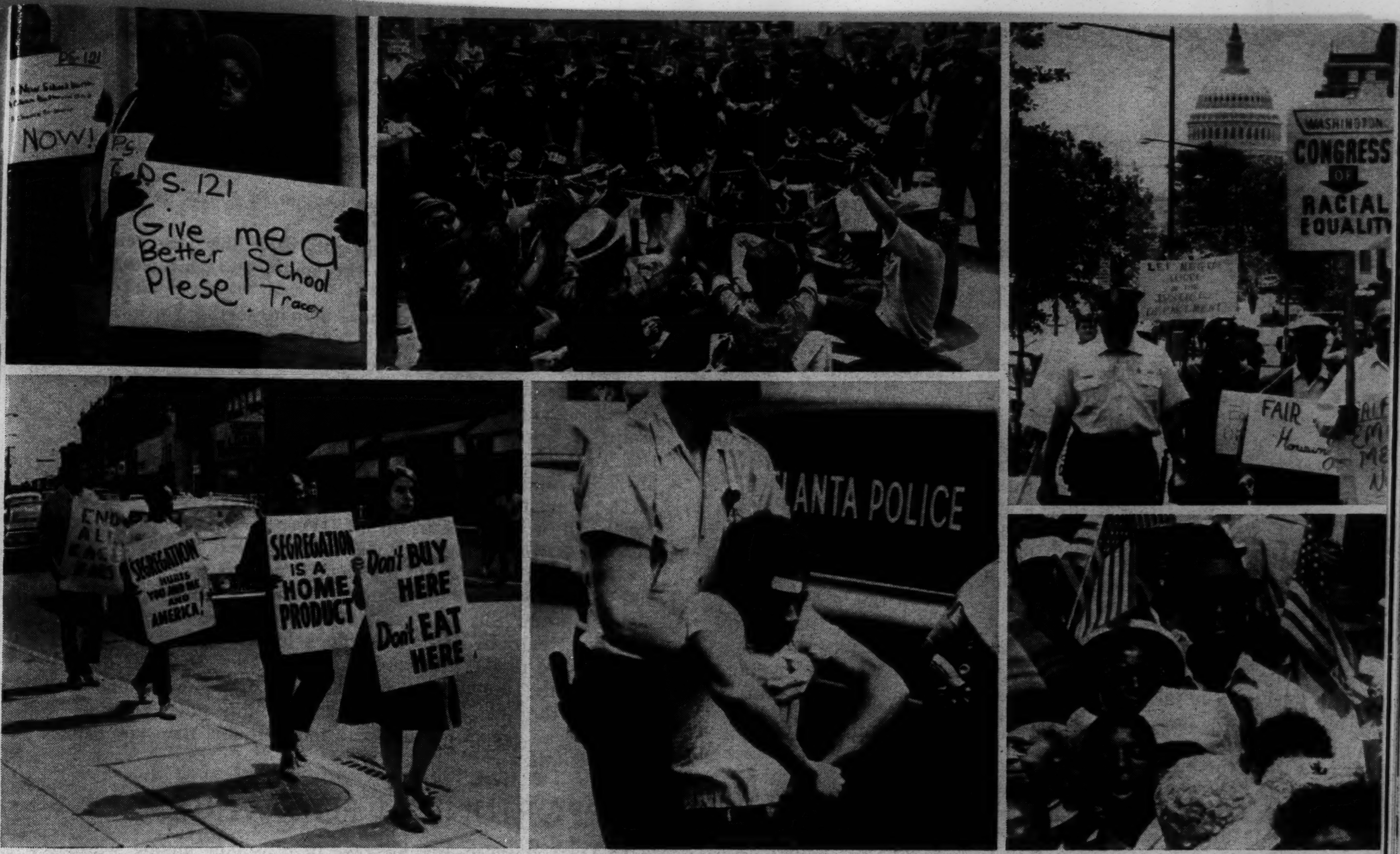
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automation, the overcrowded housing situation, the inferior education which his children receive.

So I would anticipate that there would be a greater preoccupation with the substantive "meat, bread and potatoes" issues—employment, housing, education, etc.

Q You have complained that some employers are unrealistic in their procedures for screening Negro applicants for jobs. Could you explain that?

A Businessmen who have begun to open jobs to Negroes at levels they haven't before repeatedly say to us, "This person must be better than the average white. He's got to be 'Exhibit A.'"

They were insisting, you know, that a secretary must be able to type 120 words a minute and look like Lena Horne, and that an accountant have the education of a Ralph Bunche. But after a while the Negro runs out of Lena Hornes and Ralph Bunches. Any group, I suppose, runs out of these pretty fast. Management must now accept the qualified average Negro as they accept the qualified average white.

In fact, I would go further and say that we also want management to give us some of those jobs that they have set aside for "dumb white people." We have some Negroes who are not the brightest people in the world, too, and we need jobs for them.

But I think this expectation of having every Negro a superior person is completely unrealistic.

Q Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, recently warned against singling out Negroes for special favors. He suggested that "discrimination in reverse" would create hatred for Negroes among other poor groups in America. What is your view on that?

A Well, I think Mr. Myrdal did a great job in his book "An American Dilemma." Now, I think we're going to have to deal with his dilemma here. You can't have both things. You can't keep all elements in society completely happy. I think, basically, he's right, that if there appears to be preferential treatment being given to Negroes it will alienate some "poor white people." But I'm not sure that that should be the determinant of whether we do try to correct some historical abuses.

I think if the poor white person were smart today he would keep quiet. The Negro happens to have the political leverage to get something from this crash effort.

Certainly the Government is not going to provide benefits for the Negro alone. Whites will also benefit. The poor white is not an organized bloc, however, and so he might well be able to ride in on the coat tails of the Negro. He might benefit most from crash programs of retraining and quality education and all this.

In fact, some of the major reforms that statesmen and liberals have talked about for years might well be accomplished through the Negro, for the whole country, and the white person would benefit as much as the Negro.

Many Government and labor leaders talk about: "The only answer to the problem of Negro unemployment is full employment." This is unrealistic because, given automation, given a boom in the labor market next year, even with a tax cut, we'll do well to hold unemployment in this country down to 6 per cent.

Now, to say to the Negroes, who are 25 per cent unemployed, that we must wait until the country gets full employment, is unfair. I want equal opportunity in unemployment also, you see.

So I think we do two things: We have to have immediate programs to relieve a disaster situation which is unique to the Negro, while we move toward the more idealistic kind of situation where all poor people, whatever their color, will be given a better break in this society.

Q Do you foresee another march on Washington this year, an election year?

A This will be dependent upon the kind of response that is made to the march of last year. There's been some talk about a third convention after the two political conventions —a convention on civil rights, where the two candidates

(continued on next page)

NEGRO LEADERS TELL THEIR PLANS FOR '64

continued

would be asked to speak and where the Negro might dramatize his demands for civil rights' being a part of the platform of both parties.

The Urban League has simply expressed interest in the idea. We haven't endorsed it. We have said that we would only be interested, providing it were the type of activity that all groups, all races could participate in, and the Urban League certainly would not be interested if it had as its purpose the promotion of a third party.

The thing I fear is that, if there is not responsible action taken by responsible people, there might well be a march, but I'm afraid that it will be a different kind of march. It won't be led by the same people.

Responsible Negro leaders have shown this year, in spite of tragic provocations—bombings, murders, everything else—they've shown an amazing restraint, and I think it is now time for the white community not to read into that restraint fear, or intimidation, or patience—eternal patience—but to read into this some hard, tough attempts to keep it restrained.

But there have got to be some definite victories.

Q Is it your feeling that Negro patience is wearing thin?

A I think this is true. I don't think the Negro has any illusion that he can win a shooting war—he doesn't have the guns. He has no illusions that he can outvote anybody as a bloc. He has no illusions that he has the economic wherewithal. But he is confident that he has right on his side, that America cannot afford to exterminate him, that America, if it's to maintain even a reasonable symbol of being the leader of the democratic world, has to do something—it cannot stand before the world with constant turmoil and demonstrations.

If anything, the issue today is not, "How do you stop the revolution?" It is, "How do you give it constructive guidance and direction? How do you bring about orderly change?" There's absolutely no way to stop it at all.

HOW ATTITUDES CHANGE—

Q Do you find that, in this election year, Negro leaders are placing more stress on politics?

A Yes. It's interesting to me how the tactics of legislation and of legal action and of bloc voting that at one time were deplored by the power structure of this country on the part of Negroes—now that Negroes are in the streets and are using more direct action, these things have become respectable, and all of our counselors today and the newspaper and magazine columnists all now are urging and advising us to exercise the power of the vote and to exercise the power of legislation and law—take it into the courtrooms and out of the streets.

I can remember a few years ago when this was considered radical, and now it's very respectable. Everybody wants you to do this. And I don't think the Negro needs to be told this. I think you will see an increased effort to get Negroes registered and voting, an increased effort to educate them about whom to vote for.

You'll get more sophisticated use of the ballot. You'll get absolutely no carte blanche, automatic endorsement of any particular party. I think you'll get Negroes being very discriminating in whom they will vote for. They will have well-prepared lists of their friends. I think you'll see a much more sophisticated Negro voter this year.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has already announced its "plan to purge," which is a new step for them. The Urban League, of course, is not engaged in politics per se.

Q Do you foresee the civil-rights drive this year centering in any particular area—in the South, or in big cities of the North?

A I anticipate more and more activity in the North. And I do this for several reasons:

One, the Negro gets to the North after he has taken all that he can take in the South. He gets here and it's like the end of a gangplank—there's no place to go. And he either jumps off into the water or he turns and fights. At least in the South he could say: "Well, if things get too bad, I can always escape to the great, liberal North."

The other thing is that it's a frustrating experience in the North—all of the laws are in his favor; the signs of segregation are down; the symbols have disappeared; the language is polite. And yet he's still hurting. He's ill-housed and ill-fed and out of a job. But the enemy is elusive. It's like fighting a phantom. And this is a frustrating experience. This means that the Negro becomes a fertile field for the demagogue.

Given the real, hard problems in the North—the real deprivations, the unemployment which is 25 per cent among Negroes, the real discriminations, plus this other, I think that you can expect in the North more trouble than you can in the South.

"OPPORTUNITY" FOR WHITES—

Q Do you sense any increase in resistance among white voters to some Negro demands?

A I think the resistance is not nearly as great as the noise would indicate. It's the old story of the person who's "against," or the lunatic fringe—the bigot always being noisier. He sounds like he represents many more people than he does.

I think that increasingly the white person will begin to see that integration is an opportunity and not a problem, that for many it means the opportunity to get some needed diversity and get rid of some of the drab sameness that is so stagnating. It's so handicapping to their children who are preparing to live in a world of diversity.

I find increasingly that suburban communities are seeking to get away from some of the sameness and to get Negro families among them. Now, granted, they don't want to fill the neighborhood. You know, "Love your neighbor"—as long as he isn't too numerous. But it's getting fashionable to get one of them: a teacher in a school, a Negro family in the neighborhood, provided he, again, is a Ralph Bunche.

I know there are going to be some white people who were very liberal as long as we were talking about responding to a lynching in Mississippi but who, when faced with a Negro living next door in New Jersey or New York, are not nearly as liberal. But, again, I don't think this represents a majority.

Q Do you think that Negro leaders have possibly overestimated the political importance of the Negro vote in cities of the North?

A There's less talk about this among Negroes than there is among whites. It's white people who continually talk about the importance of the Negro vote and its value.

I think the last few elections would document that, given a relatively balanced ticket between the Republicans and Democrats, the Negro vote has made the difference.

I think the Negro is less defensive about the fact today, that he will make as his condition of voting for a man his record on civil rights. At one point we said that this would not be our sole criterion. We said we thought that this was immature—to vote a man up or down just because of his civil-rights record.

We don't say this any more. This, to us, is a criterion—whether this man is a decent human being. If he's not de-

..."Unless you've been a Negro, you don't know what it means"

cent on this elementary aspect of life, then he certainly isn't going to be decent on a lot of other things.

So Negroes—where there are well-identified differences, the Negroes will vote as a bloc. I don't think it's overexaggerated. In fact, I think, if anything, in cities like Baltimore and Chicago and Los Angeles and San Francisco and New York, Columbus, he'll be even more of a factor.

The Negro vote made the difference in the last presidential election. There's just no question about it. It made the difference in Philadelphia, in Louisville. So I don't think it's overexaggerated.

Q Do you see a danger that Negro demonstrations will alienate many white people who might otherwise be inclined to help the Negro?

A I think the white community makes a real mistake in reminding the Negro of the possibility of alienating white people because he pushes for his rights.

A Negro mother whose husband is unemployed, whose children are bitten by rats, who is living in a house without heat, couldn't care less about alienating some white person.

And to suggest to the Negro that "I will be your friend only so long as you let me decide on the pace at which you are to receive your rights" irritates the Negro to no end. It says that rights that are God-given and that are constitutionally decreed can be withheld or can be given by another human being. And we don't think that this is true.

So, if it alienates white people to have Negroes given rights that white people have always enjoyed, then the Negro says: "I'm sorry. He'll just have to be alienated." But the Negro is certainly not going to slow down his thrust.

The Negro is not struggling because he is mildly inconvenienced. He's in a very serious situation. And for white people to tell him to be patient and to go slow irritates him. A hundred years is a short time in history, but it's a long time in the life of a human being; in fact, two human beings, or two generations.

Unless you've been a Negro, unless you've felt the foot of oppression, unless you've been told to get out of a restaurant and get out of a hotel, you don't know what it means, you see. And this kind of advice doesn't help the situation.

Q What do you foresee this year in the way of violence connected with race problems?

A It will not rest upon Negroes, but it will rest upon white people. If white people continue to be indifferent and callous and cruel, then I think you can expect not violence from Negroes, but you can expect Negroes to continue to aggressively agitate and demonstrate to the point of invoking violence from white people.

It was not Negroes who killed Medgar Evers and bombed the little children in the church, and struck down the freedom riders from Baltimore. They were white people. But the Negro will continue to do things that might well invoke violence. He doesn't want it, but this might well happen, if the white responsible leadership doesn't do anything.

"BOYCOTTS WILL BE USED"

Interview: *Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference*

Q Dr. King, what trend will the drive for equal rights take in this election year?

A I think it will gain momentum. I think the progress that was made in 1963 has given the Negro a desire for greater progress in 1964 and the years ahead.

I think the drive this year will center on getting more Negro registered voters, so that the Negro vote can be an important factor in the presidential election.

There will be a great deal of activity in the entire field of civil rights. We feel that it is imperative to get the civil-rights bill through Congress. If it doesn't get through, the nation will face a great deal of social disruption.

Q What do you mean by social disruption?

A I would describe it as frustration and despair in the Negro community that would not be healthy for the society as a whole. I'm sure that if this bill does not pass—particularly the public-accommodations section—we will see demonstrations on a scale that we haven't seen before.

Q Do you think there will be another march on Washington this year—or a march on Congress?

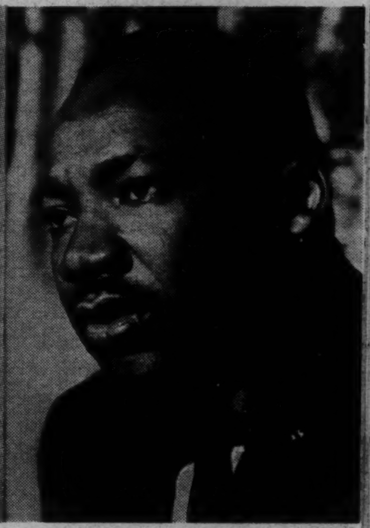
A I think this is altogether possible. If there is a filibuster in the Senate, I'm sure that advocates of civil rights will engage in some type of direct action to dramatize opposition to this tragic and blatant abuse of the democratic process.

Q Aside from pressure for enactment of the civil-rights bill, will there be any change in the nature or scope of the civil-rights campaign generally?

A No, I don't think so. I think the same methods that have been used in the past few years will continue.

Q Do you expect more demonstrations?

A Yes. In communities where there is a recalcitrance on the part of political leaders, there will probably be large-scale demonstrations. In communities where there still is



Martin Luther King, Jr., won prominence as leader of a Negro boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Ala., in 1956. He has continued campaigning for civil rights as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Now 35, he is copastor, with his father, of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga. He has a degree of doctor of philosophy from Boston University.

NEGRO LEADERS TELL THEIR PLANS FOR '64

continued

segregation in public places generally, there will be demonstrations just as we have been having in Atlanta.

Q What objectives will be stressed most intensively?

A Passage of the civil-rights bill will be one of the first and foremost objectives in 1964.

Along with this, there will be a big push to get better job opportunities for Negroes.

The program to wipe out poverty that has been discussed by President Johnson concerns us a great deal—because Negroes suffer in this area probably more than anybody else, from a percentage standpoint.

SCHOOLS AND HOUSING—

Q Will you press for more integration in schools?

A Very definitely. Fortunately, the civil-rights bill has a section in it that will speed up school integration. We're very concerned about that section. It will give the Attorney General power to initiate court action to speed school desegregation. We feel that this is necessary in the South, where the process has been all too slow.

In the North, we feel that it is necessary to grapple with the very difficult problem of *de facto* segregation. I'm sure that direct-action programs, such as boycotts, will be used in order to bring this issue out into the open in Northern communities.

Q Do you mean that there will be a widespread attack on what is known as the neighborhood-school pattern in the North?

A Yes, it seems that there will be. Groups are being formed in Northern communities to attack the old tradition of neighborhood-school patterns which continue to maintain *de facto* segregation in public schools.

As long as you have residential segregation, this problem will exist to some degree. But we feel that this should not be used as an excuse, that a community must rid itself of as much *de facto* segregation in the schools as possible, even though residential segregation is still a reality.

Q How will your campaign attack residential segregation?

A We will continue to work in every State for fair-housing bills. Some States already have such laws, but most States do not. We are working in many communities, even in the South, for open-occupancy laws. I'm sure that there will be intensified activity around the whole question of desegregation in housing.

Q Do you expect the 1964 effort in that regard to center in the South or in the North?

A I would think that you would get strong activity in both North and South. I think that 1964, like 1963, will continue to reveal that this is a national problem and not merely a sectional problem.

Q Will much of the activity in the North center in the big cities, such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia?

A Yes. I would think that most of the activity in the North will be in the big cities—mainly on the questions of employment equality, *de facto* segregation in the schools, and residential segregation.

Q What is the outlook on the issue of public accommodations?

A In the North, this isn't a major problem. But, in the South, it is indeed a major problem. It still symbolizes the deep humiliation of the system of segregation.

As long as Negroes are denied access to public accommodations, they will be stigmatized with this sense of inferiority, this sense of being "untouchables" in a caste system. Consequently, we will continue all-out efforts to integrate public facilities in the South. We feel that this section of the civil-rights bill is a most important section, and we don't plan to compromise at any point on this section.

Some of us feel so strongly about it that we would rather see no bill at all than to see a bill devoid of the public-accommodations section.

Q Have you seen evidence that white resistance to demands of Negroes is stiffening—taking the form of bloc voting by whites?

A I think some of this is inevitable in a period of social transition. Many people in the North have come to realize that they probably had much more deep-seated prejudices than they had been conscious of. It took the big push by the Negro community and the allies of the Negro in the white community to bring this whole issue to the surface in 1963.

I'm not at all discouraged. I think that this whole issue is out in the open now in a way that it has never been before. It's something like a boil, which, if kept covered up, will never be cured. It's only when you open it to air and light that it can be cured, even though it's ugly for the moment.

I think that we are bringing to the surface an issue that has been in the background all too long. We have tried to hide it. Now, it is out in the open, and this is the only way that it will be cured.

Q If this bloc voting develops as a trend, do you see a likelihood that it might work to the disadvantage of the Negroes?

A I don't think we will have any bloc voting that would be 100 per cent—even 75 per cent—bloc voting by the white community in any State.

The fact is that we have more support—active support—from the white community in the nation than ever before. I think that 1963 brought a coalition of conscience we had never seen before. For example, church groups came out in 1963 in a way they never had come out in the past—in terms of active participation by white clergymen and many of the lay leaders in white churches.

There will be some bloc voting, but I don't think the greatest percentage of whites will participate in it.

OUTLOOK FOR VIOLENCE—

Q Do you foresee widespread violence in months ahead?

A There will probably be sporadic violence here and there, but at this time I do not see a trend toward widespread violence. I don't think the Negro has any inclination to turn to widespread violence, because we've come to see that violence is not only immoral in our struggle, but impractical.

There will be, I'm sure, some reactionaries, die-hards, individuals on the lunatic fringe in the white community who may engage in violence as they've done before, by throwing bombs here and there and shooting at those who engage in demonstrations. But I don't think there will be any widespread violence.

Q Why do Negro leaders place such heavy stress on the civil-rights bill? Do you feel that laws can solve the major problems that Negroes face?

A I think laws are very important in getting to the major problems.

I'm not saying that the ultimate problem in human relations can be solved through legislation. You can't make a man, through legal strictures and judicial decrees or executive orders, love somebody else. But we aren't trying to legislate love. We are trying to legislate issues that regulate behavior.

. . . Among Negro leaders, "we are very united in our goals"

Even though morality cannot be legislated, behavior can be regulated. While the law cannot change the heart, it can certainly restrain the heartless.

It may be true that you can't legislate integration, but you can certainly legislate desegregation. And I think that desegregation is a necessary first step to bring about an integrated society.

Q Have Negroes made considerable progress in recent years?

A Yes. I think we've made very significant strides in civil rights and in re-evaluating our own intrinsic worth. I think that the Negro has a greater sense of dignity and self-respect now than ever before. This is very important, because as long as individuals don't have a sense of self-respect, it is difficult for them to engage in the necessary action programs to rectify their over-all social ills.

But the gains must not lead to a superficial optimism. We still have a long, long way to go. The strides that have been made in terms of individual accomplishments and employment opportunities and other areas have applied mainly to middle-class Negroes. The lot of the masses of Negroes remains about the same. Until we can improve the lot of the masses of Negroes, we must recognize that the problem is far from solved.

Q Is the time approaching when future gains will depend more on efforts of Negroes as individuals than on a mass movement?

A I think we've got to work on both levels. We need a strong action movement to seek removal of conditions that prevent us from rising to our full maturity, such as the system of segregation. At the same time, we need a constructive program which will help Negroes as individuals to improve the lagging standards that have come into being as a result of segregation and discrimination.

Q There seems to be a division among Negro leaders as to whether the recent demonstrations in Atlanta have been good or bad strategy. How would you judge the effectiveness of the Atlanta demonstrations?

A I've felt all along that the demonstrations were necessary. Many of the political leaders in Atlanta urged restaurant owners to end segregation. The Chamber of Commerce urged this. The local newspapers urged it. Yet these men refused to desegregate. I could see no alternative but to bring this issue before the conscience of the community and before the conscience of these businessmen by engaging in nonviolent demonstrations.

The only way we've made strides over these years of the struggle has been by bringing the issue out in the open. If we just waited for voluntary action, we would be waiting for years. So I heartily approve of the demonstrations, and I think they have the support of the vast majority of Negroes in Atlanta.

Q Nationally, Dr. King, is there any serious division among Negro leaders on methods to be used to achieve the goals you seek?

A No. I think we are very united in our goals, and I think we are united on the methods. Some organizations may emphasize one method over another. But I tend to feel that the highway that leads to the city of freedom, figuratively speaking, is not a one-lane highway but a three-lane highway:

Some of the organizations will move down the lane which stresses nonviolent, direct action.

Another lane stresses working through the courts, through legislation.

Another emphasizes preparation of the Negro for life in a highly urbanized society.

These are not contradictory forces. They supplement each other. I think that we are working together in a very meaningful and united way. There may not always be uniformity, but there is certainly unity.

Q Do the Negro leaders consult with one another?

A Yes we do, very frequently. We meet at least once a month, sometimes twice a month. We have what is known as the United Council for Civil Rights Leadership—which, we feel, is an important development.

Q When was the Council organized?

A I think it was in July of last year, just before the March on Washington.

Q What groups are represented?

A The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Urban League, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP, and the National Council of Negro Women.

"EMPHASIS ON THE ELECTIONS"

Interview: *Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

Q Mr. Wilkins, what form is the drive for equal rights most likely to take this year?

A Since this is an election year, the prime emphasis will be on the elections—registration of voters, examination of candidates, consideration of issues.

Among the chief matters of concern are the civil-rights legislation now before Congress, the declarations of the political parties next summer in their platforms, and the attitude and records of candidates, on national and State tickets, on the civil-rights issue.

Q Will demonstrations and mass protests continue?

A I look for demonstrations to continue. It would seem to me that we would have demonstrations in a number of communities where the local officials seem to be immovable.

I don't know whether any massive, countrywide demonstrations will be organized. But certainly we're going to have demonstrations.

Q Will there be another March on Washington, or March on Congress?

A I doubt that. I think, however, that Congressmen will get more visits from civil-rights advocates than they have in the past. They will be more persistently questioned on this

NEGRO LEADERS TELL THEIR PLANS FOR '64

continued

issue by their constituents, because the people are more keenly aroused and interested—and, naturally, the election year sharpens their interest.

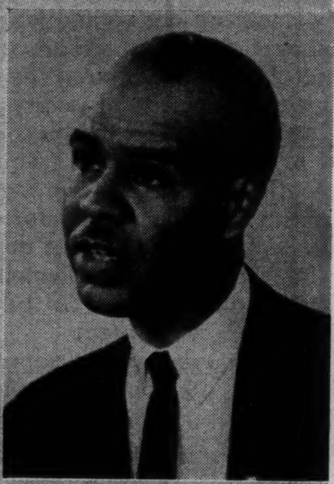
Q Will the civil-rights campaign center more in the North or in the South?

A We in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are mounting an intensified voter-registration campaign in the North, to match our continuing campaign in the South.

We have just appointed a co-ordinator of voter registration to work out of our New York office. He will supervise the activity of our local committees on voter registration in the Northern States. Already, we have replies from some 200 chapters indicating that they are at work on voter registration.

Q How successful have such campaigns been in the past?

A In the South, we have been working steadily on voter registration with a full-time staff since 1957. The estimate was that the Negro registration in the 1960 elections increased by about 15 per cent over 1956.



Roy Wilkins has been on the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1931, and has been the executive secretary of that organization since 1955. Before he joined the NAACP staff, Mr. Wilkins was managing editor of "The Call," a weekly newspaper for Negroes published in Kansas City, Mo. Born in St. Louis, Mo., Mr. Wilkins grew up in St. Paul, Minn., and was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1923. He is 62.

We now believe that there are about 500,000 to a million unregistered Negro voters in the North. These will be our target in the intensified campaign this year.

Q Do you anticipate greater success in registering Negroes in the South this year?

A I think so. The NAACP will concentrate its efforts in the cities, where it's easier to register a larger number of voters for the same amount of energy and staff and money expended. We won't neglect the rural areas. But it's easier to register 1,000 people in a big city than it is to register, say, 50 people in a small rural community.

Q Besides voter registration, what other objectives does the equal-rights movement have this year? More integration in schools, housing, public accommodations?

A In the North, targets will be areas where segregation in public-school systems and housing is still existing. There will be a great deal of emphasis on discrimination in employment, as well, because the Negro is two and half times more unemployed, if I can phrase it that way, than the white worker. The Negro's economic position is becoming very acute indeed.

Discrimination in employment takes many forms. I would expect that we would have demonstrations for employment opportunities.

But there will be equally hard work on housing and on discrimination in so-called *de facto* segregation in school systems in the North.

Q Will your efforts be concentrated mainly in big cities—such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia—or will you also be active in smaller, suburban cities?

A We already are active in a number of small communities as well as in the larger centers—in all, a total of 80 communities in 15 States outside the South.

Q Have you noted any increase in resistance among whites, especially to the idea of breaking up neighborhood school patterns in the North?

A There has been some misunderstanding about the plans that have been advanced for correcting the neighborhood-school type of segregation.

White parents, many of whom have been unaware of what has been done to Negro children, naturally feel disturbed at the idea of a change in the pattern of their own children's schooling. But nothing proposed by Negroes contemplates the deprivation of any white child. We simply want the school systems to take a new look at their administrative policies, at their zoning, at their building plans, and at their assignment of teachers, so that everyone can have good schools. Naturally, this will require changes—and changes, more often than not, generate resistance.

Q Do you consider it necessary to break up neighborhood schools in order to achieve racial integration in the North?

A I think this phrase "breaking up" is a good catch phrase that arouses people.

Most parents—white and Negro—want their children close by. But, as a matter of fact, many of the people who talk about breaking up neighborhood schools are at this moment living under school systems where the neighborhood pattern, as it's popularly described, is broken up by various administrative devices—and children, even now, without any reference to their racial question, are being sent back and forth, in and out of neighborhoods.

IF WHITES VOTE IN A BLOC—

Q Is the Negro leadership concerned about indications of bloc voting by whites in recent elections in Boston, Philadelphia, Louisville, and in Louisiana?

A I don't know to what degree white people have been using bloc voting. If we mean that they have been expressing their opposition to certain policies of what they call integration, then, I suppose, that has made itself evident in such places as Louisiana. And it's easy to imagine that such bloc voting would manifest itself in a local school situation in places other than Louisiana.

Q Could such bloc voting seriously impede the drive for equal rights?

A I don't believe that the school situation will get to such a point that sides will line up politically in white and black bloc votes. I believe that most white parents are interested in good education for all children.

Naturally, parents are interested, first of all, in their own children, and this is why Negroes feel so strongly on the school issue. They have seen—for example, in Manhasset, N.Y.—tests that determined that Negro children were two to three years behind. This is under a school system in a favored suburb of New York City, with money to spend for

(continued on next news page)

NEGRO LEADERS TELL THEIR PLANS FOR '64

continued

schools with a good administration—and yet, Negro children are behind.

Now, to Negroes, this is sufficient evidence that the *de facto* segregated school is inferior, and they are just as concerned and excited about their children's future as the white parents are.

I look for this common interest in good schools to get together before any permanent bloc-voting tactics develop.

Q Are Negroes making real strides in this country?

A Yes. I would say that the progress, except in employment, is noticeable. There is some quiet progress in housing. There is progress on the school situation. Many school boards—despite the publicity given school boards that resist—are co-operating and gradually revising their policies.

But in employment we're lagging. And we're not satisfied with the progress in housing. And there are remaining pockets of discrimination in public places, in the North as well as in the South, and these will engage the attention of Negroes.

Q Last year, when Negroes demonstrated for better job opportunities, there was violence in some Northern cities. Do you think there will be further violence this year?

A I don't like to talk about violence, because I think that, if you do, you encourage it. But I would say that tension over employment could get very high. The feelings of a Negro are the same as those of any other human being who finds himself unable to get a job and support his family. His feelings on this are going to be higher and higher. I would look for some strong tension areas in this respect. The Negro has a right to resist discrimination in employment, and to protest it.

Q Can new laws do much to correct or solve the problems of Negroes?

A Yes. Laws always help, it seems to us. We know that, after laws are passed, people still have their own prejudices. There are still people who want to repeal the income tax law. And there will be people who will resist antisegregation laws. But we think that laws help.

The pending civil-rights bill, for example, would make it possible for proprietors of places of public accommodation to accommodate Negroes because it is the law and it applies to everybody, and the proprietor won't necessarily lose trade to the man down the street, because all of them will come under the same law.

Q What if Congress fails to pass a strong new law dealing with civil rights?

A I can't imagine Congress, full of people who are going to be up for re-election in 1964, failing to pass a good civil-rights law. We believe that a strong and effective law will be passed.

That doesn't mean that all the problems will be solved by it.

Q If it isn't passed, will there be trouble?

A I would say "Yes," although we might differ on what is meant by the word "trouble." I don't look for rioting in the streets if the bill doesn't pass, but I look for deep resentment and an expression of this resentment in various channels. There probably would be demonstrations, there probably would be marches, there probably would be visitations upon local and State officials.

Certainly, also, the Congressmen who failed to vote for such a bill could expect that the voters would exercise the traditional right of close examination and judgment upon them next November.

Q Do you see any danger that some demonstrations run a risk of alienating whites who in the past have been sympathetic to Negro causes?

A Let me say, first, that not only demonstrations but nearly any procedure by Negroes have irritated white people in the past and will do so, I expect, in the future.

When Negroes have filed lawsuits against certain practices, white people have said, "Well, you're making us angry. You ought not to do that. You're losing your friends."

When you stage a demonstration, they say, "You're using demonstrations, and demonstrations are alienating your friends."

There are circumstances, it seems to me, under which a lawsuit or the pressure for legislation or the pressure for alteration in school patterns could be extremely irritating and could lose allies, or lose potential allies—because a lot of people we lose are not our allies at the moment.

I believe that demonstrations have their place. As I have said, a bulldozer can make a proper excavation for a building but it can't erect the steel. The demonstrations ought to take their proper place in the Negroes' weaponry, to be used where indicated and then put aside until needed again.

Q Is there any major disagreement among Negro leaders on methods used across the nation?

A I saw recently in "The Chicago Daily News" a rather lengthy discussion of differences of opinion, which the account said existed there among Negro leaders on the matter of tactics. Now, how authentic this item was, I don't know.

"DEMONSTRATIONS WILL SPREAD"

Interview: *James L. Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality*

Q Mr. Farmer, do you foresee further massive demonstrations this year, and more marches, sit-ins and boycotts?

A I should anticipate that there will be a continuation and acceleration of the demonstrations which we had in 1963—the sit-ins, the marches, and so forth. As a matter of fact, those already have begun. Beginning early in December, we had demonstrations in Chapel Hill, N. C. And, as you know, there have been demonstrations in Atlanta and Canton and Jackson, Miss. I think these will spread.

In 1964, I expect that there will be a new ingredient added, or several new ingredients. There will be more widespread use of the boycott on local, State, regional and national levels. There also will be a greater approach to the "uncommitted mass," if I may use that term. The necessity for winning their allegiance and other allies is very clear to all of us now. We need allies from among other minority groups in the country, and from among the prevailing majority. I'm convinced that the best way of winning those allies

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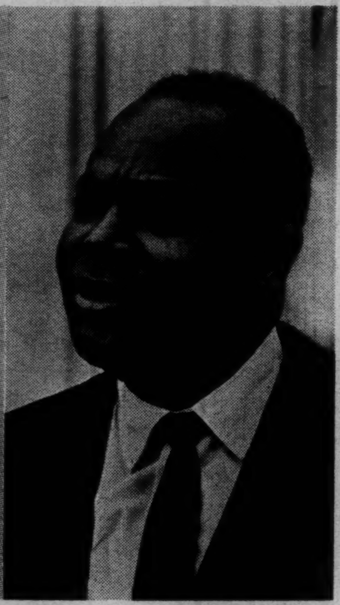
continued

is by providing the people of good will with something to do, constructively. Participating in selective patronage campaigns, or boycotts, is one thing that they can do. The widespread Puerto Rican support of the New York school boycott is a dramatic example of this.

I think, too, in 1964, you'll find greater emphasis upon long-range planning. In 1963, the demonstations were more or less spontaneous. The civil-rights revolution sprang up and spread all over the country. But in 1964 there'll be more planning. We'll be thinking more in terms of such long-range campaigns as retraining for skilled jobs in automated industry and remedial education, so that we can repair the damage that has been done by 300 years of disability.

Q Do you foresee another March on Washington this year?

A No, I don't foresee it. I would say that it's possible. But I would not be in a position to predict that one will take place. It depends upon developments.



James L. Farmer, 44, was one of the founders of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1942 and became its first national chairman. A native of Texas, he is a grandson of a slave. Mr. Farmer was a pioneer in development of nonviolent, direct-action techniques of fighting racial segregation, patterning his methods after those used by Mahatma Gandhi in India. Mr. Farmer was a leader in the original "Freedom Ride" across the South in 1961.

Q Do you think that 1964 will find Negro organizations placing more stress on politics? Will there be an effort to register more Negroes in the South?

A Of course, that drive is going on. CORE is stepping up its registration activities in the South. We are working in 13 counties in South Carolina. We are working in part of Florida, especially Miami, which is in Dade County, and also Tallahassee. We have voter-registration drives going on in 12 parishes in Louisiana, and Mississippi as well. There'll be greater and greater emphasis upon this, particularly in an election year.

Q Do you expect that these efforts to register Negroes will be more successful than in the past?

A I think so. I think that the motivation is much greater now than it has been in the past. This motivation has been built up—and, in fact, the demonstrations of 1963 helped to add to that motivation.

Q What objectives are being stressed most intensively this year?

A I'm one who thinks that it's impossible for us to state a list of priorities and say that we must work on one aspect of the problem primarily and then move on to others, because all of the aspects of racial discrimination in our country are interrelated so definitely.

In the North, you have employment, you have housing, you have schools. We realize that *de facto* segregation springs out of residential segregation, at least in part, so you've got to work on those two things simultaneously.

We realize, also, that employment discrimination against Negroes has its definite relationship to education. Very frequently we open up jobs and then find that there are no persons who are available with the necessary skills for the jobs, because they have not achieved the necessary education—because heretofore the jobs have not been available.

So I think we'll be working on all fronts simultaneously.

Q Will the 1964 effort center in the South, or will there be demonstrations and vigorous efforts made in the big cities of the North?

A It will be both. It will be all over the country—South and North.

Q Are there any particular Northern cities that are targeted, or where demonstrations are projected—Chicago, New York, Philadelphia?

A I would say in all of the Northern cities where there is a substantial Negro minority population. That includes New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and so forth.

"ALWAYS RESISTANCE"—

Q Do you sense a possible increase in resistance among white voters to some Negro demands?

A There always has been resistance to that idea, and I see no indication that that particular resistance, or that form of resistance, is increasing.

You know, it's always comfortable for people to stay in the same old group and accept the *status quo.* But we have to do a strong educational job of convincing people that integrated education is an important educational value, and so important that it exceeds the importance of static neighborhood schools.

Q Do you see a danger that whites in some communities may vote, in a sense, as an anti-Negro bloc?

A I think you would expect it in the South, but this is not unusual. We've had that bloc voting against desegregation in the South historically, traditionally.

In the North, I do not agree that there are indications that there would be such bloc voting by whites against Negro demands—justifiable demands. The analyses that I've seen of the Philadelphia election—for example, an analysis that appeared in "The New York Times" shortly after the election—reached the conclusion that the civil-rights struggle had little bearing upon the vote in the city of Philadelphia.

Q Do you think that Negroes in the North perhaps have overestimated the political importance of their vote?

A Oh, I don't think they have. As a matter of fact, I don't think Negroes have yet fully realized the importance of their vote.

You see, what's happening in our Northern cities is that the percentage of minorities in the population is increasing rapidly, as whites move out to the suburbs for various reasons and more Negroes and Puerto Ricans and Mexicans move into the cities.

The cities are rapidly becoming largely populated by minorities. Look at Washington, D. C., for example, with more than half. The New York percentage is increasing. This means that Negroes and other minorities will very soon have enormous political power within the urban centers. Combine this with the fact of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decision, and I think you can see that the Negro vote is becoming increasingly important.

. . . "Wipe out the disabilities of the past"

I would say, however, that we do realize that a polarization in the American community on lines of race would be most unfortunate. And this we seek to avoid. This is one reason for the emphasis that we will make in 1964 on winning allies. I see very little likelihood that whites will vote as whites, Negroes as Negroes. My impression is that a large percentage of white people in the North sympathize with Negro demands and will co-operate and vote with them.

Q How do you feel about the possibility of new violence this year?

A It's difficult to predict. I would say that much depends upon the civil-rights legislation in Washington. Much depends upon the teeth which it has and the strength. If title 3 of the bill—which gives the Department of Justice certain powers to intervene—is adopted, then I think that the danger of violence against Negro demonstrators will be lessened.

Q In the event that the Congress should refuse to enact a strong civil-rights law, what then do you think would be the result?

A I think that's very clear. There will be increased frustration, increased anger on the part of Negroes—not only Negroes, but many whites who sympathize with them.

You will note that, in the March on Washington, at least one third of the participants were white. These persons will resent the failure of the Congress just as deeply. I would therefore predict that, if a strong civil-rights bill is not passed, there will be a great increase in demonstrations.

I want to make it clear that this is not a threat. I'm not holding a club over the Congress. I'm simply trying to analyze what is likely to happen and what the response is apt to be in the Negro community.

Q Do you think that the time is approaching when further Negro gains will depend upon the efforts of Negroes as individuals rather than as a group?

A I don't think it's a matter of either/or. I think it has to be both. And it will be both. There'll be the strides of Negroes as individuals combined with the civil-rights thrust for rights.

Q Why is so much stress being placed upon laws? Is it your feeling that laws can correct or solve all the problems that the Negroes face in this country?

A By no means. Laws never solve all of the problems they are designed to solve, but they help. They do several things:

First, they provide a tool with which you can work. You can work to secure enforcement and implementation of the law.

Second, the law has a tremendous educational value and effect, because most people—most Americans certainly—don't want to be law violators, and if they know there is a law that says, for example, "To refuse to serve a person because of his race in your restaurant is a violation," then many owners of restaurants will serve people because they don't want to violate the law.

Third, we feel that, as laws help to break down the barriers of segregation, then it is possible for people to come into more creative contact, and prejudices can be diminished.

Q Do you think Negroes now should have special treatment—be shown special favors because of past discrimination against them?

A I think perhaps the term which has been so frequently used, of special treatment and special favors, is an unfortunate one, because the very term itself gives the wrong impression.

The fact is that Negroes have been receiving "special treatment" ever since they've been here of a negative nature, and all that we are asking is that we try in the country to repair the damage that has thus been done, that we try to wipe out the disabilities of the past, and if doing that is providing special treatment of a positive nature, then I am in favor of it.

WEAPONS: "DOLLAR AND BALLOT"

Interview: *James Forman, Executive Secretary, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

Q Mr. Forman, what trend do you see ahead in the drive for equal rights in this election year of 1964?

A I think that there will be continued pressure for a federal law requiring the opening of all public accommodations to Negroes. This pressure will take the form of demonstrations in local areas.

These demonstrations will not be designed, primarily, to dramatize the need for a federal public-accommodations law. But that will be one of their consequences.

There will also, of course, be pressure for local public-accommodations laws and for local desegregation. This is what we have in Atlanta at the moment.

I think, also, that there will be a renewed effort to register voters or to point out the inadequacies of existing legislation in the field of voting. As a result of this, there will be emphasis on the need of a federal law dealing with voting —a law much stronger than the ones now on the books.

Q Besides public accommodations and voting, what will be your other major objectives this year?

A I think that you will see continued pressure for school integration—or, at least equally important, for better schools.

The fact is that, while nationally many groups have been pushing for integration, there is also a tremendous problem with the quality of schools. This is true not only in the South but also in the North. We want to improve the quality of education—eliminate the overcrowded schools, the triple shifts and the mobile schoolrooms, get better teachers.

Q What will be the direction of your school campaign in the North?

A The focus will be on eliminating the *de facto* segregation that exists in Northern cities. Chicago is a good example. There will be a multiplicity of boycotts.

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continued

Q Will this campaign be directed at the system of neighborhood schools? Do Negroes feel that this system must be abolished to achieve integration?

A Yes, if the neighborhood school helps to perpetuate segregation. And I know that, in Chicago where I used to teach, the neighborhood-school system works against the Negro students because the schools in Negro neighborhoods are very, very inferior.

Q Will Negroes this year stage another March on Washington—or perhaps a march on Congress?

A There very well may be a march on the political conventions. This is in the tentative planning stage.

But it is most unlikely that we will see anything on the magnitude of last year's March on Washington. While that was certainly a historic occasion, it left many things to be desired.

"AN AIRING OF ISSUES"—

Q As a result of the mass demonstrations, do you sense any increase in the resistance of white people to Negro demands?

A Not really. I think that what you have is an airing of the issues on a larger national scale. When that happens, many people become concerned about the issue being raised right in their home towns.

For instance, if you live in Boston, it's one thing to deplore dogs biting Negro kids in Birmingham, or police using tear gas in Savannah, Ga., or beating people over the head in Danville, Va.

But it becomes quite another thing when you realize that right there in Boston Negro kids are being urged to boycott schools because they are segregated.

When such issues are raised right at home, white people in these localities begin to raise questions. Personally, I think this is very good, because there can be no solution of the problem unless it comes out into the public forum.

I think that now Americans are beginning to take it for granted that Negroes are going to gain their rights. This was not so widely accepted a few years ago, because there was not as much public dialogue then and not as much acceptance of the fact that people have a right to protest.

Q Do you see any danger that bloc voting against Negroes may develop among whites—and that this will work to the disadvantage of Negroes because they are a minority?

A First of all, I don't think that you are going to have too much bloc voting. People, traditionally, have different political allegiances, you see, and I don't think that there's ever going to be unanimity among Negroes over whom they're going to vote for—just as I don't think you are going to have unanimity among the whites.

Q Do you feel that, on the whole, you have won more white friends than you have alienated by your strategy?

A That's right. I think there are whites, as well as Negroes, who have accommodated themselves to certain techniques, and when they see somebody out there demonstrating, they feel that this is going to alienate friends.

One of the favorite expressions of whites is that demonstrating has destroyed the lines of communication between the races. This is usually a rationalization to stop demonstrations. Often there hasn't been much real communication in the first place.

I think that, in any type of social movement, you're going to have a dislocation of normal patterns of behavior. And we may as well recognize that in this nonviolent direct action we're instituting—here I'm not just talking about SNCC but about other groups, too—we may as well recognize that there are going to be people who will be alienated, people who can't understand—both Negroes and whites.

But, ultimately, we have faith that there will be a greater healing in the community. I think that this has already been proven.

Q How about boycotts as a method of protest by Negroes? Have they proved very effective in the past?

A Yes, they've proved very successful. And you're likely to see one in Atlanta. The very threat of a boycott is effective because, as the saying goes, Negroes have two things on their side—the dollar and the ballot. You withhold the dollar from the merchants and they begin to get concerned —just as the threat of the Negro vote concerns the politicians.

Q Do you expect the use of boycotts to increase?

A Yes, I think so. I can't really predict what's going to happen, but I would expect that the boycott is one of the more sophisticated methods that will be utilized.

Q In the political campaign itself—beyond the voter registration—will the Negro organizations play a more active role this year than in the past?

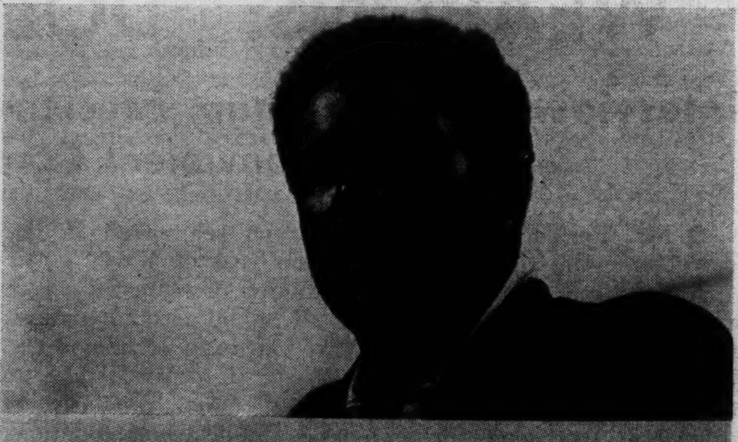
A There are signs that this is going to be the case. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has said that it is going to suggest for whom people should vote—and against whom.

And I suspect that the NAACP structurally is about the only organization which may be capable of implementing that decision.

In our own organization, we have very few voters since we are basically an organization of college students. We are also active mainly in the Deep South, where Negroes are still working to achieve the vote.

Q "Nonviolent" is one word of your organization's name. What do you think are the prospects for violence in the civil-rights campaign this year?

A That is a question I really don't like to speculate upon, because, first of all, one can never say for sure in advance.



James Forman left a school-teaching job in Chicago to enter the civil-rights movement in 1961. Now he is executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. SNCC works among college students. Mr. Forman, 35, was born in Chicago. After graduation from Roosevelt University in Chicago, he studied African affairs at Boston University.

. . . "There has to be a destruction of the caste system"

In our own demonstrations, every effort is going to be made to keep them nonviolent.

Q Do you have training courses to teach your people the techniques of nonviolence and self-restraint?

A That's true. There are always training sessions. And then before demonstrations there are usually workshops in which we talk about the philosophy of nonviolence, ways in which demonstrators can protect themselves, what should be their behavior in jail and so forth.

Q Looking back over the past few years, how do you rate the Negroes' progress in this country? Have they made important gains?

A Yes, I think so. I think one of the most important gains we've made is that we have become aware as a group of people that, if we don't protest, then we're not going to make any gains.

You have to understand that there was a lot of defeatist psychology among Negroes as a group—a kind of feeling that Negroes couldn't get together and do anything as a group. The greatest significance of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in 1956 was that it demonstrated to the nation and to other Negroes that we could get together. But even this was not sufficient to destroy completely the negativism which was operating in the Negro community. And I think one of the greatest values of the student movement is that it has demonstrated that young Negroes can do something.

I think this is one of the reasons why you see demonstrations now in the North—people have become convinced that through demonstrations and through sticking together as a group it is possible to achieve concrete results.

MAJOR GOAL: DIGNITY—

Q What concrete results have been achieved?

A Well, go across the South, look at all of the desegregation of restaurants. Now, a lot of times, the significance of this is not really understood. You see, segregated public accommodations help to maintain the caste system which helps to keep Negroes feeling inferior, helps to maintain the *status quo* in which white politicians exploit Negroes and so forth.

So there has to be a destruction of the caste system—there has to be a feeling that Negro maids are not to be called just "Barbara Johnson" while a white person is called "Miss Barbara Johnson."

The significance of this is not often appreciated. The whole attack on segregation in public accommodations is not primarily because Negroes want to sit down and eat with white persons, but rather because the erection of segregated barriers is an affront to the dignity of Negroes. And for Negro children to be fully liberated and to develop their personalities without all the shame and the stigma and the paranoid feelings and so forth, these barriers have to be destroyed.

Q Do you put public accommodations very high on your list of goals?

A Well, I put the destruction of all symbols of segregation very high. The destruction of all myths which help to perpetuate segregated institutions is very, very high—the myth that Negroes are inferior intellectually, for example. That is very important.

And out of this drive for public accommodations has come a new sense of dignity that has made it possible for Negro youth to move ahead in other areas.

Q Is it your theory that material gains will follow this achievement of a new sense of dignity?

A What do you call "material" gains?

Q Jobs, for instance—better jobs, and better homes—

A That's true. I think certainly the drive for equality has resulted in better jobs for Negroes. Unfortunately, I think we have not addressed ourselves dramatically to the problem of poor housing for Negroes.

We have in Atlanta, for instance, a section called "Buttermilk Bottom," where a lot of the streets are unpaved. This, of course, is unnecessary in such a country as ours.

And we have not even addressed ourselves to the problem of the poverty which exists in some of these black-belt counties in the Deep South, where you have people working for $2 or $3 a day as sharecroppers, and having to take their kids out of school so they can work to help boost the weekly income of the family instead of the child getting an education.

These are problems that ultimately we must attack.

Q How important do you consider new laws?

A I think this is very important. There used to be a school of thought—and segregationists still try to maintain this school of thought—that the race problem is a problem of attitudes, that people have to have an attitude of good will before there can be good will. I think that the sociologists have disproved this theory of attitudes. For instance, they have found in housing projects that people who had anti-Negro attitudes before Negroes moved in changed those attitudes after Negroes moved in.

The same thing is true in the Army.

I recall that, when I was in the Army, I served with white guys from Mississippi who said that until they were forced to think about this problem they just never thought about it.

The same is true in the area of education.

So, therefore, I think that laws are extremely important because most Americans, by and large, are law-abiding people, and, if the law says something, then that's the way they are going to respond. Working within the framework of law forces people to develop new attitudes.

Q What's going to happen if Congress does not pass a fairly strong civil-rights bill?

A If that happens, I think there are very serious problems ahead. I really do. This is one place where I think predictions are possible.

DIVISION AMONG NEGROES—

Q There have been reports that some of the Negro leaders across the nation are not entirely happy with some of the newer movements and tactics. Is there a serious division among Negro leadership?

A Well, you know, there's no uniformity in leadership in any particular ethnic group or in any particular stratum of society—and Negroes are no different. People have different backgrounds and aspirations. Consequently we cannot expect to have uniformity in Negro thought.

It is natural that some older Negro leaders would not necessarily look with too much favor on what some of the younger people are doing. Many of these older people, you have to understand, grew up in a segregated system where they learned to survive by accommodating themselves to the system.

On the other hand, I really don't think there is any serious division among the Negro leadership. I think that there is a basic agreement upon certain objectives. There were some tensions within the civil-rights movement last spring, but I think that these have been resolved. [END]

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Beverly Hills Office

213/Crestview 3-1530

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'Visit Bogalusa and you will look for me'

I opened the paper one morning and read about a group of armed Negro vigilantes in the South called the Deacons for Defense and Justice. By the time last week was out I had talked to the warlike Deacon chieftain of Bogalusa, La., and also to a young white girl civil rights worker who believes she owes him her life. Both interviews strengthened my conviction that nonviolence must remain the moral keystone of the civil rights movement. But they also reminded me that one's feelings about violence are influenced more by geography and circumstance than by moral principle.

Although the Deacons were first formed last summer, their existence did not become public until a few weeks ago when two Negro sheriff's deputies were ambushed by nightriders at a train crossing outside of Bogalusa. One victim died instantly; the other was seriously injured; and the murderers, being white, may never have to face justice. Since the shooting, armed Deacons have been openly patroling Bogalusa, their guns often in plain sight on the seats of their cars. Though their total number is unknown, the Deacons claim to have over 50 chapters in Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi. The Deacons say they have grenades and machine guns as well as conventional weapons, and that they will not hesitate to use their entire arsenal if necessary to achieve their avowed purpose: to prevent armed racists from ever again attacking either Southern Negroes or their white friends and sympathizers. My initial reaction to the Deacons' pledge surprised me. Though its nobility and built-in menace were both evident, what interested me personally was how quickly my own belief in nonviolence wavered when a vigilante group turned up dedicated even in part to the protection of me!

Then Charles Sims, president of the Bogalusa Deacons, came to Los Angeles where I live to be interviewed for a TV news show. He is 41, has been a cab driver and an Army sergeant and weapons instructor, and now works for

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gers she would face, she didn't really feel like a guerrilla in enemy territory until her caravan of volunteers drove into Baton Rouge. Sims and a lieutenant intercepted the group there to personally escort them into Bogalusa. This was the first time she had even heard of the Deacons, and the first time she got really scared was when she saw Sims's gun lying on his front seat. After that she was kept under 24-hour Deacon guard, was warned never to stand close to a lighted window at night, and at one tense moment when the volunteers were isolated in an empty house, she was even issued a small pistol. Though she did not have to use it, the grim indoctrination dramatized the real danger of her predicament and wiped away all clinging shreds of idealism or naiveté.

"Do you approve of the Deacons?" I asked Donna.

"Not really," she said, "but when you're down there, it's an irrelevant question." She does mightily approve of Charles Sims, whom she calls "kind, gentle, not emotional . . . a Rock of Gibraltar. . . . But what's really great about the Deacons is to see the effect they've had on their own people. It's so great to see a Negro family in the South that knows its rights, that is not afraid."

As for her own personal fear, Donna says, "You never stop being afraid there, but you stop being scared." For her first few days in town, she jumped at every loud noise, couldn't sleep at night, and broke out in a nervous rash. "Does that sound paranoiac?" she wondered.

I said not to me. I am sure that had she not seen Deacons in the bushes and guns in the cars, Donna would have been a lot less scared. But it is realism that counts—a mild, Deacon-induced paranoia is both a healthy and realistic state of mind for a white female Yankee civil rights worker billeted with a Negro family in the Deep South this summer.

In the end, I told Donna the same thing I told Mr. Sims. If I ever do have to go to Bogalusa, I should be very glad to have his protection, despite the fact that where brave men like Sims really belong is not in the Deacons but in the ranks of the Bogalusa police department.

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Civil Rights Switch

More Self-Help Drives Aid Negroes in Seizing New Opportunities

Philadelphia Group Upgrades Job Skills; Negroes' Co-Op Runs Fruitcake Factory

A 'Socrates' in Blue Jeans

By JAMES C. TANNER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TALLULAH, La.—Few politicians have ever sweated out election returns more anxiously than Harold Ickes will in this Mississippi delta town tonight. And he isn't even on the ballot in this contest, held to pick committeemen for Madison Parish (county) Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees.

By midnight mail ballots will be in and in a few days returns will show if one or more local Negro farmers have won places on the ASC group—breaking a white monopoly which they charge has unfairly denied them increases in cotton allotments. If they do, Mr. Ickes, a 25-year-old white civil rights worker, can take most of the credit. Without his prodding, it's doubtful a single Negro would have had the temerity to make the race.

Harold Ickes, son of the late Secretary of the Interior in Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet, is head of the Congress of Racial Equality's summer project in Tallulah. He is also one of a new breed of civil rights activists who are less interested in staging headline-grabbing mass marches and sit-ins than in helping Negroes to help themselves in comparatively mundane matters: Sprucing up homes and neighborhoods, getting better jobs, reducing school "dropout" rates, and the like.

They've Got the Laws—but . . .

The self-help efforts of Mr. Ickes, and others like him working in scores of cities North and South, suggest that the civil rights struggle is entering a new, crucially important phase. With President Johnson's signing of the voting-rights act Friday, the major legislative goals Negroes sought through mass demonstrations have now been won, and Federal enforcement of these new laws grows more rigorous daily. But many Negroes—the school dropout, the unskilled worker displaced by automation, the second-generation tenement dweller, the Dixie sharecropper—are unprepared or lack the motivation to seize the new opportunities open to them. The proliferation of programs to remedy this indicates that self-help may eventually replace "Freedom Now" as the major emphasis in civil rights activities.

In Jacksonville, Fla., for example, Negroes recently poured into the streets, waving signs and banners, and marched 19 blocks through a slum area—protesting not Jim Crow, but Negro apathy. The demonstration was held to fire enthusiasm among Negro residents of West Jacksonville to clean up their homes and keep their children in school, and it was staged by a new neighborhood improvement association. "We wanted to set the tone for self-help," says Negro postman Robert Williams, who heads the group.

So does Mr. Ickes in Tallulah, who never does a job himself if he can get a local Negro interested and involved in doing it instead. "The Negroes thought I was going to do all the legwork on voter registration when I came here, but I wasn't about to," recalls the strapping six-footer. Instead he's teaching local Negroes how to go about running a voting campaign themselves.

A Socrates in Blue Jeans

Indeed, Mr. Ickes functions as a sort of Socrates in blue jeans—wheedling, needling, forever questioning local Negroes on their complaints, forcing them to come up with possible courses of remedial action, chiding them for not taking these actions before. "You should be talking to your neighbors and their wives about getting their ballots in the mail. That's the only way you're going to win," he tells Negro farmers running for ASC posts. Tipped off that some other farmers were confused and might vote for white-sponsored candidates, he asks them: "You going to vote for Mr. Charley (the white man)? What's Mr. Charley ever done for you?"

Mr. Ickes has staged no marches, organized no sit-ins, mounted no picketing drives. He feels his role as catalyst in igniting Negroes' enthusiasm to help themselves is more productive. "All this freedom bla-bla is meaningless, unless you get it down to concrete things like garbage collection," he says. "I'd wager more change is occurring in this town in the short time we've been here than in Selma."

In other places other men have also come to the conclusion that helping the Negro help himself is more important now than taking to the streets. In his book, Dark Ghetto, Negro psychologist Kenneth B. Clark cautions that although the Negro has won entry into many areas once forbidden him, his lack of ability to function in the white world makes it difficult for him to take advantage of his opportunities and leaves him still "in danger of becoming a permanent economic proletariat."

Focus on Job Skills

It's not surprising, then, that many of the "bootstrap" efforts concern themselves with education and upgrading of job skills. In Tulsa, Okla., a self-help group called the Community Development Council has asked counselors at local schools to pass on information about Negro youngsters who may drop out of school for academic reasons. The council rounds up tutors to help them, and reports good results. The group also plans a "buddy program," which would enlist talented high school and college students to take Negro welfare youngsters shopping and to the movies, and generally expose them to a wider environment.

Adult education is stressed, too. One class: How to take a civil service examination. Just recently, 10 residents of Tulsa's Negro north side graduated from the council's first blueprint reading course; all had construction jobs waiting. Later this month eight other residents will finish training in radio-TV repair.

Tulsa businesses, meanwhile, are being asked to provide on-the-job training in a mar-

Please Turn to Page 8, Column 2

Civil Rights Switch: Self-Help Idea Sparks Projects to Uplift Negroes

Continued From First Page

ketable skill for at least one Negro each. Through such efforts, the council hopes to reduce the high proportion of Negroes in North Tulsa—estimated at 65% of eligible workers—who are "underemployed" or jobless.

One of the organizers of the council, Negro engineer William E. Reynolds, pinpoints the problem as he sits sipping coffee in a Tulsa diner. "A year and a half ago I wouldn't have been able to eat here. Now that we've passed that hurdle, 90% of Tulsa's Negroes still can't eat here. They can't afford it."

In Philadelphia, the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan has run head-on into the same problem. A few years ago he ran a youth employment service from his church and found jobs for 1,000 young Negroes in one year. But 4,000 others went unplaced because they lacked skills. More recently, Mr. Sullivan and 400 other Negro ministers were remarkably successful in organizing sporadic trade boycotts against Philadelphia companies believed to discriminate against Negroes in hiring. The boycotts were, in a way, too successful; not nearly enough qualified Negroes could be found to fill all the jobs that were opened to them.

So Mr. Sullivan started a massive adult training program, Opportunities Industrialization Center, in one of Philadelphia's poorest neighborhoods. City businesses chipped in $250,000 worth of equipment for job training and counseled the center on the skills they needed most. Mr. Sullivan raised another $400,000 from foundations, churches, and door-to-door canvassing in Negro neighborhoods, and opened the center in an old police station 16 months ago. Since then more than 400 "graduates" of the center have been employed locally, and about 84% of those entering the program are assured of jobs when they finish.

Common Ground

Mr. Sullivan expects the enrollment to be quadrupled within a year and plans to have 10,000 Negroes in training within three years, compared with 1,000 now learning such skills as drafting, sheet-metal work and machine tooling. "This is one thing in which the white businessman and the militant Negro have a mutual interest," says Mr. Sullivan. "The Negro needs a job, and the white man can profit from a new customer."

Some bootstrap programs give Negroes not only jobs but a chance to actually run a business enterprise. In southwest Louisiana, the catalyst for one such project was a Negro Catholic priest, the Rev. Albert McKnight, who recalls: "It was hard to preach the word of God to people who were hungry."

His search to improve their economic condition led to the formation of Southern Consumers' Cooperative. Negro members pool their meager savings, and are granted in return loans at low interest rates. Last year SCC used its members' funds to open a fruitcake factory in Lake Charles, La., to begin providing jobs for Negroes in both management and blue-collar positions. The factory began production last September and has expanded its line to include candy pralines and toasted spices. The cooperative's membership now stands at 1,500, including some whites, and expansion into Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama is planned.

Housing Push

Though employment and education are major self-help areas, there are as many other programs as there are Negro problems. In Washington, D.C., one self-help group buys deteriorating tenements, refurbishes them with the help of neighborhood volunteers, and lowers the rent. Poison is also distributed to slum dwellers to help them get rid of rats.

Other efforts to improve housing and the neighborhood environment are going on in Pittsburgh, where residents of one neighborhood have repainted hundreds of their homes and hired a city planner to draft long-range community improvements; in Vine City, a Negro slum in Atlanta whose residents held a neighborhood carnival to raise funds and then cooperated on converting an old house into a community center with a children's library; and in Jacksonville, where the new community group draws crowds at its weekly meetings and now sends committees to city hall to request improvements. Recently $10,000 was allocated for resurfacing some of the area's streets.

In Hartford, Conn., a group of Negroes is setting up Consumer Protection Clinics to advise members of their race how to spend their money prudently, how to interpret and understand purchase contracts, and how to avoid traps laid by shady salesmen. The self-help Block Development project in East Harlem does not limit itself to encouraging Negroes to spruce up their apartments; it also works with drug addicts and is planning a cooperative food market.

Besides their obvious benefits to the Negro community, such self-help projects also give the broad civil rights effort a quality it has often lacked—continuity. Demonstrators come and go within a few weeks, often leaving few concrete gains for local Negroes when they depart from a city. But self-helpers dig in for the long pull.

Mr. Ickes in Tallulah will leave town soon to continue his studies at Columbia University's law school in New York. But his influence will be felt for a long time in this segregationist bastion. He'll leave behind two local Negroes to carry on CORE's work there—Artis Ray Dawson, a student in social work attending a nearby college, and James Henry Williams, a construction worker. Through the summer, they have worked closely with him and other CORE staffers. Negro townspeople also can look for a measure of leadership to such men as barber Zelma Wyche, head of the Negro Steering Committee set up to work with CORE, and farmers of the area to the Rev. T. I. Isreal, a part-time preacher who farms cotton near here. Mr. Ickes encouraged him to run for an ASC post.

CORE's self-help efforts in Tallulah indicate that the progress of such programs in the rural South will probably be far slower than in large urban centers. Before any such ambitious programs as job training can be effective, local Negroes long conditioned to attitudes of abject subservience must be given confidence. This, in effect, is the major thrust of Mr. Ickes' work in Tallulah.

Union Work

One week recently, Mr. Ickes boned up on Roberts' Rules of Order and then instructed a group of Negro members of a local of the International Woodworkers of America in how to run a union meeting. The local represents 450 employes at a local factory, 80% of them Negroes, but its leadership has always been dominated by the white minority. "The Negro members have been told they were incompetent so long that they believed it," says Mr. Ickes.

Now the Negro members are stirring themselves to act, prodded by Mr. Ickes. They are planning to "reorganize" the local, possibly choosing Negroes to replace white officers. This move, they believe, will give Negro workers a bigger selection of higher-paying jobs in the plant, as well as a controlling voice in the local.

Just recently, the Negro members spoke up for the first time at a meeting of the local, asking the president pointed questions about the union's affairs. Infuriated, he left the meeting. A Negro committee also sought to talk to the plant superintendent, who avoided seeing them. One Negro then took the unprecedented step of calling the supervisor at home. This seems a small thing, but in a town where most Negroes still automatically call all white men "sir," Mr. Ickes reckons it considerable progress.

Grocery Pay Doubled

There are other signs of change, too. On the advice of CORE, Negro employes of a grocery store went to their employer and complained about their 50-cent hourly wage. He doubled their pay. A supermarket which had hired no Negroes employed two after CORE came in. Some Negro parents are considering requesting transfer of their children to white schools. Many more Negroes now get door-to-door mail delivery, and Negro committees are being formed to corner city and parish authorities on other problems.

Such work, at least in the South, can be no less dangerous for the civil-rights activist than organizing demonstrations and sit-ins. In Tallulah, Mr. Ickes is forced to function in an atmosphere of white hostility—which he meets with anything but meekness. A portly white matron glares at him outside the postoffice, and he snaps: "What you staring at, Magnolia Blossom?" One day recently, a bullet ripped through the tarpaper shack he uses as a headquarters and smacked into the chair he usually occupies. He was out seeing Negro farmers at the time.

There are frustrations, too. Mr. Ickes frets about apathy, and his efforts in Tallulah have met with opposition from a potential ally—E. L. Nolley, a grocery store owner who is president of the local Negro voter's league. He believes CORE's wide-ranging efforts will flop, and urges that Negroes concentrate on voter registration.

Dissension Elsewhere

There is dissension over bootstrap efforts among civil-rights forces elsewhere, too. In Tulsa, Mr. Reynolds of the Community Development Council says civil rights groups there have been of little help to his group, and charges jealousy. Other leaders of civil rights groups fear, too, that a change in emphasis from "headline" activities such as mass demonstrations to less "newsworthy" efforts will slow the flow of cash to the entire movement. Some argue further that uplifting the Negro should be the responsibility of the Government, and call for far more spending than is planned now.

It is undeniable, however, that the self-help idea is gaining great momentum, not only from local Negroes but among major civil rights organizations. Mr. Ickes' work in Tallulah testifies to CORE's participation. The same group also plans centers to mobilize ghettos North and South into "political and community action" forces. The National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are jointly sponsoring a job-training program in Cleveland, and the NAACP is now setting up "citizenship clinics" and promoting community action projects.

WHAT IS CORE DOING NOW?

APRIL, 1966

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WHAT IS CORE DOING NOW?

Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), has said:

> "Phase Two of the Civil Rights Movement means Total Equality. To achieve Total Equality, three elements are necessary --
>
> an improved self image for minority people,
> development of economic power,
> development of political power."

From its inception, CORE has devoted its energies to combatting discrimination in public accommodations. The desegregation of Stoner Restaurant in Chicago by a group of graduate students from the University of Chicago, led by James Farmer, marked the beginning of a drive that continues to this day. The Freedom Rides of the 1960's were an aspect of this part of the struggle. The Riders sought to achieve open accommodation in public vehicles and in restaurants and restrooms on the route of travel. Successes have been many and, with the exception of a few recalcitrant southern areas, the struggle for public accommodations had been won. This period, with its primary emphasis on direct, non-violent action and mass demonstrations, marked Phase I of the present-day civil rights movement.

Phase II of the movement brings to bear on the more sophisticated aspects of the struggle. Organization of the potential economic and political power of the Negro ghetto is essential to achieving total equality for minorities. In this phase, therefore, CORE is devoting most of its attention to community organization and to the development of political and economic movements.

IN THE SOUTH

IN LOUISIANA, CORE maintains a southern office at New Orleans under the direction of Richard Haley. In 11 parishes of that State, CORE presently is active in organizing communities around voter registration and political action. These parishes include Clinton, Tallulah, Ferriday, Greensboro, Monroe, Minden, Opalusa, Jonesboro and New Orleans. A strong community group is working in Bogalusa, known as the Bogalusa Voters League. Originally organized by CORE task force workers, the League today is directed entirely by local leaders, with CORE personnel acting only asadvisors or consultants.

John Hamilton, a CORE task force worker from Los Angeles, California, is collecting books and equipment for the local library. In Opalusa, a sweet potato cooperative is being developed. Farm laborers have bought land and are working it jointly and selling the produce for their own benefit.

Education is substandard in many of the parishes. Numbers of youths lose considerable time from school in order to work on farms. This is taken for granted -- indeed, it frequently is essential under existing economic conditions if a family is to eat -- and no attempt to enforce compulsory education has ever been made. CORE continues organizing the youth with a view to bringing about, through their protests, the social changes which will eliminate this necessity. To focus attention on the need to improve the quality of the schools themselves, a mass demonstration by 15,000 students has been planned, to take place before the end of the current school year. If required, a boycott of schools will ensue.

IN MISSISSIPPI, CORE continues to be most active in the Fourth Congressional District. Mrs. Annie Devine, a CORE task force worker in this area, has organized a sewing cooperative in the town of Canton. This group manufactures ladies' garments, for which a national market is being sought.

Canton also boasts a dynamic political movement. The Reverend Clint Collier, a Negro Baptist minister, is running for Congress from the Fourth District, and Mrs. Devine and other CORE persons are developing and managing his campaign. CORE has been able to enlist the help and support of the local people in Canton, as well as residents of the surrounding rural communities.

A strong voter registration drive continues in this Congressional District, with five staff workers and nine volunteers.

IN SOUTH CAROLINA, James McCain, Assistant in charge of political activity to CORE's National Director, is coordinating the candidacy of 11 Negroes for local, State and Federal offices. CORE trains the campaign managers and precinct workers. An intensive voter registration drive to elect these candidates is under the leadership of Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary.

IN NORTH CAROLINA, Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE, assisted in the formation, in Durham, of a cooperative of small farmers who thus were able to buy seed at low prices and to rent equipment to till the land.

IN THE NORTH

In virtually all urban areas in the North, CORE chapters are engaged in community organization. Implementing the decisions made at the Durham convention of 1965, the great political strength of the ghettos is being mobilized to combat the social ills of ghetto living -- lack of employment, substandard wages, poor housing and segregated, inadequate education. Herbert Callender, CORE's Director of Organization, is working with a group of sociologists and economists on plans for organizing welfare recipients on a national scale to press for an end to the present obsolete eligibility provisions of the various States, and, ultimately, to work toward a guaranteed annual income.

Callender also has spearheaded a national drive for the organization of Negro building contractors, to exert pressure on the government for an adequate slice of the construction dollar, wherever Federal funds are involved -- as in urban renewal, FHA, and other government-sponsored programs. In addition to increasing the economic power of these contractors, the contractors represent a largely untapped source of apprentice programs for minority youths.

In all urban centers, CORE is becoming increasingly involved in the War on Poverty, seeking to implement Federal anti-poverty programs in a way that will reach the hard-core poor, and to make achievement of the "maximum feasible participation of the poor" a reality. Within this context, individual cities have evolved campaigns for meeting their own most pressing problems.

The CORE chapter in Washington, D. C., for example, is organizing communities around the issues of home rule and full employment. New York City chapters are working with community groups to eliminate the slums of that city. On Long Island, CORE last year operated a Headstart program under Federal funding, and is working with the local school board to repeat the experience this year.

In Boston, CORE activity has centered around consumer testing and education. A program of consumer education has been developed by this chapter which has received national attention.

Other northern centers of CORE activity will be found in the Appendix.

IN THE WEST

Chapters in NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, under the leadership of National Chairman Will Ussery, organized civil rights groups, churches and social clubs around the anti-poverty program. As a result, San Francisco is the only city in the country in which the community representatives are in the majority under the umbrella agency, and thus control the anti-poverty governing board.

In Los Angeles, Herbert Mann, chairman of the employment committee of the local chapter, with the cooperation of several labor unions, has developed the most effective CORE employment committee in the nation. In 1965, discrimination in employment was fought successfully in firms such as Crown Zellerbach Paper Company, Norm's Restaurants, Disneyland, Bank of America, Safeway and Ralphs supermarket chains, Volkswagon Distributors and 100 other firms. The program is conting against other firms in the area.

In the same city, Louis Smith, CORE field secretary, and Robert Hall, chairman of N-vac (a local civil rights organization) have organized Operation Bootstrap -- a unique self-help job development program. Following the Watts revolt of August 1965, when both City and State still failed to recognize the urgency of the need for an apprentice program, Smith and Hall moved into the breach. Essentially, their program is one of training the unskilled, the unemployed and the under-employed on a large scale, with the support and assistance of local business and industry. As the first of a series of training centers, they have leased a building in the heart of the depressed district, and have developed a list of more than 1,000 prospective students eager for training in saleable skills. Several local corporations have contributed machines for training, and other firms presently are being approached.

Robert Salidow, with a task force from Los Angeles CORE, helped to organize agricultural workers at Delano, California, in the San Joaquin Valley. Living and working with the striking grape pickers for a number of months, they collected money and food for the strikers and their families, helped to maintain the morale of these workers who were fighting systematic harassment and threats from the Growers' Association, and trained the workers in non-violent techniques. Solidow became the organizer for a national boycott against Schenley Industries, Inc., one of the two largest grape growers in this area. As a result of this boycott, Schenley has recently signed an agreement to recognize the National Farm Workers Association as the sole bargaining agent for its workers in the grape fields. CORE's activity will continue in the fight of the grape pickers against other members of the Growers' Association.

TARGET CITY -- BALTIMORE

A new concept for CORE's action programs is the establishment of a "Target City." Baltimore, Maryland has been selected as the first. The problems in Baltimore center around employment, education, housing and police malpractice. There are approximately 400,000 Negroes in Baltimore out of a total population of 1,900,000. The unemployment rate of the Negro community is more than twice that of the white community, and some 35 percent of employed Negro males receive wages of less than $3,000 per year. Slum conditions are so bad and housing is so dilapidated and so substandard, that a major effort by CORE is being directed toward the achievement of decent housing in Baltimore. Welfare recipients are being organized so that they can seek employment more effectively, and so that they can receive the widest possible benefits from agencies which deal with their present plight. National firms with facilities in Baltimore will be under attack whenever it is found that their employment practices are discriminatory. These attacks will not be restricted to the Baltimore area; national firms with headquarters or offices in Baltimore will feel the impact of boycott and demonstration at their other facilities throughout the country until the inequities are corrected.

CORE already has a sizable force in the city of Baltimore, gathering statistics and doing research in various aspects of discrimination. Much larger forces will be sent in after the data have been gathered.

The Maryland Freedom Union

One of the projects begun by CORE in Baltimore is the establishment of an independent union to organize workers in nursing homes, laundries and other areas in which the minimum wage scale does not apply. In addition, they are organizing workers in such establishments as department stores and

and automobile service agencies, in which the minimum wage scale legally does apply, but is ignored by owners and managers.

Twenty-year-old Vivian Jones, a Negro resident of the Baltimore ghetto, is the President of the Maryland Freedom Union. Michael Flugg, 21-year-old anthropology senior at Columbia University and former chairman of the Columbia University CORE chapter, joined forces with a CORE field secretary and organized the project last February. Miss Jones had been working in the Bolton Nursing Home, where conditions were comparable to those in the Lincoln Memorial Nursing Home. In the latter establishment, personnel were not paid with any regularity, and when four attendants were dismissed abruptly, the rest followed them out. Miss Jones, seeing no immediate prospect of any improvement in conditions at the Bolton Nursing Home or any other in Baltimore, left her employment and began to participate in the Union's efforts to organize all workers in this field.

Negro workers in the largest chain of department stores serving the Negro neighborhood have been receiving wages of 65 cents per hour, despite provisions of the Minimum Wage Law, and constitute another major target of the Union's efforts. To date, all the employees of one department store in this chain have signed with the Maryland Freedom Union, and NLRB elections are to be held. (At the beginning of the Union drive, the manager of this store called in all regular workers and offered them a pay raise to $1.25 per hour for regular employees and $1.00 per hour for temporary employees -- _if_ they would refrain from joining the Union. The workers, reasoning that if the mere threat of organization could result in such a drastic change, presenting a united union front could bring them even greater benefits, promptly joined the Union en masse.

Open Occupancy Project

This project is directed toward acquiring homes for Negroes in the middle-income bracket. Picketing has been going on each weekend since August 1965 at Horizon House, a high rise building of approximately 100 apartments, located at Calvert and Chase streets. The manager of this building, Robert Gorn, is president of the Baltimore Apartment House Association. The Baltimore chapter of CORE had attempted to negotiate with him in July 1965, and found him intransigent on the matter of renting to Negroes. Picketing will continue until open occupancy is established in this building. Following this, discrimination in other living complexes will be attacked similarly.

Community Organization

Walter Brooks, a Project Director for Target City, Baltimore, has a staff of three CORE field secretaries and six volunteers from the Baltimore ghetto. Extensive community organization has begun. Forty-five civil rights, church and social organizations have been combined under Brooks' leadership to form two Federations -- an East Baltimore Federation and a West Baltimore Federation. On one level, Brooks continues his efforts to bring together the existing organizations of the Baltimore ghetto, and, in addition, is training workers to use the block association method to organize community residents on a house-to-house basis. The primary objective of the Federations and block associations is to gain political power to end the syndrome of powerlessness in the ghetto.

As, in the past, CORE has provided the initiative for all civil rights organizations, so it intends to continue to provide the leadership in this new phase of civil rights activities in the march to Total Equality.

APPENDIX

CORE CHAPTERS (NORTH EAST REGION)

Regions NORTHEAST: SOUTHEAST: SOUTHERN : WEST : MIDWEST :

NEW YORK:

Bronx CORE
1301 Boston Road
Brons, New York
Sol Herbert, Chmn.

Queens CORE
185-02 Hilbourn Ave.
Hollis, New York
Lon Deleon, Chmn.

Ossining CORE
14 Charter Circle
Ossining, New York
Breness Smith, Chmn.

New Rochelle CORE
506 North Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.
Malcolm William, Chmn.

Ulster County CORE
109 S. Manor Ave.
Kingston, New York
Tom Greene, Chmn.

Niagara Falls CORE
2498 Reynolds St.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Everett Williams, Chmn.

Utica CORE
423 Blandina
Utica, New York
William Bell, V.Chmn.

Buffalo CORE
1536 Jefferson Ave.
Buffalo, New York
James Brewer, Chmn.

Brooklyn CORE
448 Nostrand Ave.
Brooklyn, New York
Major Owens, Chmn.

Staten Island CORE
P.O. Box 74
Staten Island, N.Y.
Herbert Hines, Chmn.

Suffolk County CORE
1531 Straight Path
Wyandanch, Long Island
Henry G. Smith, Jr. Chmn.

Mt. Vernon CORE
25 Madison Street
Mt. Vernon, New York
Isabell Hawkins, Chmn.

William L. Moore CORE
110 Susquehanna Street
Binghampton, New York
Rev. Harry Thor, Chmn.

Schenectady CORE
944 Strong Street
Schenectady, New York
Joseph Allen, Chmn.

Yonkers CORE
28 Clinton Street
Yonkers, New York
Albert Jackson, Chmn.

Syracuse CORE
326 Tallman Street
Syracuse, New York
Pete Peterson, Chmn.

New York CORE
307 West 125th Street
New York, New York
Roy Innis, Chmn.

Boro Hall Committee
130 Montague Street
Brooklyn, New York
Jesse Roberts, Chmn.

Brooklyn College CORE
205-15 111th Avenue
Hollis, Long Island
Lois Butler, Chmn.

Columbia University CORE
204 West 108th Street
New York, New York
Jeffrey Nichols

N.Y. University CORE
349 East 11th Street
New York, New York
Jerry Borenstein

Long Island CORE
14 N. Franklin Street
Hempstead, New York
David Thompson, V. Chmn.

Rockland County CORE
84 S. Franklin Street
Nyack, New York
Dr. Charles James, Chmn.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City CORE
RT. 1 Box 61
Fire Road
Abscon, New Jersey
George Hackley

Camden CORE
1202 S. Broadway
Camden, New Jersey
R. Nesmith

Monmouth County CORE
1109 Sewall Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey
Herman Robinson, Chmn.

Elizabeth CORE
856 E. Jersey Street
Elizabeth, New Jersey
Arthur Johnson, Chmn.

Bergen County CORE
35 Humphrey Street
Englewood, New Jersey
Theodore Dean

Morris County CORE
40 Circle Road
Florham Park, New Jersey
Bonnie Barrow, V. Chmn.

New Jersey Continued

NORTH EAST REGION

Middlesex County CORE
1 Finch Street
Metuchen, New Jersey
Willie F. Williams, Chmn.

Passaic County CORE
203 Sumner Street
Paterson, New Jersey
Ed Carter, Chmn.

Newark-Essex CORE
136 W. Market Street
Newark, New Jersey
Fred Means, Chmn.

West Essex CORE
Main Post Office
Box 414
East Orange, New Jersey
Peter Cole, Chmn.

Plainfield CORE
696 W. 8th St.
Plainfield, N.J.
Clarence Wrea, Chmm.

Sommerset County CORE
399 Franklyn Blvd.
Sommerset, N. J.
Ronald Copeland, Chmm.

Massachusetts

Boston CORE
373 Bluehill Ave.
Roxbury, Mass
Millicent Carpenter, Chmn.

Springfield CORE
22 Hancock Street
Springfield 9, Mass.
Ben Swan, Chmn.

Pennsylvania

Carlise CORE
132 W. Penn Street
Carlisle, Pa.
Mervin Hodge, Vice Chmn.

York CORE
349 S. Duke St.
York, Pa.
Ted Holmes, Chmn.

Chester, Pennsylvania CORE
512 W. 6th Street
Chester, Pennsylvania
John Chambers 1st Chmn.

Pittsburgh CORE
2132 Centre Ave.
Pittsburg, Pa.
Nicholas Flournoy, Chmn.

Philadelphia CORE
2229 Broad Street
Philadelphia Pa.
Bill Mathais, Chmn.

Connecticut

Bridgeport CORE
P.O. Box 805
Bridgeport, Conn.
Frank Welcome, Chmn.

Norwalk CORE
7 Elm Street
Norwalk, Conn.
Waverly, Yates, Chmn.

Bloomfield, CORE
38 Merriam Ave.
Bloomfield, Connecticut
Herbert Wright, Chmn.

Waterbury CORE
P.O. Box 782
Waterbury, Conn.
Thelma T. Sims, Chmn.

New Haven CORE
154 Dixwell Ave.
New Haven, Conn.
Virginia Lewis Chmn.

Washington D.C. CORE

Washington D. C. CORE
128 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C.
Roena Rand, Chmn.

Suburban Washington, CORE
5600 47th Avenue
Riverdale, Md.
Michael Tabor, Chmn.

Maryland

Calvert County CORE
Huntingtown
Calverty County, Md.
Charles Howe, Chmn.

Maryland

Annapolis CORE
843 Spa Road
Annapolis, Md.
Alexander J. Wiseman, Chmn.

Baltimore CORE
2316 West North Ave.
Baltimore, Maryland
James Griffen, Chmn.

Baltimore County CORE
200 Ko Ko Lane
Baltimore Md. 21216
Baltimore Md. 21216

NORTH EAST REGION

RHODE ISLAND

Providence CORE
191 Camp Street
Providence, Rhode Island
Herbert Bickford

SOUTH EAST REGION

Virginia

Charleston West Va. CORE
514 Broad St.
Charleston 1, West Va.
Elizabeth Harden Gilmore, Chmn.

Huntington CORE
1816 Eighth Ave.
Huntington, West Va.
Elizabeth A.Johnson,Chmn.

West Va.State College
CORE
203 Hill Hall
Institute, West Va.
Juliette Burell, Sec.

Wheeling, West Va. CORE
610 S. Front St.
Wheeling West Va.
Gene Kuhn, Coor.Sec'y

North Carolina

Chapel Hill CORE
111½ North Merritt Mill Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
Albert Amon, External Coordinator

Durham, N.C. CORE
213½ W. Main St.
Durham, N.C.
David Riley, Chmn.

Gastonia CORE
308 West Allison St.
Gastonia, N. C.
Samuel E.Barnette,Co-Ch.

Greensboro, North Carolina CORE
703 S. Henry Blvd.
Greensboro, North Carolina
Pinkney moses, 1st Vice Chmn.

High Point CORE
P.O. Box 1283
High Point, N. C.
Brenda J.Fountain Vi-Chmn.

Onslow County CORE
Route 2, Box 384
Jacksonville, N.C.
Alexander Still, Chmn.

Raleigh CORE
1425 E. Lane Street
Raleigh, North Carolina
John Williams, Chmn.

South Carolina

Charlecton, S. C. CORE
21 Cannon Street
Charleston, S. C.
Rev. Frank McKenzie, Chmn.

Marion CORE
Route 1, Box 220
Marion, S.C.
Marvin Gurley, Asst.Sec'y

Pageland, S.C.CORE
Post Office
Pageland, S. C.
Rev.J.D.McManus,Chmn.

Rock Hill Friendship College CORE
Rock Hill, South Carolina
Friendship Junior College
Mr. C. B. Turner

Rock Hill CORE
435 South Trad Street
Rock Hill S. C.
Walter Robinson,Contact Per.

St.George CORE
107 Franklin St.
St.George, S.C.
Genever Tracey,Contac

Sumter CORE
118-B Walker Ave.
Sumter, S. C.
Josie B. Rogers, President

Flordia

Dunnellon, Fla. CORE
P.O. Box 771
Dunnellon, Fla.
John Wesley Bostick, Chmn.

Miami CORE
P.O.Box 6096 Station

Miami, Florida
Peter Christiansen,
Co-Chmn.

__Illinois__ MID WEST REGION Continued

Chicago, Ill. CORE
6421 S. Laflin St.
Chicago, Ill.
Robert L. Lucas, Chmn.

Madison County CORE
Luziel Woaten, Chmn.
130 Hill Street
Madison, Ill.

Harvey CORE
15131 So. Halsted
Harvy Illinois
John C.Herbert, Jr.Chmn.

East St. Louis CORE
1324 East Broadway
East St.Louis, Ill.
Mr. Homer Randolph, Chmn.

__Missouri__

St. Louis CORE
P.O. Box 2294
St. Louis Missouri
Bill Bailey, Chmn.

St. Louis County CORE
4915 A Terry
St. Louis, Missouri
Paul Rhiney, Chmn.

Independence CORE
512 W. Saint Charles
Independence, Mo.
Virginia Jacobs, Chmm.

Kansas City CORE
1505 E. 12th St.
Kansas City, Mo.
John Kratochvil, Chmm.

__Iowa__

Quint City CORE
719 Warren St.
Davenport, Iowa
Raymond C. Carter,Chmn.

Des Moines CORE
1608 - 44th St.
Des Moines, Iowa
Edna Griffin, Chmn.

__Kentucky__

Covington CORE
15 Booker T. Washington Center
New Port Ky.
Wanda Stowers, Corr.Sec'y

Lexington CORE
P.O. Box 498
Lexington, Kentucky
Ronald Berrye, Act.Chmn.

Louisville CORE
RT. 1 Box 301
Elizabeth Town, Ky.
Kerwin D. Kerr, Vi.Chmn.

Louisville CORE
Student Leader
411 South 27th St.
Louisville 12 Ky.
Clarence Glenn

Richmond, Ky.CORE
1210 East Main St.
Richmond, Kentucky
Beatrice Huguely, Chmn.

Madison Co. CORE
200 So. Holloway St.
Henderson, Ky.
Ester Grant Thomas,Mem.

__Indiana__

Indianapolis CORE
P.O. Box 923
Indianapolis, Indiana
Donald Bundles, V.-Chmn.

__Michigan__

Ann Arbor CORE
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Carrol Sulzner, Recd. Secy.

Battle Creek CORE
263 N. Wood St.
Battle Creek, Michigan
Herman,McGee, Chmn.

Detroit CORE
8906 12th St.
Detroit, Michigan
Al Roberts, Chmn.

Grand Rapids CORE
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Grand Rapids, Michigan
Mrs. Tom Marchand,Chmn.

WEST REGION

California

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Bakersfield, Calif.
Estelle Mathews, Chmn.

Berkeley Campus CORE
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Berkeley, California
Dick Broadhead, Chmn.

Berkeley CORE
3219 Adeline Street
Berkely 3, California
Bishop Burroughs, Chmn.

Los Angeles CORE
5122 South Avalon
Los Angeles, Calif/
Alice Trivedi, Chmn.

L.A. State College CORE
1901 West Santa Barbara
Los Angeles 62 Calif.
James Newby, Chmn.

Marin County CORE
P.O. Box 34
Marin City, Calif.
John Gardenhire, Chmn.

Mid-Penisula CORE
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Penny Vickery, Corres.Sec'y

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Eugene A. Drew, Chmn.

Orange County CORE
517 S. Wood St.
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Oree Dyes, Chmn.

Oroville CORE
Oroville, Calif.
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James Harris, Chmn.

Palm Springs CORE
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Wardell Ward, 1st Vi-Chmn.

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Dr.Jermiah W. Moore, Chmn.

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Rev. Cecil Murray, Chmn.

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c/o Savanna Billo
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Samuel Burns, Chmn.

Riverside, Calif.CORE
2954 Anna Street
Riverside, Calif.
Ben Whittington, Chmn.

Sacramento, CORE
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Georgia Bradford, Vi-Chmn.

San Bernardino, CORE
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San Berndrdino, Calif.
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San Francisco. Calif.
Bill Bradley, Chmn.

Santa Barbara CORE
1125 B Punta Gorde St.
Santa Barbara, Calif.
James A. Moore, Chmn.

Santa Clara Valley CORE
206 Oakland Avenue
San Jose, Calif.
Andy Montgomery, Chmn.

Santa Monica CORE
P.O. 794
Venice, Calif.
Rev. Dwight V. Kyle, Chmn.

S. Alameda CORE
27293 Parkside Dr.
Hayward mCalif.
Jim Forsyth, Chmn.

Stockton CORE
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Stockton, Calif.
Rev. Henry J. White, Chmn.

Colorodo

Boulder CORE
915 University
Boulder, Colorodo
David Covin, Vice-Ch.

Denver CORE
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Denver, Colorado
Raymond Sturart, Chmn.

Greeley CORE
Wesley Foundation
1634 9th Avenue
Greeley. Colorodo
Anna Davis, Action Chmn.

WEST REGION Continued

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1022 Smith
Richland, Washington
Herbert Jones, Chmn.

Seattle CORE
P.O. Box 299
Seattle, Washington
John Cornethan, Chmn.

Oregon

Eugene CORE
P.O. Box 1544
Eugene, Oregon
Clyde Deberry, Vice Chmn.

Arizona

Phoenix CORE
1324 W. Buckeye Rd.
Phoenix, Arizona
Austin Coleman, Chmn.

Tuscon CORE
P.O. Box 4931
College Station
Tucson Arizona
Robert Williamson Vice-Chmn.

WHERE IS DEMOCRACY

CORE OFFERS AN ANSWER

Democracy is that form of society....in which every man has a change and knows it.

James Russell Lowell

Democracy is liberty plus economic security. We Americans wants to pray, think as we please—and eat regular.

Maury Maverick

WHAT CORE WANTS is no secret. Nor is it anything strange or new. CORE simply wants for all Americans, regardless of race or creed, their constitutional rights and guarantees. But it wants these as a reality in terms of jobs, housing, education and a fair chance at all the opportunities of American life.

A centruy ago, after the Emancipation Proclamation, Wendell Phillips said, "the proclamation frees the slave but ignores the Negro." CORE says, "The Negro will no longer, can no longer, be ignored." CORE seeks not only an end to the formal segregation practiced in the South, but to the de facto segregation that exists in the North. It wants an American in which race or creed will be neither asset nor handicap.

There's an old syaing. "Wanting won't make it so," CORE was founded in 1942 to ranslate "wants" into action. In the words of James Farmer, CORE's founder and now it national director, its purpose was "to substitute bodies for exhortation." Its special technique has been a militant non-violence. The effectiveness of this technique,in compelling action to end discrimination, was demonstrated by CORE in dozens of communities before it attracted national attention by the CORE-led Freedom Rides, the lunch counter "sit ins" and the massive Birmingham demonstrations.

CORE does not advocate demonstrations for their own sake. It aims always at tangible results. CORE victories have included desegregation of bus lines and termininals, lunch counters, theatres and swimming pools— many of these in the deep South. It has broken through the color barrier in housing housing developments, and its action program has persuaded numerous firms to open jobs to Negroes. Its activities, often unpublicized, crisscross the country, from Mississippi to Chicago, from New York to Los Angeles.

CORE's major emphasis is on the fundamental problems of voter registration, Negro emploument and integration of schools and public accommodations, As a result of a voter registration campaign in South Carolina, Negro voters in one precinct elected 16 to 17 representatives to the Democratic county convention. In Columbia, the Negro vote was decisive in defeating a segregationist candidate for mayor.

MILITANT non-violence has transformed the whole struggle for Negro equality. It has extended the struggle from the courts to the streets. It has enabled a large, and steadily growing, number of people, Negro and White, to participate in the struggle in an important and useful way, As a result, barriers, once considered so formidable, are now beginning to crumble all over America. But obviously much remains to be done. CORE invites your participation.

CORE is an inter-racial organization with religiou affiliation. It is open to anyone who will adhere to CORE's rules. The only people not welcome in CORE are "those Americans whose loyalty is primarily to a foreign power and those whose tactics and beliefs are contrary to democracy and human values." CORE believes that militant non-violent, to be effective, must also be responsible. It expects all members to respect basic action principles:

- Investigate the facts carefully befoer deciding whether or not racial injustice exists in a given situation
- Avoid malice and hatred toward any group or individual. Never use malicious slogans or labels to discredit an opponent.
- Meet anger in the spirit of good will and creative reconciliation. Submit to assault without retaliation. Submit to assault without retaliation. This is the essence of non-violence.

CORE believes that equality for all is a cuse that demands the support of all Americans, Negro and white, who value the democratic principles on which this country is founded. It is not someone else's responsibility. It is ours, whoever we are.

We better know there is a fire whence we see much smoke rising than we could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it," Abraham Lincoln wrote. "The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke cannot." The smoke of Negro Protest is now rising all across the American horizon. Only the foolish will wait to see the flames.

Congress of Racial Equality (1963)
200 West 135th Street
New York, New Yprk 10030

Call him about job

WA7-2525

Charles Rosen
636 West 174th Street
New York 33, New York

9/26/61

CORE - Congress of Racila Equality
38 Park Row, New York 28, New York
COrtlandt 7=6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

Two CORE Freedom Riders Convicted in Mississippi
United States Supreme Court Appeal Planned

Jackson, Miss., Aug 28: The first two Freedom Riders to appeal their convictions for breach of the peace were convicted by all white juries after CORE attornies had protested systematic exclusion of Negroies from juries.

CORE Field Secretary Henry Thomas AND Miss Julis Aaron were sentenced by Judge Russell Moore to a four month term and a fine of $200. They were originally sentenced to a two-month suspended sentence and a fine of $200.

Bond was set at $2000 for Thomas and $1,500 for Julia Aaron. Miss Aaron, an active member of the New Orleans CORE, announced that she would not ask CORE to pay the bond but would rather return to jail.

Completion of the all-white all-male jury was made in the Thomas case after the jufge said that the case had nothing to do with race. Two Negroes on the venire of the Aaron trial were challenged by the state.

CORE special counsel William Kunstler brought out testimony that Negroes had been systematically excluded from juries.

Negro witnesses who testified they had never been called for jury duty included Dr. A. H. McCoy, 60, a dentist registered to vote for thirty years; the Rev. R. L. T. Smith, 57, registered thirty-six years and M. J. Lyells, 57, a high school teacher registered fourteen years.

Among the lawyers asked whether they knew of Negroes serving on trial juries in criminal cases was former District Attorney Julian Alexander. He testi-

[1962]

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich

High Court Frees
6 Freedom Riders

Washington, D.C., June 8: The Supreme Court set aside the convictions of six CORE Freedom Riders who had tried to desegregate a bus terminal in Shreveport, Louisiana.

The court acted summarily, granting a petition for review and going ahead to decide the case without hearing argument. It said that there was no evidence to support the charge -- breach of the peace -- on which the riders had been convicted.

The arrests and convictions in this case followed a pattern that had occurred elsewhere in the South, notably in Jackson, Mississippi and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Negroes went into a "white" terminal waiting room and were charged with breach of peace when they refused to obey a police order to leave.

In Jackson 270 persons -- white and Negro -- have been convicted of disturbing the peace on freedom rides.

The decision makes it all but certain that all of these convictions will eventually be reversed. But there still may be a long legal process to go through before the charges are dismissed.

The Mississippi convictions, for example, are now on appeal to a state Circuit Court. From there they must go to the state Supreme Court before they can be brought to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The state courts could, of course, recognize the import of today's decision. But if they do not, the defendants must go through the lengthy appeal process. Each is free on $1,500 bond, which had to be posted in cash because Mississippi bondsmen will not provide bail bonds in such racial cases.

National Director James Farmer of CORE said he hoped other Southern courts "seeking to preserve segregation" would recognize that their tactics had "reached the point of no return."

More-More-More

The incident involved in the decision occurred early on the morning of August 4, 1961, in the Continental Trailways Bus depot in Shreveport.

The six Negroes drove up to the depot in a car. Four -- Levert H. Taylor, chairman of Shreveport CORE; Harold L. Bethune, Delores McGinnie and Marie McGinnie -- walked into the "white" waiting room. The two others David James Dennis, CORE field secretary and Harry Blake, remained in their car.

The police had been notified, they said, by anonymous telephone calls, and several officers were waiting in the terminal. The chief of police of Shreveport, Harvey D. Teasley, walked up and asked the four Negroes why they were there. They said they were waiting for a bus to Jackson, Mississippi, and wanted travel information.

Chief Teasley told them to go to the "colored" waiting room. When they refused, he ordered them to leave and then had them arrested, along with the two others waiting in the car outside.

In its opinion the Supreme Court said there was "no evidence of violence" in the terminal. The Negroes were "quiet, orderly and polite," the court said, and some onlookers who did become "restless" moved on when told to do so by the police.

But the Louisiana trial court said that the mere presence of Negroes in a white waiting room made a breach of the peace "likely and imminent and probable."

The six Negroes were convicted and given varying sentences ranging up to three months in jail and a $200 fine.

In reversing the convictions the Supreme Court cited its Louisiana sit-in decision of last December. It reversed a group of breach-of-the-peace convictions then because there was no evidence to support them.

Today, as in those sit-in cases, the court said, "the only evidence to support the charge was that petitioners were violating a custom that segregated people in waiting rooms according to their race, a practice not allowed in interstate transportation facilities by reason of Federal law."

More-More-More

At this point in the opinion there was a significant footnote.

It cited a decision of 1917 in which the Supreme Court struck down a Louisville, Kentucky ordinance providing for racial zoning in the city. The ordinance had been defended as necessary to maintaining the peace, but the court answered, in the passage quoted below:

"That there exists a serious and difficult problem arising from a feeling of race hostility which the law is powerless to control, and to which it must give a measure of consideration, may be freely admitted. But its solution cannot be promoted by depriving citizens of their constitutional rights."

By printing that passage, the court seemed to be warning the South that if Negroes' exercise of their constitutional rights led to tension, the police would have to prevent violence by some method other than that of denying the Negroes their rights.

The petition for review of the Louisiana conviction was filed by Carl Rachlin, CORE general counsel of New York. An opposing brief came from Louisiana's Attorney General, Jack P.F. Gremillion.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

Two Quit Human Relations Group After CORE Protest

Louisville, Ky., June 8: Two merchants who operate segregated businesses have resigned from the newly-created Human Relations Commission here following protests from the Louisville CORE group.

They are Harold "Pee Wee" Reese, former Brooklyn Dodger shortstop, who operates a segregated bowling alley and Albert Grisanti, owner of a segregated restaurant. A desk clerk at the bowling alley, Ted Bergen, admitted to the press that since its opening last August, the establishment had refused to admit Negroes.

While pointing out that the Commission has not been granted sufficient powers, CORE has welcomed its creation as a beneficial first step.

Presently, the group is engaged in a non-buying campaign aimed at getting Coca Cola and Sealtest Products to adopt a fair employment policy. Most of the businesses in the Negro section, from 45th and Greenwood to 32nd and Greenwood are cooperating with the campaign. One exception is the Greenwood Pharmacy at 32nd, which has been picketed as a consequence.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE&

ATTN: Marvin Rich & Jim Peck

CORE Pickets Hamburger Chain

Greensboro, N.C.,-- On June 9, four CORE groups in North Carolina picketed drive-ins of the McDonald Hamburger chain demanding that they be desegregated. Coordinating the action was CORE Field Secretary, B. Elton Cox.

Four ministers were among the 27 persons who picketed here in Greensboro. Other picket lines and protest actions took place in Durham, High Point and Burlington-Graham.

One of the picket signs at High Point said: "Mc!--Don't Set America Back--Get on the Right Track." A number of passing drivers slowed down or stopped to observe the pickets. By quitting time, a group of white youths had assembled on the drive'in's parking space, but there was no incident.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich & Jim Peck

Baltimore Restaurants Desegregate Ending Long CORE Action Campaign

Baltimore, Md., June 14, -- The recent desegregation of local restaurants, following passage of a city law against discrimination in public accomodations, ends an action campaign which Baltimore CORE started more than nine years ago.

Early in 1953, 7 years before the southwide lunchcounter sit-in movement, a newly-formed CORE group in Baltimore launched its campaign which in addition to the downtown section included the vicinity of Morgan State College.

After several leaflet distributions, Woolworth's and Kresge's changed their policies. Then, came Shulte-United and McCrory's. The lone holdout was Grant's--and this required a major effort. In the late fall, CORE initiated a program of weekly sit-ins. By late spring, Grant's changed policy and the variety store lunchcounter desegregation was somplete. Then, after 8 months of negotiations with CORE, Read Drug & Chemical Co. desegregated lunchcounters at its 37 stores.

In December 1956, CORE started its first action at a white tablecloth restaurant--Wilsons. While the campaign was not immediately successful, within two years the restaurant changed policy. However, opening the eating places--other than lunchcounters--proved a long and arduous task.

Mass sit-ins and picketing started last November 11. The Freedom Ride scheduled for that date on U. S. Route #40 had been called off when half of the restaurants along the highway agreed to desegregate and many of the prospective Freedom Riders decided to concentrate on the city of Baltimore instead. Since that date, there have been repeated mass demonstrations in which CORE and other organizations participated and a number of arrests on "trespass" charges. These cases are being appealed by CORE's local attorney, Solomon Baylor.

Finally, the city passed the public accomodations law and tests have shown that the restaurants are complying.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck
COrtlandt 7-6270

56 Southern Howard Johnsons Open Since CORE Announces Freedom Highways

New York City, June 14: In the past two months, since announcement of CORE's forthcoming Freedom Highways project, 56 Howard Johnson restaurants in 3 southern states have adopted a nondiscriminatory serving policy.

This was announced by James Farmer, CORE National Director, following a testing survey along major highways in five southeastern states.

Most of the restaurants which have changed policy -- 43 in all -- are located in Florida. The remaining 13 are in Virginia and North Carolina. In South Carolina and Georgia, the Howard Johnson's eating places still refuse to serve Negroes.

The testing survey was made by CORE Field Secretaries, B. Elton Cox, Jerome Smith and Henry Thomas under the direction of CORE Program Director Gordon Carey. The latter has had one negotiation session with the Howard Johnson management.

The Freedom Highways project, set for July and August, is aimed at ending discrimination at Howard Johnson restaurants on all major southern highways.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich & James Peck

"Criminal Anarchy" Case Postponed Till Fall

Baton Rouge, La., June 21: The "criminal anarchy" case against Ronnie Moore has been postponed a second time -- until September 13. Originally the trial had been set for May 28 and then for June 13.

The cases against Charles McDew and Robert Zellner of SNCC have been adjourned indefinitely and "criminal anarchy" charges against Weldon Rougeau of CORE and Dion Diamond of SNCC have been dropped.

In a recent speech here, CORE National Director James Farmer pointed out: "Neither the city of Baton Rouge nor the state of Louisiana is an island secure from the tides of protest."

CORE has been conducting a nationwide protest campaign against Louisiana's attempt to use the "criminal anarchy" law to obstruct civil rights. The law carries a maximum of 10 years in jail.

Moore was arrested January 18 for "trespassing" on the property of Southern University, from which he had been expelled for trying to desegregated Baton Rouge lunch counters. The charge was changed to "criminal anarchy" a month later as CORE prepared to put-up bail on the "trespassing" count.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Win Housing Sit-Ins On Both Coasts

New York, N.Y., June 22: Within the same week, CORE groups won two housing sit-ins at opposite ends of the country: One on the east coast, the other on the west coast.

The east coast sit-in took place in Brooklyn, New York. It lasted five days and two hours and involved 200 Negro and white CORE members who were either sitting-in, picketing the building or picketing the landlord's residence. The sit-in ended when the landlord rented an apartment to Rudolph and William White, who had previously been turned away because they are Negroes.

The west coast sit-in was conducted in San Jose, California, lasted only one day and involved some 20 CORE members. The victim of discrimination in this case was not a U.S. Negro but a native of British Guiana working as a psychologist at Agnew State Hospital; Dr. Winston Rankin. The sit-in ended when he and his family obtained the house of their choice in the Willow Vale housing development.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

King, Golden To Address CORE Convention

Miami, Fla., June 22: Martin Luther King, Jr. and Harry Golden will be main speakers at CORE's 20th annual convention to be held at Bay Shore Auditorium here June 28 through July 1.

In announcing the Convention, CORE National Chairman emphasized that the year had seen the significant extension of CORE and of nonviolent direct action into the deep south states of Mississippi and Alabama for the first time.

Since CORE presently has a record number of chapters throughout the country 67 -- this year's convention is expected to have an usually large attendance.

Prominent on the agenda will be formulation of plans for CORE's forthcoming major project, Freedom Highwayss, which is aimed at desegregating Howard Johnson's restaurants on the main east coast highways.

In addition there will be full discussion of CORE's action programs on housing and employment in the north. Three workshops will be held during the convention: on employment, housing and schools.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

First Action To Desegregate Northern Virginia Movies

Arlington, Va., June 29: The first concerted action to end movie segregation in Northern Virginia is presently under way. It was initiated by the Virginia Committee to end theatre discrimination in which Northern Virginia CORE is playing an active role.

The Glebe Theatre here has been picketed on several occasions by groups of up to 25 persons -- Negroes and whites, students and adults. This theatre was chosen as a point of concentration because of its proximity to the Halls Hills, Negro section. Another theatre which has been picketed is the Virginia in Alexandria.

None of the neighborhood theatres here in Alexandria -- except the all Negro, Carver Theatre admit Negroes. Management uses a state segregation law as a pretext for refusing to change. However, this law would undoubtedly be held unconstitutional in federal court, spokesmen for the Committee point out. Recently the Committee asked the Arlington County Board for an official statement condemning theatre segregation. While some Board members, individually, expressed sympathy for this viewpoint, the Board declined to act.

Recently in Falls Church, 15 CORE pickets at the State Theatre were pelted with eggs and tomatoes by a group of young hoodlums. One of these youths and one of the pickets were arrested. The arrested picket is a research psychologist at George Washington University, Charles Windle.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

Three Youths and Movie Patron Assaulted, Arrested

Louisville, Ky., June 29: For peacefully seeking admission to the West End Theatre, two young Negroes and a white were knocked to the ground by the manager, his attorney and a policeman.

The three-members of Louisville CORE and Louisville SNAC -- were thereupon arrested along with a sympathetic patron who stopped to observe the assault. The sympathizer, Paul Duffy, commented: "You couldn't tell the difference at that point between Kentucky and Mississippi."

Lynn Pfuhl, who had been arrested previously for picketing the theatre, received a sentence of 18 days in jail and $30 fine, which is unappealable under city law.

Urging that protest over the incident be sent to Mayor William Cowger, CORE Field Director James McCain said: "It is imperative that we make Louisville officials aware that they cannot continue to disregard civil rights."

Picketing of the West End Theatre is part of a campaign to desegregate the neighborhood movies. Louisville's downtown theatres have been desegregated but not the neighborhood ones.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

King, Golden, Gregory Address CORE Delegates

Miami, Fla., July 1: Harry Golden, Martin Luther King Jr., and Dick Gregory addressed the 20th annual CORE Convention and each in his own way pressed the group to continue its campaign for integration throughout the country.

Golden spoke to the CORE convention in Miami's municipally owned Bayfront Auditorium. This was the first time that the auditorium was ever given to an integration group without charge.

Golden said that the "secular saints" on CORE have used the guilt complexes of the American people to demand equality. He told the delegates of the tremendous international impact of the Freedom Rides.

King declared that "it is a myth that President Kennedy is doing all that he can in the field of civil rights."

Dr. King told the CORE delegates that the President is doing more to advance civil rights than any of his predecessors but he is still not doing enough.

"We saw what he did with the steel crisis when he demonstrated great courage and leadership. But the high cost of prejudice is just as injurious to this country as the high cost of steel," he said.

Gregory flew to the CORE convention from San Francisco where he is now appearing. The noted comedian said in his appearance, "I'll do anything I can to help CORE."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Convention Delegates
Pan Kennedy Administration

Miami, Fla., July 1: The administration received rough treatment from delegates to CORE's 20th annual convention in at least three fields.

Recent Kennedy appointments to Federal District judgeships in Louisiana and Mississippi were severely criticized by delegates who called the appointees "opposed to the most elementary principles of American democracy, justice and fair play."

The CORE delegates also noted that the Urban Renewal program has been "used as a tax-supported device for minority group removal from choice areas" and is "causing the establishment of Ghetto areas."

The Convention authorized "such legal and nonviolent direct action steps as necessary to end abuses and bring about full compliance on the part of local officials with the workable program provision of the urban renewal laws including the provision on citizen participation and hearings."

CORE delegates also called upon the federal government to "withdraw federal funds from all segregated public education. We demand that the Kennedy administration move decisively to speed passage of bills now in Senate and House committees requiring first step compliance plans by 1963."

The delegates also called for nation-wide demonstrations against the failure of the President to issue the executive order ending housing discrimination.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Reelects Oldham
Establishes Regions

Miami, Fla, July 1: Charles R. Oldham of St. Louis was reelected as CORE National Chairman by delegates to CORE's Convention meeting here.

Delegates also elected Rudolph Lombard of Syracuse, New York as First Vice-chairman and Earl Walters of Los Angeles as Second Vice-chairman. A.D. Moore of Miami was chosen Treasurer and Ralph Rosenfeld of Detroit, Secretary.

Oldham, Lombard and Moore are incumbents while Walters and Rosenfeld were elected for the first time.

The CORE delegates also approved a constitutional amendment establishing five regions: southeast, south central, north central, northeast and far west.

Two delegates from each of the regions were chosen to serve with the officers on CORE's National Action Council. Julius Hobson of Washington and Grace Gilliam of Miami were elected from the southeast. Oretha Castle of New Orleans and Julia Lewis of Lexington, Kentucky were chosen from the south central area.

The delegates from the northeast are Edward Lewinson of Brooklyn and Alan Gartner of Boston. The north central delegates are Doris Hollis, chairman of St. Louis County CORE, and Anna Holden of Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Wes Sweet of San Jose, California and Edward Singler of Seattle, Washington represent the far west on the National Action Council.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE To Increase Action Tempo
Plans A Nation-Wide Expansion

Miami, Fla. July 1: Delegates to CORE's 20th annaul convention mapped an ambitious challenge to segregation in housing and employment as well as a stepped-up campaign of voter registration.

CORE National Director James Farmer reported to the delegates that the Freedom Highways campaign had opened more than 80 Howard Johnson's restaurants in four southeastern states. All of the Howard Johnson's in Florida now serve everyone.

The CORE delegates voted to increase the scope of Freedom Highways to include the Holiday Inn motel chain. Holiday Inn is the largest motel chain in the South.

The convention also voted to change the training site for Freedom Highways participants to Greensboro, North Carolina. The group will concentrate on opening chain restaurants in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia. CORE groups in other sections of the country will cooperate in the project.

In a related development the 100 unit Royal Castle restaurant chain agreed to desegregate its operations. CORE had demonstrated against and negotiated with this company over the past three years.

Farmer reported to the delegates that the year had seen CORE become the "cutting edge" of the civil rights movement. He added, "We are the union of method-oriented pioneers and the righteously indignant ends-oriented militants. We are the wedding between ends and means, and between theory and action."

The delegates representing local groups in every section of the country adopted a record budget of $715,000 for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1963. This is an increase of $108,000 over the amount raised in the year just ended.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Field Secretary's
Jail Sentence Thrown Out

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 9: The Louisiana Supreme Court has set aside the conviction of CORE field secretary B. Elton Cox as a result of the illegal sentences levies against him.

However, Lolis Elie, CORE regional attorney, indicated that the Court action did not mean that Rev. Cox was freed but only that the sentencing was illegal. "We now have a better basis for appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court," Elie added.

Rev. Cox was arrested on December 15 after addressing some 3,500 students who staged a mass march on the State Capitol in protest against the arrest the previous day of 23 CORE members.

On January 31, he was found guilty in District court and immediately sentenced, according to the Supreme Court decree.

"In all criminal cases, at least 24 hours shall elapse between conviction and sentencing unless the accused waives the delay," the decree stated.

This time period is used to prepare exceptions required for further appeal. If the court had not acted, Cox would have been forced to serve a 21-month jail sentence.

The Louisiana Supreme Court ruled that the CORE field secretary must remain free on bond until he receives a legal sentence.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Negotiates Police Protection At Newly Integrated Chicago Beach

Chicago, Ill., July 9: Chicago CORE has negotiated an agreement with local police to provide protection for Negroes using Rainbow Beach. The southside beach was the scene of several riots last year when it was integrated for the first time.

Miss Jacqueline Anderson, office manager of Chicago CORE said a special committee of CORE is working to integrate Calumet Park Beach.

Approximately 40 plain-clothes policemen have been stationed in the Rainbow Beach area. The plain-clothesmen will wear bathing suits and circulate among the bathers for the summer. "I know that nine of every 16 policemen will be Negroes so there will be an integrated force," Mrs. Anderson said.

CORE plans to send small groups to Rainbow Beach throughout the summer to test its continued integration. The group is thus trying to bring about normal integrated usge of the beach.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE Member Found "Sane" Begins Jail Term, Freed

Louisville, Ky., July 16: Paul Duffy moved from hospital to jail to freedom this week. The white CORE member was found "sane" after 20 days in Central State Hospital.

Originally, Duffy was charged with breach of the peace after refusing to move quickly enough in the discriminatory Westend Theatre.

After his release from the Hospital, Police Court Judge Pound ruled that the time spent in the hospital did not apply to his 18 day sentence. After protests from national and Louisville CORE, Duffy was released from jail without explanation.

Judge Pound, in ordering the mental test, said that anyone, particularly a white person, who would act as Duffy did must be insane.

In a related development contempt of court charges have been dropped against Clarence Glenn, Lynn Pfuhl, Nancy Pennick, Margaret Tucker and A.M.E.Z. Bishop C.E. Tucker. Bishop Tucker is chairman of Louisville CORE and Margaret Tucker is Treasurer. Clarence Glenn is chairman of the Student Nonviolent Action Committee. They have been picketing the Westend Theatre which refuses to admit Negroes.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Robert Gore

CORE Institute Closes Saturday
On High Note of Optimism

Columbus, Ohio, July 27: The second annual Employment-Housing Institute sponsored by CORE ends here tomorrow with an evaluation session to discuss the impact of the two-weeks workshop conducted by CORE staff members.

During the Institute, directed by Norman Hill of the CORE National Office, nonviolent direct action techniques were explored, both in discussion and in actual problem situations.

Swimming Pool Violence

In one action project, aimed at erasing color lines at the Hilltop swimming pool in nearby Valleyview, "All the ugliness of race hate boiled to the surface," according to Bill Buchanan of Columbus CORE.

Picket lines had been established at the swimming pool with only two police officers holding an angry crowd of some 200 persons away from the picketers. As the demonstration continued, stones and rotten fruit were thrown and the jeering crowd was barely restrained by the two town marshals.

As the picket lines dispersed for the evening, Ben Sheerer, 27 past president of Columbus CORE, was dragged from his car and beaten. Julia Lewis, 28, of Lexington, Kentucky CORE, was run down by a car as she stood more than ten feet within the shoulder of the road. Both were hospitalized with minor injuries and released.

Meanwhile, CORE has filed a complaint with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission against Hilltop stating that the swimming pool is not a "private club" and is, therefore subject to the Ohio State civil rights laws.

More-More-More

Employment Efforts

In other Institute activities, CORE members were still negotiating with the Kroger Company in Columbus in order to effect fair employment practices in Kroger local stores. After three negotiating sessions, Institute director Norman Hill says that "a solution might be forthcoming soon."

Housing Gains

Tests at Colonial Williamsburg, a housing development in the Columbus area, indicate that an "open door" policy may be in effect. A deposit was accepted from one Negro CORE tester. After the close of the Institute, Columbus CORE members will make follow-up inquiries on this case.

In Beverly Manor, another housing development near Columbus, after one negotiating session with the manager, he is reportedly "definitely in favor of a nondiscriminating policy." CORE officials in Columbus say they are now awaiting a public statement to this effect which should be forthcoming this week.

Institute director Norman Hill said today that the two-weeks period was "well-spent." He told the National Office that "The Institute has made tremendous strides, not only in the way of examining direct action techniques, but in background education dealing with the problems of discrimination in housing, employment and public facilities."

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Schools

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Southern College Head Thanks Northern Students For Books

Birmingham, Ala., Feb. 28: The CORE group at City College of New York decided to collect a sizable number of books and ship them to Miles College here, whose students have been particularly active in the non-violent movement for civil rights.

Upon arrival of the shipment, L.H. Pitts, president of the college, wired the New York group: "Miles College accepts with great appreciation 2,000 volumes from City College of New York students for our library. We have no means of adequately expressing our thanks to you."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

OVER 4000 CIVIL RIGHTS-LABOR DEMONSTRATORS MARCH ON ALBANY

Albany, N.Y., March 12--Despite a blizzard which halted buses of upstate participants, more than 4,000 civil rights and labor demonstrators participated in a March on Albany on March 10.

Carrying placards and wearing organizational caps, they marched from the armory to the State Capitol, where they assembled to hear A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who led this demonstration, as they had led the March on Washington last summer.

With their placards and clothing soaked with melted snow, the demonstrators then marched back to the armory for a rally addressed by leaders of the six civil rights organizations and unions sponsoring the March.

Norman Hill, CORE Program Director spoke for James Farmer, whose plane had been grounded because of the heavy snowfall. Referring to a meeting earlier in the day between demonstration leaders and Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Hill said: "By and large, with the exception of a promise and a commitment to help the hospital workers, we got what we've always gotten--just sympathy." He concluded: "Only if we'd light fires' all over the state, only if we disrupt and dislocate in a creative way, will we get what we want."

His reference to hospital workers was in regard to legislation seeking extension of collective bargaining to hospital workers. Other legislation sought by the marchers include a $1.50 state minimum wage, legalization of rent strikes, appropriations for integrated housing and substantial financial aid for development of "quality, integrated education throughout the state, with special attention to New York City."

CORE groups from the city area dispatched many busloads of demonstrators to the March. Though some upstate buses were halted by the blizzard, deputations from Syracuse and Binghamton CORE managed to reach Albany. The biggest single deputation was from District 65, United Wholesale & Warehouse Workers. There was a sizeable number of Puerto Rican participants.

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[1964]

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CHAIN-IN AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS
SITDOWN ON BRIDGE

New York City, March 12--This metropolitan center on the afternoon of March 7 was the scene of two CORE demonstrations which attracted considerable attention because of their unusual character.

Early in the afternoon, three local CORE leaders--Isaiah Brunson of Brooklyn CORE and Herbert Callender and Howard Quander of Bronx CORE, took handcuffs from their pockets and chained themselves to a grill just outside the office of Police Commissioner Michael Murphy. They were accompanied by Raphael Martinez of New York CORE and Rev. Laurie Walker and had just attended a meeting with Deputy Inspector Arthur Savitt at which they had protested police brutality against minority group members in general and the case of Jesse Roberts in particular. During the chain-in the group was joined by two Puerto Rican representatives, Flora Santiago and Jose Sanchez. Within minutes, police with metal cutters clipped the handcuffs of the three who had chained-in and arrested them and the four others.

Later in the afternoon, seven members of East River CORE, sat down in the middle of the Triborough Bridge, halting traffic for twenty minutes at the start of the rush hour. Six of the sitdowners were arrested--Penn Kimble, Paul Feldman, Donald Arthur, Joe Louis, Elizabeth Adler and Tina Lawrence.

> "We regret to inconvenience people passing through our neighborhood on their way home to the better sections of the city, but we are both very sorry and very angry about the way Negro and Puerto Rican children are treated in Harlem," explained a statement issued by East River CORE. "We ask commuters to look more closely at the schools in our community because they are so unlike many of the schools in Queens and Long Island."

The Triborough Bridge is the main artery leading from Manhattan Harlem to Queens and Long Island. Specifically, the CORE group sought to draw attention to substandard conditions at schools located near the Manhattan approach to the bridge.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Att: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

DESEGREGATE SECOND TALLAHASSEE RESTAURANT

Tallahassee, Fla., March 19--The Dobbs House Restaurant, where several CORE members were arrested for sitting-in last November, has desegregated following negotiations between Tallahassee CORE, the local manager and the restaurant chain's regional supervisor.

Dobbs House thus became the second eating place with table service to end discrimination in this state capital. The first was Howard Johnson's, which desegregated in the Spring of 1962 as part of a statewide agreement between the company and CORE.

Previously, restaurants in the air, train and bus terminals had opened as a result of CORE efforts.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE INITIATES PROJECT TO STOP JUVENILE GANG WARS

Philadelphia, Pa., March 19--Juvenile gang violence, a problem rarely tackled by CORE groups, is the target of a new project initiated by Philadelphia CORE.

"The problem has become so explosive that the youths themselves have come to us for a solution," explains Philadelphia CORE Chairman Louis Smith. "We have met with many of the youth gang leaders and a tentative agreement has been made, in most cases, for them to lay down their weapons, provided we can do something for them."

Specifically, what CORE plans to do is to get adequate recreational facilities in the North Central Philadelphia area, where, according to statistics, less money is spent for such facilities than in any other area of the city.

Wit this objective, the CORE group secured a meeting with City Managing Director Fred Corleto. The latter agreed to confer soon with the youth gang leaders, 12 of whom had already agreed to such a meeting ~~and~~ with representatives of civic and community groups.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Jackson, Miss., March 19: The most extensive civil rights action and educational program ever to be conducted in a deep south state was announced on March 15th at a press conference called by its two co-directors--David Dennis, field secretary of CORE and Robert Moses, field secretary of SNCC.

Entitled Mississippi Freedom Summer, the program calls for enlistment of 2000 Negro and white volunteers from all parts of the country. Sponsoring the program is the Committee of Federated Organizations, a joint, statewide civil rights group including NAACP and SCLC as well as CORE and SNCC.

Already, Freedom Centers to recruit volunteers have been established on-campus at seven major colleges and off-campus at 13 other locations. Volunteers will be expected to pay their transportation to Mississippi and minimal living expenses. Local Negro families will provide housing.

Community centers, which will be bases for operation, have recently been established by CORE in Meridian and Canton and by SNCC in Greenwood. The National Council of Churches, which is supporting the program, has pledged to set up 15 community centers in the Delta area.

During the summer program, these centers will be the sites of Freedom Schools, which will offer a broad curriculum ranging from remedial reading to political science.

One of the first major projects on the program will be a Freedom Election to be held on June 2 during the regular Mississippi primaries. Civil rights supporters will be urged to vote for Rev. John Cameron of Hattiesburg and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer instead of for the segregationist [redacted] Congressional candidates nominated by the Democratic Party.

The official Democratic candidates will then be challenged on the House floor on the grounds that many Mississippi Negroes are denied the right to vote.

During the summer there will be several special projects such as a "massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the State of Mississippi" by a team of lawyers and law students and a study of "hate and bigotry" within white communities.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE OPENS SOUTHERN OFFICE

New Orleans, March 26--To coordinate its stepped-up activities program in the deep south, CORE has opened a southern national office here under the direction of Richard Haley, CORE associate director. The office is located at 2211 Dryades Street.

Haley marked the formal opening on March 25 by holding a press conference attended by five CORE field secretaries working in the deep south area: Ronnie Moore, Dave Dennis, Isaac Reynolds, Mary Hamilton and Edward Hollander. The press conference was telecast over WDSU.

"In the first months of operations, our major concern will be in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi because most of our personnel and activity is currently centered in those two states," Haley said.

In Mississippi, CORE is working in conjunction with other civil rights groups through the Council of Federated Organizations. In Louisiana, CORE is working independently, concentrating on voter registration.

CORE is the first national civil rights organization to open a southern office in a city other than Atlanta. New Orleans is the oldest CORE group in the deep south.

# # # #

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HOLY WEEK FAST AT CHAPEL HILL

Chapel Hill, N. C., March 26--In front of the post office at the center of this college town, five civil rights advocates are engaged in a week-long, Holy Week fast protesting the failure of the Board of Aldermen to adopt a public accomodations ordinance.

They are John Dunne, a CORE Task Force worker who is chairman of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee; Pat Cusick, who last December served a 30-day jail sentence for sitting-in at a segregated restaurant; LaVert Taylor, a field secretary of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Foushee and Melody Dickenson.

They are supplied with containers of water, cigarettes and sleeping bags. Sympathetic professors and students often stop to express their sympathy or simply to converse. Two students, Harry Muir and Burton Smith, were so sympathetic that they joined the fast on the fourth day. They do not belong to Chapel Hill CORE or to any of the other groups affiliated with the Freedom Committee.

In early January, the Chapel Hill Ministerial Association presented the Board of Aldermen a petition with 1,850 local signatures asking for enactment of a public accomodations ordinance. Two of the aldermen favored it but the board declined to act and, instead, set up a committee to seek voluntary desegregation, despite the failure of such efforts last summer.

The drive to end discrimination at the some 30% of public places here which still segregate was started by Chapel Hill CORE in early December and has been marked by over 450 arrests.

# # # #

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NEW CORE GROUP STARTS SIT-IN AT ARIZONA CAPITOL

Phoenix, Ariz., March 26--A newly formed CORE group here initiated a sit-in at the Arizona State Capitol on March 26 urging passage of a public accomodations law which has been bottled-up in committee.

Shortly after noon, a group of some 25 entered the Senate chamber while 30 pickets marched outside. When the Senate adjourns for the weekend, the sit-inners plan to move to the office of Senator Harold Giss, Democratic leader.

The sit-in and picketing is supported by the local NAACP branch. Within Phoenix, the bailiwick of Barry Goldwater, 50% of the motels and hotels discriminate, a survey made by the Council of Civic Unity revealed. On an employment level, only two Negroes are employed in major department and retail stores.

# # # #

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FACES UP TO TEN YEARS FOR TELLING TRUTH ABOUT POLICE BRUTALITY

Jackson, Miss., March 26--Lois Chaffee, formerly a teacher at Tougaloo Christian College and presently a CORE Task Force worker, faces up to ten years in jail if a Mississippi court finds her guilty of "perjury."

The "perjury" indictment stems from her testimony about police brutality during a peaceful protest march here last June 13, two days after the murder of Medgar Evers. The testimony was given at her own trial following her arrest for "disturbing the peace."

Newspaper and television reporters covering the June 13 demonstration also observed and reported the police using billy clubs against the demonstrators. Ten of these reporters are being sought to testify at her forthcoming hearing in federal court.

U. S. Judge Sidney Mize has set April 13 for the hearing and has agreed to a stipulation sought by CORE attorneys that the Mississippi courts will not move in the "perjury" case until two weeks after he issues his decision.

Miss Chaffee's attorneys, Carl Rachlin, CORE chief counsel and Paul O'Dwyer, member of the New York City Council, will seek to halt the "perjury" prosecution permanently on the grounds that the case is intended solely for the purpose of unconstitutionally intimidating and punishing her for her civil rights activity. It was on these grounds that a special three-judge federal court, on November 1, ordered the release of a CORE field secretary and three SNCC workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus, Georgia without bail under a state law which carries the death penalty.

# # # #

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ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR JAMES PECK

SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS CALLING NEGRO BY FIRST NAME

Washington, D.C., April 2--When CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton refused in a southern court to answer when the prosecutor addressed her as "Mary," she was within her rights. So ruled the U.S. Supreme Court on March 30 when it set aside her contempt conviction last June in Gadsden, Alabama, for insisting that the prosecutor call her "Miss Hamilton. She was sentenced to five days in jail as a result.

Five of the justices joined in an unsigned order citing the court's decision last April against segregated courtrooms, implying that a prosecutor's calling a Negro by his first name is a part of that discriminatory practice. Justice Hugo Black concurred and cited two other Supreme Court decisions: one asserting that a person charged with contempt should be given an opportunity to legal defense and another that a state criminal conviction without legal evidence cannot stand. Three justices dissented, holding that the high court should not have reviewed Miss Hamilton's conviction.

In his petition to the Supreme Court, Jack Greenberg held that "one of the most distinct indicia of the racial caste system" is "the refusal of whites to address Negroes with titles of respect such as 'Miss,' 'Mrs.' or 'Mr.' and to refer to them as 'Boy' or 'Girl'. Greenberg argued the case for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which has undertaken the legal defense in Gadsden on cases arising from a CORE-initiated mass protest movement in that city last summer. At present Miss Hamilton is working on CORE's voter registration campaign in Southeastern Louisiana.

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ATTENTION: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM DAY MARCH IN MISSISSIPPI, CONTRAST TO LAST YEAR'S

Canton, Miss., April 1-- The Freedom Day march on March 30, in which 54 Negroes marched to the courthouse and filled out voter registration applications, was a peaceful contrast to the first one held a year ago in which helmeted police auxiliaries mounted a shotgun guard along the entire line of march.

On that occasion, marchers arriving from out of town were halted by a barricade of city police, while sheriffs and deputies from Madison as well as surrounding counties patrolled the streets in white prowl cars. Only six Negroes got inside the courthouse to fill out the forms. Two days later all seven local CORE staff members were arrested in connection with a school boycott.

"This year, very few police were on hand, and there were no attempts at intimidation," reports CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond. He said that the next local action will be a thorough testing of public accommodations.

The day before the march, a memorial service was held for Jimmie Jackson, Rev. James Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, the three murder victims of the recent Selma crisis. All the Negro stores and one white store responded to pleas to remain closed during the service.

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN BANK DRIVE MARKED BY MASS ARRESTS AND LONG JAIL TERMS

St. Louis, Mr., April 2--The Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. hired five Negroes March 30, thus ending a St. Louis CORE campaign marked by hundreds of arrests of nonviolent demonstrators inside and outside the bank and the sentencing of 15 of the group's leaders from 60 days to a year in jail.

The unusually long prison terms were for contempt of an injuction issued last August by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott. The 15 CORE leaders were in jail from January 15 until March 2 when a three-judge panel of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals freed them pending appeal of their habeas corpus writs. Within hours, five of them were back on the picket line in front of the bank.

Immediately following the sentencing, over 1,000 persons marched in protest on City Hall and 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a rally which John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, characterized as "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race.

When President Johnson came here on February 14 for the city's 200th anniversary celebration, 84 St. Louis CORE pickets protested. As they neared his hotel, they were arrested and held without charges until his speech was over. Several thousand persons had petitioned the President to shun the St. Louis anniversary because of the failure of city officials to help resolve the fair employment issue at the bank.

In the course of the campaign, more than 75 Negroes had secured jobs at other St. Louis banks but the Jefferson Bank remained adamant.

# # # # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR HAMES PECK

"FREEDOM RING" ENCIRCLES TICKET BOOTH

by Doris Castle

New Orleans, La., April 2--Since November 1963 New Orleans CORE had been picketing three downtown New Orleans theaters urging that they admit Negroes. It is the end of March 1964 and the situation called for new techniques.

So on Good Friday, nine of us joined the line of patrons at the ticket window of Loew's State. The line moved briskly. The first of our group reached the window and placed her money on the counter. It was not the ticket seller but the assistant manager standing nearby who refused to sell the ticket.

One by one, we followed. Each was refused, without explanation. The last of our group, Alice Thompson, then walked behind the ticket booth. We joined her, linked hands and completely surrounded the booth forming a "Freedom Ring." We began to walk in a circle.

The surprised patrons fell back into the quickly-gathering crowd of spectators. A few held their places in line. One man tried to break through our ring but failed.

While we circled the booth, police conferred with the dejected theater manager. Then a policeman came over to our group and asked us each, individually, to leave. We refused. He placed us under arrest. We sat down, still in circle formation. Policemen then lifted each of us onto a hand-truck, rolled us to the paddy-wagon and took us to jail.

It was a first arrest for Katrina Jackson and Harold Sullivan. Shirley Thompson, Ruth Wells, Linda and Dorotha Smith and Alicia Joseph had been arrested before. I had been arrested five times in the course of New Orleans CORE's years of nonviolent action.

We were booked on an open charge. It was later minutely particularized to "criminal mischief," "obsturcting passage," "disturbing the peace," "refusing to move on" and "resisting arrest." After three days in jail, we were released on bond pending trial.

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or James Peck

CORE Voter Campaign Nets 2700 In Two Weeks

Miami, Fla., April 2--A 2-week CORE voter registration drive in Dade County, which includes the Miami area, has added 2700 Negro registrants to the rolls. So announced CORE Field Secretary Weldon Rougeau who headed the campaign.

Since Rougeau started working on voter registration in this area in September 1962, the total number of Negro registrants in the county has risen from 30,000 to 42,000. "About 4.2% of the potential Negro vote is now registered," he said. He praised county officials for making available voter registration sub-stations in all areas of the county. Thirty-eight such sub-stations were established, of which 12 were in Negro neighborhoods.

Five organizations including the Florida Council of the AFL-CIO joined CORE in the campaign which included widespread leaflet distributions and organization of car pools.

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ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR JAMES PECK

CORE OFFICIAL KILLED IN ACTION

Cleveland, Ohio, April 9--Rev. Bruce Klunder, vice chairman of Cleveland CORE, was killed in nonviolent action on April 7 when a bulldozer accidentally backed-up over his prostrate body. He had lain down in back of the vehicle while three other CORE members lay down in front of it.

Purpose of the demonstration--and of a similar one the day before marked by 21 arrests--was to protest the construction of three new schools on inadequate sites in the segregated Glenville section.

Shortly before the tragic incident, Rev. Klunder had asserted: "We are dedicated and committed to continue and we will not stop short of having the school board revise its plans. This can be done by placing our bodies between the workers and their work."

The following day, while up to 250 persons, many wearing black armbands, sat in a huge circle in the lobby of City Hall, a truce was negotiated between representatives of the United Freedom Movement, with which Cleveland CORE is affiliated, and Mayor Ralph Lochner. It provides for a 2-week moratorium on school construction and on demonstrations during which the Board of Education will negotiate with three race relations experts acceptable to both sides.

Rev. Klunder, a 26-year-old minister and vice-chairman of Cleveland CORE, is survived by his wife and two children. In a special appeal to the press, Mrs. Klunder requested: "Please put in the papers that we do not want revenge. Revenge will gain nothing. My husband died doing what he believed in. He died loving everyone. He died hoping that what he was doing might bring love of all people for each other."

CORE National Director James Farmer flew here for the memorial service which was held on April 9 in the Church of the Covenant.

Rev. Klunder is the second CORE member to be killed in nonviolent action. The first was William Moore, murdered last April 23 in Alabama during his one-man Freedom Walk across the deep south.

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ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR JAMES PECK

MASS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST ANTI-FAIR HOUSING LAW

Palo Alto, Calif., April 9--A main objective of the freedom struggle in California is defeat of the anti-fair housing initiative which the California Real Estate Association is pressing.

Passage of the initiative, which may appear either on the ballot for the June primary or for the November general election, would mean repeal of the Rumford Act the state's fair housing law.

What one newspaper described as "the first battleground in the state-wide anti-fair housing initiative war" took place recently in Palo Alto where the Real Estate Association met at the Cabana Motel and agreed to an initial $100,000 war chest for the campaign.

During the meeting, over 700 persons picketed outside the motel in a mass demonstration sponsored by the Mid-Peninsula chapter of CORE and the Palo Alto-Stanford branch of NAACP. As the realtors meeting concluded, the demonstrators linked hands, formed a giant circle around the motel's fourcourt and sang "We Shall Overcome."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN JOB DRIVE AT BANK

Boston, Mass., April 9--A fair employment campaign against the First National Bank of Boston, during which national CORE wrote all its Massachusetts contributors urging them to withdraw their accounts, ended with an agreement with Boston CORE.

The bank hired 17 Negroes within a three-week period, accepted a broad program for recruitment of minority group employees and agreed to increase the range of positions to be held by Negroes.

The bank is the third with which Boston CORE has negotiated an agreement. More than 200 Negroes have secured bank jobs in the past year as a result of the project.

# # #

PHONE COMPANY AGREES ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT

Newark, N.J.--On the eve of a direct action campaign, the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. and Newark-Essex CORE negotiated procedures for employment of non-whites in several job categories in the company's Essex Division.

Richard Proctor, Jr., chairman of the group's industrial relations committee, pointed out that while a substantial number of Negroes are hired as operators, there has been substantial discrimination in other job categories involving both men and women.

# # #

HIRE FIRST NEGRO METER MAID

Des Moines, Ia.--This city will hire its first Negro meter maid on May 1 as a consequence of a campaign by Des Moines CORE which included letter-writing, appearances at City Council meetings and conferences with city officials. The new meter maid is Mrs. George Broadus. She had first applied for the job about a year ago.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR VAL COLEMAN

CITY TO PROSECUTE UNION OFFICIALS GUILTY OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

New York, N.Y., April 16: Eight months of negotiations between National CORE and the New York County District Attorney's office resulted today in a committment by District Attorney H. Richard Uviller to seek grand jury indictments against all union officials and employers found guilty of racial discrimination under Sections 41 and 43 of the State Civil Rights law. James Farmer, National Director of CORE hailed the city decision as a "major vindication of the thousands who faced arrest last summer to integrate the construction trades."

This is the first expressed willingness to enforce this statute which was originally enacted in 1913 and amended to include employment in 1940. Negotiations were conducted between CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin, CORE attorney George Schiffer and Uviller.

Under this statute, offenders could receive fines of $500 and 90 days in jail on each offense. CORE has just provided the DA's office with a score of names of individual Negroes who have been refused jobs in the construction trades. The District Attorney's office asked that individuals who have suffered from discriminatory hiring practices within unions report their names and cases immediately to District Attorney Hafetz of the New York County DA's office or to Norman Hill, CORE Program Director.

Last summer's massive demonstrations were directed at ending rampant discrimination in the construction trade unions headed by Peter Brennan. The New York City Commission on Human Relations confirmed CORE's charges in a report issued in August 1963.

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NEED ORDINANCE TO PROTECT PEOPLE RATHER THAN DOGS

San Antonio, Texas, April 16--This city, which recently purchased its first three police dogs and adopted an ordinance protecting them, now needs "an ordinance to protect the people from the dogs," asserted a three-man delegation from San Antonio CORE which appeared before the City Council recently. The delegation included Rev. C. William Black, G. J. Sutton and Bruce Baines.

In response to City Manager Jack Shelley's assurance that the newly acquired police dogs would not be used against civil rights demonstrators, Rev. Black asked for guarnatees that policemen handling the dogs wouldn't "unleash their own prejudices" as well as the dogs.

The CORE leader pointed out that the Negro community "doesn't sleep so well at night, because dogs have been released on our children in other areas of the country." Specifically, he asked whether the policemen handling the dogs had been trained in Birmingham. Shelley answered that the handlers and the dogs had been trained at the National Police Dog Academy in Eldorado, Kansas.

# # # #

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NONVIOLENT ACTION HITS TULSA

Tulsa, Okla., April 16--Nonviolent action came to Tulsa for the first time recently in the form of a Freedom March across town followed by two weeks of sit-ins at two eating places in which 87 demonstrators were arrested.

Evaluating the campaign as of mid-April, Milton Goodwin, president of Tulsa CORE, said: "As a result of the sit-ins at the two restaurants, 14 Tulsa eating places have ended segregation." The campaign is being conducted by Tulsa CORE with the support of the Oklahoma City NAACP Youth Council.

The initial demonstration took place at Borden's Cafeteria in the Northland Shopping Center immediately following a mass rally which ended the Freedom March.

The largest number of arrests, 54, were made two days later during a mass sit-in at the Apache Restaurant, located in the Apache Shopping Center. Police carried the demonstrators into paddy wagons and police cars. Following the demonstration, Tulsa CORE launched a boycott of the North Side State Bank, which is operated by the owner of the Apache Shopping Center.

"Are CORE Sit-Ins Here to Stay?" asked a banner headline in the Tulsa Eagle. Said the president of Tulsa CORE: "Sit-ins and mass picketing will continue and increase, particularly at the Apache Shopping Center and other segregated businesses located in the North Tulsa Negro community."

# # #

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ATT: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ARREST 300 IN AUTO SHOWROOM CAMPAIGN

San Francisco, Apr. 17--The biggest mass arrest since the start of a local CORE-NAACP campaign for job equality in automobile showrooms took place on April 11. A total of 300 demonstrators were arrested as they sat down in the Cadillac, Chrysler and Lincoln showrooms.

The largest number of demonstrators, 200, were at Cadillac, spread out across the entire floor and under the cars. It was at Cadillac that the initial mass arrest occurred on March 14. Of 260 employees, only 7 are Negroes.

General Motors Corp., which operated the Cadillac showroom, has refused to negotiate locally, referring the issue to the head office in Detroit. San Francisco CORE will spotlight the issue by dispatching a deputation to picket the General Motors pavilion at the World's Fair.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SCHOOL BOYCOTTS IN CLEVELAND, OHIO AND KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

Cleveland, Ohio, April 24--This city, where on April 7th Rev. Bruce Klunder was killed in nonviolent action at a segregated school construction site, was the scene of a school boycott on April 20th.

At Glenville High School, in the ghetto area where Rev. Klunder was crushed under a bulldozor, only 100 students out of 1900 attended. Leaders of the United Freedom Movement termed it the most successful school boycott conducted thus far in the U.S. Negro student participation was about 90%. Cleveland CORE, whose vice chairman was Rev. Klunder, is affiliated with the United Freedom Movement.

"If today proved anything, it proved that the whole Negro community is behind this movement," commented Ruth Turner, secretary of Cleveland CORE. "A little group of outside agitators could not do this."

Her allusion to "outside agitators" was in reference to statements by Ralph McAllister, the adamant president of the school board, who also attributed the boycott's effectiveness to "intimidations and threats" and accused the 85 April 20th freedom schools of "brainwashing." In contrast, William Boyd, the only Negro member of the school board, had called for support of the boycott.

Kansas City, Kansas., April 24--Carrying placards pointing out that there were 10 segregated schools here 10 years ago when the Supreme Court issued its momentous decision and there are still 10 segregated schools today, pickets marched in front of the schools and the board of education during a 1-day school boycott Arril 20th.

"This is just the beginning of direct action to call the situation to the attention of the community," said Lela Shanks, secretary of Kansas City CORE.

Negro school attendance was out by more than 50% and some white students stayed away. Also, there were some whites in the picket lines, though this city is located in the upper south.

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AUTO SHOWROOM PACT ENDS DRIVE MARKED BY MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

San Francisco, Calif., April 24--More than 2500 cheering pickets on April 18th acclaimed announcement of an agreement ending their campaign for job equality on "Auto Row," San Francisco's automobile showroon district.

The agreement was negotiated by the local NAACP, but the campaign was conducted jointly with CORE, and members of CORE groups throughout the bay area participated in the mass action in progress since early March.

Only a week prior to the agreement, 300 demonstrators were arrested as they sat down in the Cadillac, Chrysler and Lincoln showrooms.

"The agreement, which covers all major showrooms on "Auto Row" is similar in terms to the city-wide hotel contract negotiated on March 8 following the big demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace," said CORE Field Secretary Chet Duncan. It provides for displaying equal opportunity placards, advertising in Negro and Spanish-language newspapers, and sets a goal of 15% to 20% minority group employees within three months.

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SILENT WALK MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF MOORE'S MURDER

Binghamton, New York, Apr. 24--Some 50 persons on April 23 marched silently from Harpur College to the grave of William Moore to commemorate the first anniversary of his murder. It was on April 23, 1963, that Moore, a member of Baltimore CORE, was shot to death along an Alabama roadside during his one-man Freedom Walk across the south.

Floyd Simpson, owner of the gun whose bullets--according to an FBI ballistics checkup--killed Moore, never will come to trail. His case was closed when an Etowah county grand jury failed to indict him last Spetember.

Contrasting the handling of the Simpson case with that of Byron de la Beckwith, Jim Peck, addressing the walkers at Moore's grave, said: "Apparently, Alabama has failed to advance even as far as Mississippi regarding justice in civil rights murder cases," Peck, a personal friend of Moore's, is editor of the CORElator and a member of CORE's National Action Committee.

Hal Smith of the CORE group in Baltimore, Moore's final place of residence, announced at the grave site that Baltimore CORE had chosen April 23 to make final payment on the William Moore house. The group purchased this 3-story building where Moore last lived, for a community center similar to those presently being established by CORE in Mississippi.

The commemoration ceremony was initiated by the local CORE group which, in his honor, is called the William Moore chapter of CORE.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH and JAMES PECK

DEMONSTRATORS MAKE "FREEDOM NOW" THEME OF FAIR'S OPENING

New York City, April 27--Although the planners of the New York World's Fair never envisioned it, the freedom struggle became the main theme on opening day, April 22.

Nonviolent action by over 1500 demonstrators drew the spotlight at pavillions of both northern and southern states, cities and corporations which discriminate.

By the time the demonstration ended with a mass march through the center of the fairgrounds, 268 demonstrators including CORE National Director James Farmer, had been arrested inside the Fair. Most of the arrests occurred when demonstrators sat down in groups at the entrances to pavillions. However at the Schaefer Beer pavillion, pickets also were arrested--and there was some police brutality.

The mass demonstration inside the fairgrounds was led by CORE National Director James Farmer and coordinated by CORE Program Director Norman Hill. Deputations from CORE groups in Maryland, Louisiana, Missouri and a number of other states came to New York to join the demonstrations. Uncertain whether ordinary cardboard placards would be permitted inside the fairgrounds, the demonstrators came with placards on cloth which could be folded and put in pockets. A team of coordinators with walkie-talkies maintained communication between the demonstrators at the various pavillions.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Reference: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN CAMPAIGN TO DESEGREGATE AMUSEMENT PARK

Kansas City, Mo., May 7--When Fairyland Amusement Park opened for the current season, Negroes were admitted for the first time. The policy change, announced publicly by Marion Brancato, the owner, in a letter to the mayor, resulted from a Kansas City CORE campaign which started in 1961.

Mrs. Constance Timberlake, chairman of Kansas City CORE, was one of 16 persons arrested at the Park during a demonstration last summer. Five other cases of arrested demonstrators were pending in the courts. In conjunction with the new policy, management has agreed to seek dismissal of all these cases, and of an injunction which prohibited the city from enforcing the public accommodations ordinance pending a determination of its constitutionality.

Expressing "increasing concern about the spotlight role Fairyland Park has been forced to play," Brancato said in his letter to the Mayor: "We have concluded that it is in the best interests of the community to withdraw its opposition to the public accommodations law."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH AND JAMES PECK

NORTHWEST FLORIDA VOTING DRIVE BRINGS RESULTS

Tallahassee, Fla., May 7: A voter registration drive in Leon county and in adjacent Gadsden county, coordinated by CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due, has brought a sharp increase in Negro registration.

Following the closing of the books for the May primary, the Tallahassee Democrat reported, regarding Leon county: "The most significant increase was found among Negro voters with 771 more registered for the May election than were on the rolls last November, apparently the result of a Negro registration drive."

Regarding Gadsden county, which is rural and where there was considerable intimidation inclusing a threat to fire Negro teachers, the Tallahassee Democrat quotes the registrar as stating that "Negro registration has moved up from 452 to 1,327." Mrs. Due commented "Negroes in Gadsden county were initially drawn into the campaign when interracial groups were harassed and jailed for simply being together in the county."

Long Island Campaign Adds Over 1000 To Rolls

Hempstead, N.Y., May 7: Long Island CORE's five-month-old "Fight Bigots with Ballots" campaign has added more than 1000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the rolls of registered voters in Nassau, one of the country's richest counties. So announced Lincoln Lynch, chairman of the group, following completion of the drive in six major communities. The campaign, which Lynch describes as one of the most comprehensive to be undertaken in the north, will continue throughout the summer.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

ANTI-NEGRO STOPPAGE PROMPTS DEMAND FOR PROMISED CITY ACTION

New York, N.Y., May 7--A work stoppage by members of Plumbers Local 2 over working with four Negro and Puerto Rican plumbers has prompted a demand by CORE that the city abide by its recent commitment to seek grand jury indictments of union officials and employers who discriminate.

The commitment was made on April 16th by Assistant District Attorney H. Richard Uviller following eight months of negotiations between CORE and the DA's office. The prosecution would be made under the state civil rights law, which provides up to 90 days in jail and $500 fines for each offense of this type.

"Failure to take action will make a mockery of our determination to end present abuses and to protect Negro and Puerto Rican citizens from outrageous discrimination," CORE National Director James Farmer wired the District Attorney's office.

The stoppage--at the Terminal Market construction site--started on April 30th when the white plumbers walked off the job, shouting anti-Negro epithets at the four minority group plumbers. The conduct of the white plumbers clearly belied the union claim that the issue is one of unionism rather than race. The four minority group plumbers are non-union but have attempted to join the local union.

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Reference: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

DESEGREGATE RESTAURANT WHICH BARRED CORE LEADER

San Antonio, Texas, May 7 -- The Reuss Cafe, where CORE National Director James Farmer was refused service during a meeting last March, has desegregated following a month of picketing by San Antonio CORE.

Donald Watkins, chairman of the group, announced that an agreement had been negotiated with Arthur Reuss, the owner.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

ACQUIT SIT-INNERS WHOM SCHOOL BOARD HAD ARRESTED

San Bernardino, Calif., May 14--Five CORE sit-inners at a March 5 board of education meeting who were arrested by a unanimous vote of the school board have been acquitted by Municipal Judge Margaret Morris of "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to disperse at a lawful command."

They are Rev. D. Lyle Johnson, Floyd Wyatt, Lloyd Honeycutt, Daniel Klein an Ruby Ann Hamilton.

The sit-in, as explained by leaflets distributed to others attending the meeting, was "in protest against the San Bernardino board of education for its segregated position on student placement and its policy of unfair employment practices."

At one point, the board decided to go into closed session. The CORE members refused to leave. The board voted unanimously to have them arrested and the five were thereupon carried out of the meeting room by police. The protest action received considerable publicity in the local press.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

LOUISIANA TOWN DROPS ATTEMPT FOR ANTI-CORE INJUNCTION

Clinton, La., May 14--A 9-month-long attempt by officials of this Louisiana town to halt CORE action through an injunction, was quietly abandoned recently.

"District Attorney Richard Kilbourne said he decided to drop the suit because he felt a federal court would overthrow any injunction issued by a state court," reported the BATON ROUGE STATE TIMES. "His action was opposed by some parish officials."

The legality of such an injunction was being challenged before the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Pending a decision by the full court, a 3-judge panel last October stayed the state proceedings in Clinton. The panel's decision was unprecedented in that it granted the stay, even before the actual injunction was issued.

Also it was the first time the appeals court agreed to review a case of this kind after a lower federal court had declined to act. In this instance U.S. District Judge E. Gordon West, who himself had granted two major injunctions against CORE activities (subsequently reversed), had refused to stay the proceedings.

"The legal tug-of-war between Clinton and CORE started last August on the eve of a scheduled appearance by James Farmer, National Director of CORE," the STATE TIMES recalls. "But Farmer never kept his speaking engagement in Clinton. He was jailed the night before for leading a demonstration in Plaquemine."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

NONVIOLENT BLOCKADE OF ANTI-NEGRO LOCAL

New York, N.Y., May 14--A nonviolent, round-the-clock blockade of the offic of Plumbers Local 2 was started by the East River and Bronx CORE groups on May 11. Throughout the week, up to 30 stand-inners in the lobby of the ancient 5-story building kept plumbers from entering and halted the local's regular business.

Persons coming to and from other offices in the building were given free access. Since the building's lobby is public, the stand-inners cannot be removed legally without a formal complaint and none was filed in the course of the first week.

Outside, there was mass picketing. CORE National Director James Farmer led the picket line on the first day of the protest action. Leaflets in English and Spanish, distributed to passersby, explain: "Local 2 practices racial discrimination. Qualified plumbers are refused union membership. Why? Because they are Negro and Puerto Rican."

The local initiated a stoppage on April 30 at the $25,000,000 Terminal Market construction site when four Negro and Puerto Rican plumbers reported to the job. If the stoppage continues, construction work soon will be forced to a standstill. President Johnson, Mayor Wagner, George Meany and others have interceded, thus far unsuccessfully in an attempt to effect a settlement. CORE has asked that the district attorney by his recent commitment to seek grand jury indictments of union officials and employers who discriminate.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN:- Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

PAINT "KKK" IN FRONT OF CORE LEADER'S HOME

Norwalk, Conn., May 14--In the early morning of a recent CORE demonstration against sub-standard housing in this Connecticut town, Mrs. Waverly Yates, chairman of the group, found "KKK," the initials for the Klan, painted on the sidewalk in front of her home.

However, no incident of violence occurred that afternoon when some 30 Negroes and whites marched from the railroad station to City Hall to present to the Mayor their demands for increased legal safeguards for rent strikers and heavier penalties against slumlords. The demonstration was supported by the local NAACP.

Placards carried by the marchers said: "While Tenants Pay, Health Department Plays," "No More Rent for Rats and Roaches" and "Better Housing is a Must."

Sit-In At Police Headquarters Bring's Landlord's Arrest

Paterson, N.J., May 14--An hour-long sit-in by 19 CORE members at police headquarters at 11 P.M. prevailed upon the authorities to issue a warrant for the immediate arrest of a landlord accused of beating a Negro tenant, Mrs. Christina Cox. While the CORE members sat-in, Mrs. Robert Jena, chairman of the local CORE group and Arthur Holloway, president of the local NAACP negotiated with police.

However, the landlord, William Hayman, won a dismissal of the assault charge from Magistrate Charles Alfano. Hayman admitted having evicted Mrs. Cox, but denied having struck her and doused her with water.

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CROSS BURNING MARKS FIRST DAY OF CORE ACTION

Manhattan, Kansas, May 21-- The first day of CORE direct action in this university town was marked by a cross-burning in the front year of Rev. Warren Remple, advisor to the recently formed CORE group.

The 7-foot-high fiery cross made of steel poles wrapped with gunny sacks and soaked with an inflammable liquid--was discovered by a babysitter at 10 P.M. Rev. Remple was notified and he returned home immediately.

That afternoon, Manhattan had witnessed its first civil rights picketing--at two barbershops which discriminate. One is located downtown and the other near the campus.

The downtown shop had refused to give a haircut to Delon Hampton, a Negro, who is assistant professor of civil engineering at the university. A faculty committee was formed to investigate discrimination in local barbershops and then the CORE group conducted its own tests. The CORE tests revealed that, out of 15 barbershops, 8 were open to Negroes and 7 were not.

One of the latter shops subsequently changed policy following negotiations.

Prior to the direct action, "CORE members were trained in picketing and coping with hecklers without violence," reported the group's public relations chairman, Howard Hill in The Kansas State Collegian.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

ONE-YEAR JAIL TERMS FOR RIGHTS LEADERS IN CHAPEL HILL

Chapel Hill, N.C., May 21--Those designated by the prosecutor as leaders of the February 8th CORE mass demonstration against segregation here, were singled out by Judge Raymond Mallard for 1-year prison sentences.

They included John Dunne and Joseph Tieger, both CORE Task Force workers, Patrick Cusick and J.B. Henry. In sentencing Tieger, Judge Mallard characterized him as a participant in "an international conspiracy to overthrow the government."

Arthur Crist was sentenced to eight months, Louis Calhoun, Quinton Baker and Rosemary Ezra to six months and Roosevelt Atwater to four months. Four others got 10 days and approximately 90 were given suspended sentences ranging from six months up to five years with stipulations for "active probation." In addition to the prison sentences, fines were imposed, some ranging up to $500. Those with long sentences were in jail up to two weeks pending release on appeal.

The charges were "obstructing traffic" and "resisting arrest." As part of the February 8 demonstration, freedom marchers sat down on the pavement at the town's busiest intersection--Franklin and Columbia. Since the CORE campaign to complete desegregation of this college town started in Mid-December, over 550 nonviolent protestors have been arrested.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE PROTEST SHIFTS TRADE CONFERENCE TO NONDISCRIMINATORY HOTEL

New Orleans, La., May 21--As a result of protest wires to Washington from CORE Associate National Director Richard Haley, who heads CORE's southern office here, the Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference shifted its final luncheon and banquet sessions from the discriminatory Hotel Roosevelt to the Hotel Jung.

Apprised that Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Rear Admiral John Harllee were to address the final sessions, Haley asserted in his telegrams that appearances at a hotel which practices segregation would "compromise the dignity" of federal officials. Within hours he received replies stating that the officials involved were unaware of the Hotel Roosevelt's policy and would not appear unless the meetings were held at an integrated establishment.

The final sessions were shifted in time for the Roosevelt and Harllee speeches, but not in time for a forum at which Charles Boehm, a Commerce Department official was scheduled to talk. His appearance was cancelled.

Two weeks ago Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara withdrew all active military personnel from an adutant general's conference at the Roosevelt Hotel becuase of its discriminatory policy.

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CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH OR JAMES PECK

BOYCOTTS, PICKETING MARK ANNIVERSARY OF SUPREME COURT DECISION

Marin City, Calif., May 21: In Marin City, CORE on May 18 led the first school boycott to take place in California: half of the Negroes in the city school system stayed out. In Springfield, Mass., a newly formed CORE chapter backed by other civil rights groups, initiated the town's first action in the streets: picketing of city hall and the school board in protest over de facto segregation.

These actions, west and east, are typical of demonstrations which took place across the country on May 18 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of schools with "all deliberate speed."

Boycotts, picketing or rallies on the school issue were held in many towns and cities. In some localities, as in New York City, the actions were conducted jointly by CORE and NAACP. At the New York rally, which preceded a march of some 5000 persons across the Brooklyn Bridge to the Board of Education, the two chief speakers were CORE National Director James Farmer and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins.

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-Mrs. Jerome-

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE GROUP, ITSELF, UNDERTAKES SLUM CLEANUP

Rochester, N.Y., May 28--Deciding to take the long-overdue job of slum cleanup into its own hands, Rochester CORE has taken to the streets on the past few Saturday mornings armed with rakes, brooms, shovels and boxes. The tools were donated by various hardware stores.

The manpower was supplied by the CORE group and augmented by residents of the neighborhoods involved. More than 100 residents pitched in for the first cleanup, which covered about 60 buildings and yards along Hand Street.

"Some of the cans and garbage we picked up must have been around these yards for years," commented Charles Simpson, one of the project workers.

On the second Saturday, the Department of Public Works cooperated by dispatching some of its trucks to the area involved, around Catherine and Baden Streets.

On the third Saturday, twelve truckloads of junk were hauled out of Kelly, Joiner and Nassau Streets and Hope Place--the biggest area yet covered. Expressing satisfaction at the cleanup operation, Marvin Poret, chairman of the project, said it would continue. In a special day-long cleanup, the entire Baden-Ormond area will be cleared of garbage, he added.

In a building in the area covered on the initial Saturday, Rochester CORE had conducted a rent strike which was instrumental in getting the city to issue a final cleanup order for that particular building and five others. If the order is not carried out within 30 days, the city will make the needed repairs and charge it to the owners or managers.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

START STATEWIDE ACTION AGAINST BANK OF AMERICA

San Francisco, Calif., May 28--Following the collapse of negotiations aimed at getting the Bank of America, the biggest bank in the world to adopt a fair employment policy, CORE groups in California initiated statewide action in the streets on May 22nd.

"All 26 CORE chapters in the state are participating," reports CORE Field Secretary Chet Duncan. "Community support for this project has been tremendous.

Here in San Francisco, over 500 pickets turned out on May 22nd at the mai office, located in the heart of the downtown section, at Market and Powel streets. Picket signs said: "Don't Save Where You Can't Earn" and "Why Give Your Dollars for Discrimination."

Similar demonstrations were conducted in Los Angeles, San Diego, Palm Springs, Bakersfield, Scaramento, Oroville, Stockton, Richmond, Sausalito. San Jose, Pomona and San Bernardino.

Negotiations collapsed on May 18th after five sessions and William Bradle San Francisco CORE chairman accused the big bank of "bad faith," Specifically, he accused management of "hiding" the facts regarding Negroes seeking promotion.

PICKET BANK IN NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro, N.C., May 25--Pickets have been marching in front of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Company on South Greene Street as part of a joint CORE-NAACP campaign for a fair employment policy.

"The picketing will continue until the bank offers equal employment opportunities for Negroes," said William Thomas, chairman of the CORE group.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE SETS UP UNOFFICIAL REVIEW BOARD ON POLICE BRUTALITY

New York, N.Y., May 28 --Pending the outcome of a campaign by CORE and other civil rights groups for legislative establishment of a civilian board to review police brutality charges, CORE has set up an unofficial committee of ten prominent citizens for this purpose. Members of the committee include Roger Baldwin, veteran civil libertarian, former Judge Hubert Delaney and Rev. Donald Harrington.

"For months we have called upon the mayor and the police commissioner to deal effectively with this problem," said CORE National Director James Farmer on May 22nd in announcing formation of the unofficial committee. "I have talked to the mayor. I have talked to the commissioner, without tangible results. The time for talking is now past."

At its initial meeting on June 4th, the committee will hold hearings on four recent cases of police brutality involving Jesse Roberts, James Yates, Rosalee Brown and Kenneth Massey. Police precincts where brutality has occurred also will be picketed by CORE groups in the New York area.

Police Commissioner Michael Murphy and the policemen involved in the four incidents were invited to testify but Murphy, who has strongly opposed creation of a civilian review board, said" "No policemen will appear. We do not believe in kangaroo courts or public lynchings." A bill to establish a civilian review board will be introduced soon in the city council.

Protests Across The Country

Campaigns against police brutality are being conducted in an increasing number of cities by CORE groups across the country

More-More-More

A drive for the resignation of Police Chief William Parker of Los Angeles has received considerable publicity in the southern California press. The campaign, indorsed by 12 CORE groups in the area, will climax with street demonstrations. Incidents of brutality against Negroes and Mexicans are increasing under Parker's command, the CORE groups charge.

In Syracuse, New York, protesting police brutality has been the local CORE's main project in recent months. Several members of the group have been arrested for protest actions at police headquarters.

In Denver, Colorado, CORE recently reaffirmed its support of a city-wide campaign by civil rights groups against police brutality. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, CORE recently aired the issue in testimony before the City Council.

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Mrs. Jerome

CORE Southern Education Project
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-6270, Extension 4

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Att: Benjamin A. Brown

CORE SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROJECT LAUNCHES SPECIALIZED BOOK DRIVE

The CORE Southern Education Project announced this week a campaign to collect thousands of books on Negro and Africa life, history, literature and culture for CORE's new interracial education centers in the deep South. Appeals are going to publishers, libraries, collectors, trade unions, all news media, social organizations, and to hundreds of individuals with large Negro and Africa collections.

Earlier this year the C.S.E.P. collected and shipped over 30,000 assorted books and over $4,000.00 worth of mimeographs, tape recorders, typewriters, phonographs and records to Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, sites of the new centers.

Explanation for the new book drive was given by Benjamin A. Brown, CORE Staff director of the volunteer project: "Although we previously collected and shipped thousands of books to the South, too few of them pertained to the role of the Negro people in American life. Among the American history books collected, where the Negro people were mentioned at all there was gross distortion of their true role in America. It is our hope that from this specialized Negro and Africa book drive will come a flood of socially significant volumes that can become a vital source of enlightenment and inspiration in the Southern Negro movement for equality, justice and brotherhood."

Books and funds for shipment should be earmarked "C.S.E.P." and sent to the CORE National Office, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

PROTEST STIFF JAIL TERMS IN CHAPEL HILL AND SAN FRANCISCO

New York, N.Y., June 4--Excessive prison sentences meted-out recently to peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Chapel Hill, North Carolina and San Francisco, California drew vigorous protests on June 3 from CORE National Director James Farmer. The protests were in the form of wires sent to the governors and attorney generals of the two respective states.

In Chapel Hill two CORE Task Force workers and two other persons designated by the prosecutor as leaders of a mass demonstration on May 8 were sentenced to a year in prison by Judge Raymond Mallard. Two were released on appeal but two have been in jail over three weeks. Five others received sentences ranging from four to eight months. In addition fines up to $500 were imposed and 90 persons received suspended sentences ranging from six months to five years.

Farmer's wire to Governor Terry Sanford said: "It is hard to believe that in a state like North Carolina with its liberal reputation, civil rights demonstrators can receive sentences even harsher than have been imposed to date in Mississippi."

In San Francisco six demonstrators have received sentences of 60 days, one 45 days and four 30 days from Judge Andrew Eyman. All 11 are serving their sentences as is CORE Chairman William Bradley, who got 5 days for contempt after he rose to protest the harshness of the sentences. Fines of $200 each were imposed in addition on the 11, who are the first to be sentenced of 600 demonstrators arrested in recent months during the hotel and auto showroom campaigns.

Farmer's wire to Governor Edmund Brown said: "It is unfortunate that a California court should impose such heavy sentences on dedicated individuals campaigning for basic human rights."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

NEW CORE GROUP WINS JOBS--EVEN IN BUILDING TRADES

Kingston, N.Y., June 4--A new CORE group which has been functioning in this Hudson River town only since early spring, already has won 13 jobs for Negroes, three of them in the notoriously discriminatory building trades.

At a meeting in May, Alderman Leonard Van Dyke, a local CORE official, paid special tribute to George Yerry, president of the carpenters local, for admitting two Negroes as apprentices. Since then, a Negro mason has gotten a job through the bricklayers local.

Van Dye pointed out that through the CORE group's efforts, Negroes have been hired in sales positions for the first time at two department stores, a men' clothing store and a dime store.

First Negro Textile Salesman Is Union Man--and CORE Man

New York, N.Y.,--"There's something new in the garment center these days," reports the 65er, organ of District 65, Retail Wholesale & Department Store Employees. "Among the hundreds of textile salesmen who walk the streets of the fabled-apparel center is a man named Grover Phillips. What makes Grover Phillips unique is that he is the garment center's first Negro textile salesman.

"Although he now owns a home in New Cassel, Long Island, he is still a membe of CORE in the Bronx, where he used to live and took part in last summer's demonstrations at Harlem Hospital Annex and at the White Castle restaurants.

AFL-CIO NEWS Hails Support of CORE Field Secretary

Washington, D.C.--In reporting the signing of a first union contract between Ernst Neckwear, largest tie manufacturer in the west and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the AFL-CIO NEWS recently acclaimed the support given the union by Chet Duncan, western CORE field secretary.

The union publication quotes a letter which Duncan had written the company stating: "The employment of Negroes, Spanish-Americans and all other minorities is to be applauded (Last year the company won approval of civil rights groups for hiring Negro models), but I am concerned with the democratic rights of all workers to organize into unions."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ARREST 55 ON SECOND FREEDOM DAY

Canton, Miss., June 4--May 29, the second Freedom Day in this Mississippi town, was marked by 55 arrests.

Unlike the first Freedom Day, February 28, when some 350 Negroes marched to the courthouse, this time police prohibited marching even by small groups. However, 25 Negroes reached the courthouse by car and succeeded in going through registration procedures. Fifteen policemen armed with nightsticks and shotguns turned back the marchers only 75 yards from Mount Zion Baptist Church where they had assembled under the leadership of Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE field secretary.

Twelve of the marchers thereupon decided to challenge the police barricad and were promptly arrested, along with two white ministers who were acting as observers and CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander, who was attempting to take a picture of the arrests.

The other four arrested were not prospective registrants but students who intended to picket the courthouse. Fifteen of them were seized as they left Pleasant Green Baptist Church. The rest were picked up as they got out of cars in front of the courthouse with their placards. One youth, McKinley Hamblein, was beaten by police while being arrested.

That evening, a car returning to Tougaloo College in Jackson was halted by a gang of 15 whites. One of the assailants tried to pull out the driver and strike him with a nightstick. However, after 15 minutes of threats, the car was permitted to proceed. One of its passengers was a Pakistani, Hamid Kiselbasch. The following night, Otha Williams, a highly respected Negro storekeeper, was halted on a dark road by two policemen and beaten. He finally fled into the woods. CORE Task Force Worker, George Raymond, helped him to get safely into town.

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6/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

LAW CORPS FOR DEEP SOUTH HOLDS TRAINING SESSION

New York, N.Y., June 11--Some 250 lawyers and law students who each have volunteered to work at least two weeks on civil rights cases in the deep south this summer, attended a 2-day training session June 6-7 at Columbia Law School. The first contingent is scheduled to arrive in Jackson, Mississippi on June 20th.

The trainees heard law professors and lawyers describe the problems particular to the deep south. As one speaker expressed it: "You just can't win civil rights cases in the local and state courts in the south. Your important job will be to help local counsel build a solid foundation for an eventual and successful appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court."

Special emphasis was placed on procedures for removing cases from the state courts to the federal courts. Also under consideration were various means of brining suit to enjoin interference by police and other state authorities with the right to vote and peaceful demonstrations.

Sponsoring the training session was the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, established through the initiative of CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin at the suggestion of CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis, who also is assistant program director of COFO, the coordinated civil rights organization in Mississippi. Organizers of the committee, along with Rachlin, are Robert Drinan, dean of Boston College Law School, Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund; Edwin Lukas of the American Jewish Committee; Howard Moore of SNCC; Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress; John Pratt of the National Council of Churches and Melvin Wulf of the American Civil Liberties Union. The committee characterizes itself as "a kind of Law Corps, modeled after the Peace Corps, in response to the urgent need for legal assistance on behalf of persons involved in southern civil rights activity."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

WIN REVERSAL IN LOUISIANA "DEFAMATION" CASE

Baton Rouge, La., June 11--The conviction of CORE Field Secretary B. Elton Cos for "defaming" a judge and district attorney at an NAACP mass meeting here in the summer of 1962 was reversed on technical grounds June 8 by the Louisiana Supreme Court.

Although the original indictment had been dismissed because of systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries, Cox was promptly ordered re-arrested on a bench warrant.

He thereupon was convicted and given the maximum penalty by Judge Fred LeBlanc: a year in jail and a $3,000 fine on each of two counts with the prison terms to be served consecutively rather than concurrently. Cox served over two months in jail before being released pending appeal.

The successful legal appeal was handled by CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin of New York, Lolis Elie of New Orleans and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge.

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FREEDOM HOUSE IN MISSISSIPPI BLASTED

Canton, Miss., June 11--Freedom House, CORE's center, was hit by an explosive hurled against the building shortly after 1 A.M. on June 8th.

Fortunately, nobody was injured because the bomb bounced off the front wall and exploded on the sidewalk. Landy McNair, a CORE Task Force worker and James Collyer were inside the building at the time.

A couple of weeks previous three shots were fired into Freedom House but nobody was hurt.

During the week of May 4th a man claiming he represented the Klan phoned and threatened to burn down the building. In April, the owner of the building had his fire insurance cancelled.

On May 7th a man in a white hood and cape drove past Freedom House and fired a pistol in the direction of a group of children who had spotted his car and started shouting "There he is!"

The June 8th explosion came 10 days after Canton's second Freedom Day in which 55 demonstrators were arrested. Many of them, including CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander, are still in jail. Attorneys are trying to get the cases transferred to federal court.

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6/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

WIDOW OF CORE VICTIM DEMONSTRATES AT GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE

Cleveland, Ohio, June 11--Accompanied by her young daughter Janice, Mrs. Joanne Klunder, widow of Cleveland CORE Vice Chairman Bruce Klunder, joined a civil rights demonstration at the National Governors Conference on June 8th.

Her placard said "Ohio--44th in Education" and Janice's said: "We Need Integrated Education." She told reporters that she had joined the demonstration to help carry on the work of her late husband. Rev. Klunder was killed on April 7th when a bulldozer accidentally backed-up over his prostrate body at the construction site of a school in a segregated neighborhood.

The demonstration at the National Governors Conference was not only to bring attention to the local school integration struggle being conducted by the United Freedom Movement, with which CORE is affiliated, but to urge the Governors to adopt a strong stand on the civil rights bill. The following day, the Governors did adopt a bi-partisan statement of principle calling for "prompt enactment of civil rights legislation." Of the 50 Governors, only 11--all southerners--opposed the statement.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

DALLAS ACTION RESUMED AFTER VOIDING OF INJUNCTION

Dallas, Texas, June 18--The Picadilly Cafeteria in Dallas, where 11 CORE sitdowners were arrested on May 30, is the scene of renewed action following the voiding of an anti-demonstration injunction. CORE Attorney Robert Collins handled the case.

The injunction had been granted after the May 30 demonstration. Five persons, including CORE's local attorney, John Wilson, subsequently were arrested for contempt when they engaged in a revolving stand-in at the counter.

Dallas CORE, along with eight other local organizations, are backing the campaign to desegregate the Picadilly Cafeteria.

# # #

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Attn: James Peck or Marvin Rich

TO PICKET SCRANTON OVER BRUTALITY BY STATE TROOPERS

Philadelphia, Pa., June 18--Philadelphia CORE, on June 17, urged CORE groups throughout the country to picket Governor William Scranton, most recent Republican presidential nominee, in protest over the extreme brutality practiced by Pennsylvania state troopers against civil rights demonstrators in Chester.

During recent months, Philadelphia CORE has been active in the Chester demonstrations against de facto school segregation which were quelled with the aid of state troopers. Many members of Philadelphia CORE witnessed the demonstrators being clubbed mercilessly without provocation. A protest demonstration has taken place in Harrisburg, the state capitol, but without significant results.

"During the April and May demonstrations in Chester, state police perpetrated the worst type of brutality," said James O'Williams, Philadelphia CORE chairman. "State police were then ordered to investigate their own men on these charges."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

HOUSING AUTHORITY CHAIRMAN CALLS IN PICKETS TO ANNOUNCE INTEGRATION PLAN

Jersey City, N.J.--While some 40 CORE pickets marched in front of his home on Clifford Avenue, Samuel DiFeo, chairman of the Jersey City Housing Authority, called in two of their spokesmen to announce a plan for ending racial imbalance at six low-rent housing projects. The two CORE spokesmen were Rev. Robert Castle and Francis Cooper.

Under the plan, at three predominantly white projects non-white families will be moved in on a two-to-one ratio as vacancies occur and at three projects which are almost completely Negro, white families will be moved in.

The plan had been initiated by the Federal Housing Authority's district commissioner, but the local Housing Authority had failed to put it into effect. In protest, Jersey City CORE picketed both DiFeo's home and his new auto showroom on Kennedy Avenue.

PICKETING FORCES SALE OF HOMES TO NEGROES

Hempstead, N.Y., June 18--In two Long Island communities, Syosset and New Cassel, CORE picketing has resulted in the sale of homes to Negroes. In both cases, the Negro applicants originally had been rejected and white CORE testers proved that racial discrimination was the reason.

In Syosset, the home owners, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Yankowitz, originally agreed to sell their $27,000 home to Mr. and Mrs. Donald Rickets, but changed their minds after receiving threatening phone calls. They reversed their position following the picketing.

In New Cassel, the home owners, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Schreck, agreed to sell their $17,000 home to James Wyn following picketing the the filing of a complaint with the State Human Rights Commission.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Attn: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

TRAINING SESSIONS FOR FREEDOM SUMMER

Oxford, Ohio, June 18--Plaquemine, Louisiana and Quincy, Florida training sessions are underway in Oxford, Ohio for the CORE Freedom Summer program, a massive voter registration drive in the deep south climaxing with attempts to seat Freedom candidates at the Democratic national convention.

The largest number of trainees, over 200 from all parts of the country, are in Oxford at the Western College for Women. They will go into Mississippi where the Council of Federated Organizations, a joint group including CORE, is heading the campaign. The instructors for CORE are the Mississippi field staff.

In Plaquemine, Louisiana, CORE Organization Director, James McCain and CORE Field Secretary, Ronnie Moore, are instructing some 50 students who will concentrate on 19 parishes in the fifth and sixth congressional districts. "These parishes were chosen because of their Negro voting potential and because of strong established community backing for our organization," explained Moore, who has been working on voter registration in this area since 1962.

In Quincy, Florida, seat of Gadsden county, where CORE has been engaged in voter registration for the past few months, plans are underway to extend the drive to seven additional northwestern Florida counties. Ten students have started training for work in this area, under CORE Associate Director Richard Haley and CORE Field Secretary Patricia Stephens Due.

# # #

6/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

GET FLORIDA CITY TO ADOPT FAIR HIRING POLICY

Gainesville, Fla., June 25--For about 10 years there have been attempts by civic groups to get this city to adopt a fair system of hiring its some 800 employes. This demand has been won recently as a result of action by Gainesville CORE.

Following an investigation by the CORE group which demonstrated anti-Negro discrimination in city hiring and a "spoils" system of promotion, a CORE spokesman met with the city commissioners. He was told that it would be three years before the commission even would consider the issue.

So the entire membership of Gainesville CORE attended a city commission meeting, submitted the findings of its investigation and said they were ready to go into action on the issue.

"Apparently the response of the CORE group that direct action would ensue if the city did not show immediate good faith produced these really startling results," reports CORE Task Force Worker Judy Benninger. "The City Council agreed to set up a central personnel office, to post job vacancies and qualifications and to establish a merit system of hiring."

Gainesville CORE now is soliciting Negro applicants in preparation for ensuring enforcement of the new policy adopted by the City Council."

At the height of the controversy, Mayor Howard McKinney publicly referred to members of the CORE group as "Communist dupes." However, following a joint protest from CORE, the NAACP Youth Council and the Student Group for Equal Rights, the mayor denied that his remarks had been directed against CORE.

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

THREE RIGHTS WORKERS BELIEVED DEAD

Meridian, Miss., June 25--Three civil rights workers who vanished following their release from jail in nearby Philadelphia late at night on June 21st are believed to be dead.

"I think there's almost no hope that they are alive," said CORE National Director James Farmer after he, John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, Dick Gregory and CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond returned here from Philadelphia where they conferred with the sheriff and other county officials. "If our present fears are grounded, mass protests are probable."

Meanwhile, CORE-initiated mass picket lines were forming at federal buildings in a number of major cities urging full federal protection for civil rights workers involved in the Freedom Summer project.

The three civil rights workers who vanished are James Chaney, a CORE Task Force worker and a native of Meridian; Michael Schwerner, who since January has directed the CORE community center here and Andrew Goodman, a student who just had arrived in Meridian from the summer training center at Oxford, Ohio.

On their way to Longdale to investigate the recent burning of Mt. Zion Methodist Church, they were picked-up on a speeding charge by a deputy sheriff, held in jail for over four hours and released at 10:30 P.M.

Two days later, FBI agents found the civil rights workers' station wagon wrecked and burned in a swamp on Bogue Chitto Creek. CORE still owes $1,700 on the 1963 station wagon.

Former CIA Director Allen Dulles has been dispatched here by President Johnson in an effort to solve the case.

6/64

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

SEEK ARREST OF EX-SHERIFF WHO SLASHED CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER

St. Francisville, La., June 25--A warrant has been sworn-out for the arrest of Teddy Martin, a former sheriff, who slashed at Bob Hurwitt, a CORE Task Force worker as he accompanied a group of Negroes to register at the courthouse. Martin later shot at the group as they emerged.

It was the first day in over three months that the registration office had been open. The office had been closed rather than comply with a federal court decision against discriminatory literacy tests. On that day and the following day, six Negroes were registered.

This was the courthouse where last October, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register in West Feliciana Parish since 1902.

In East Feliciana Parish, where the registration office also had been closed for over three months, four Negroes registered during the first two days. On the first day, Jim Van Matre, a CORE Task Force Worker was assaulted by a group of whites outside the registration office in Clinton.

In Monroe, in the northern part of the state, five voter registration workers were arrested on charges of soliciting, vagrancy and disorderly conduct. Three of them subsequently were released and the other two are out on bail.

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6/64

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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Kansas City, Mo., June 25--On the aftermath of the tragic disappearance of two of its Task Force Workers and a student in Mississippi, CORE will open its 22nd annual convention at the Municipal Auditorium here on July 2nd.

CORE National Director James Farmer, who has been in Mississippi helping on the investigation, and CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick will address the opening public meeting to be held at 7:30 P.M., July 2nd.

Dick Gregory, famed comedian who also has been in Mississippi in connection with the case and author Louis Lomax, distinguished author, will address the closing session at 7 P.M. on July 5th.

In addition to the regular plenary sessions which will set policy on crucial issues facing the civil rights movement, there will be a series of workshops on developing community roots, philosophy of nonviolence, education and schools, etc.

Seven hundred people from CORE's 150 chapters across the country are expected to attend.

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: MARVIN RICH

The enclosed leaflet describes the CORE community center in Meridian, Mississippi directed by Michael Schwerner. Shown with the youngsters is Michael's wife, Rita.

The Schwerners have directed the Meridian center since January, 1964. Before joining the CORE Task Force in Mississippi the Schwerners were members of Downtown CORE. Mickey was a 1957 graduate of Cornell University and did graduate work at the Columbia School of Social Work. He was employed by Hamilton Madison House, a group work center in New York City.

When applying for the CORE Task Force Mr. Schwerner made the following statement:

"My two primary reasons for wanting to work for C.O.R.E. are emotional and educational ones.

"I am now so thoroughly identified with the civil rights struggle that I have an emotional need to offer my services in the South. As a social worker I have dedicated my life to social ills; however, my profession, except in isolated instances as yet has not become directly involved in the most devastating social disease at the present time - discrimination. I also feel that the Negro in the South has an even more bitter fight ahead of him than in the North and I wish to be a part of that fight. In essence, I would feel guilty and almost hypocritical if I do not give full time for an extended period.

"The vocation for the rest of my life is and will be to work for an integrated society. I plan to do this work primarily in New York City where my roots are but I feel it is important that I have a first-hand understanding of how epople in other sections of the country specifically are affected by prejudice and how discrimination is being dealt with. I want to know and work with 'the people' not just read about situations or take someone elses subjective view. I want to be the first hand. Therefore, I see working for C.O.R.E. in the South an educational experience that can be obtained in few other ways.

"My experience with nonviolent direct action is certainly not very great. I participated in the July 4th freedom ride to Gwenn Oaks Park in Maryland where I was arrested and held in jail for two days. I participated in many picket lines and was also arrested in the fight against the building trades unions this past summer. I am currently working with Downtown CORE on the Community Relations and Housing Committees.

"As a social worker I have worked for the Department of Welfare and two Settlement Houses. While working for the two settlement houses I was a group worker primarily working with youth and teenagers. As for community experiences, I have worked with Lower East Side Social Workers for Human Rights, Lower East Side Youth for Equality, Two Bridges Neighborhood Council, and the Lower East Side Civil Rights Committee aside from the Community work that I have done with CORE."

6/27/64

MERIDIAN COMMUNITY CENTER

The Community Center which now exists in Meridian, Mississippi, is hampered by its lack of space and inadequate staff. In order to properly serve the community, which has a population of about 56,000, one third of which is Negro, the center must be greatly expanded. The interest in the Negro community already exists, and it is from the experiences which we had with various programs that the following recommendations grow.

Many of the women in Meridian are forced by their financial condition to seek employment, though they are often the mothers of young children. The children, as a result do not receive adequate care. Facilities and staff for a day care program for pre-school children should be an integral part of the community center. The area should, of course, be designed in bright colors, with many pictures, and room provided for the children's own art work. There should be many toys and games.

There is in existence at the present community center, a 10,000 volume library. Provision should be made in the new structure for a library room, with space provided for additional books.

The sewing project has been highly successful, but there is no separate sewing room in the existing center. Such a room should be included, with full length mirrors for fitting garments. There already are sewing machines. Storage space should be included for the materials. Space and materials for arts and crafts are needed, and this could be incorporated into the same room.

A recreation area, with such facilities as ping-pong tables must be planned for. The ping-pong table in the present center was constructed by a few of the young men, and it warps, but it is, nevertheless, in constant use.

It might be extremely useful to have a large meeting room, perhaps with a small stage, which could be used for both meetings and dramatic programs which the children would very much enjoy staging. It would be possible to construct the library in such a way that it would serve these several functions.

Two separate office rooms are needed, one for community center affairs, and one for the voter registration and political action project. Both rooms should have sufficient space for file cabinets and office machiner. (There are, in the present center, a mimeograph machine and several typewriters)

In order for the Community Center to be able to serve all age and interest groups in the city of Meridian, the above facilities are necessary. Additional staff would, of course be required, but since many of the above programs would not be in use at all times, and some are self-operative, several skilled persons could handle the program. In such a situation, persons who are able to show imagination and flexibility, who are able to create new programs as the need arises, are more valuable than persons with a great deal of training in one area and no interest in experimentation. It is not only possible, but highly recommended, that local persons be used in as many capacities as feasible in both the building and operation of the center. The more involved the local people are in such activities, the more they will come to feel that the Community Center is theirs, which is, after all, our goal.

Rita Schwerner

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

FIRST CORE PROJECT ON MIGRANTS' PLIGHT

Riverhead, N. Y., July 2-- The first action project by CORE to deal with the plight of migratory workers is underway in this eastern Long Island farming area to which some 3,000 workers, most of them Negro, come each year. Long Island and Suffolk County CORE have assigned two full-time workers for the summer's duration: Michael Raskin and David Thompson.

Since the first CORE goal is to help find decent housing for more than 100 families living in brooding sheds and tarpaper shacks on what formerly was the Hollis Warner duck farm, CORE set up a field office in one of the sheds. But on June 29, county officials brought a bulldozer and threatened to crush the shed in which the field office was located.

The duck farm was taken over by the county in late May. Some of the brooding sheds and shacks have been torn down, but demolition has been slowed because of a shortage of alternate housing. Many of the migratory workers are still living on the property under conditions characterized by Raskin as comparable to those of the poorest Negroes in the South.

Raskin, Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE, and Henry Smith were arrested on June 20 for their action protesting the lack of regular garbage collections. They took a truckload of garbage and dumped it in front of the Riverhead town hall. Regular garbage collections were started two days later.

On June 27, CORE conducted a march to the center of town protesting the refusal of Town Supervisor Robert Vojovoda to discuss the issue of adequate housing for the migratory workers. Two CORE members and six migratory workers were arrested for sitting down at the main intersection.

The action project is called "Operation Tinderbox" in memory of 15 Negroes who have been burned to death over the past five years in Hollis Warner shacks. Two Negro children were burned to death in a brooding shed as recently as this May, only a few days before the county took over the property.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

CORE TELLS PRESIDENT U.S. CAN ACT IN MISSISSIPPI

Kansas City, Mo., July 2nd -- Citing four specific sections of law which would empower the U.S. to protect civil rights workers in Mississippi, CORE National Director James Farmer wired President Johnson urging immediate Federal intercession. Farmer's action was based on a resolution unanimously adopted by CORE's National Action Council on the eve of plenary sessions of the organization's annual convention here.

Taking issue with a statement made June 24 by Attorney General Robert Kennedy that the Federal government lacks power, Farmer cited four sections of Federal law.

One is Section 333, Title 10, which cites the President's power "to take such action as he considers necessary to suppress, in a state, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it...opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws."

Another is Section 18, Titles 240-243 dealing with situations in which a state officer, under the color of law, suppresses constitutional rights. The two others are the specific laws establishing federal marshals and setting-up the FBI.

It was under the latter law that the FBI on June 26 arrested three whites in Itta Bena, Mississippi who had threatened voter registration workers. "This is the first time in my knowledge that FBI agents have arrested individuals in this manner," Farmer commented. "In the past they have said that they were not an arresting but an investigative agency. This meant that they were often taking notes while our people were being beaten."

From Jackson, Mississippi, COFO, the joint civil rights organization heading the summer campaign, issued a statement saying: "FBI agents should use thier power of arrest. We request that the FBI and Justice Department officials be instructed to provide full and immediate help in all incidents where danger is involved. We also request that federal marshals be stationed throughout the state. Unless immediate and strong action is taken by the federal government, we on the staff fear for the safety of the volunteers staff and local citizens who make up the project."

Picket demonstrations urging U.S. intervention have been initiated by CORE groups in a number of cities across the country.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich & Jim Peck

FAIR JOB PACT WITH 14 EMPLOYERS CALLED "HISTORIC"

Sacramento, Calif., July 2-- A fair employment agreement negotiated with 14 employers and covering 22 department and drygoods stores in this state capital has been termed "historic" by both the Sacramento Union and the Sacramento Bee.

The Union points out that "the negotiations were initiated by CORE, headed by Aubrey Hammond, president." Local representaives of three other civil rights groups participated: the Urban League, NAACP and Mexican American Political Association. Negotiating for the employers was the Sacramento Business Community Relations Group. There were five sessions.

Under the agreement, "continuous efforts will be made to recruit qualified, minority group persons where there is currently little or no representation" and "the business community will pursue an active program of recruitment and training of qualified minority personnel."

CORE FIELD SECRETARY BEATEN IN JAIL

Jackson, Miss., July 2-- Pointing to bruises on his face, CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander reported to the FBI that he had been beaten by three prisoners in Hinds County jail. Being white, he was confined to the white section.

He had been arrested May 29 in Canton while attempting to take pictures of arrests during the Freedom Day demonstration. Following an attempt by his attorney to get the case into federal court, he was transferred by U.S. marshals from Canton to Hinds County jail, which is located here. He was imprisoned a full month prior to release on bond.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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DEMONSTRATION AT GOP CONVENTION STARTS

San Francisco, Calif., July 9--Demonstrating at the Republican National Convention got underway July 7 as San Francisco CORE pickets marched in front of the St. Francis Hotel with placards saying "Reject Goldwater, Reject Racism" and "Denounce Those Who Voted Against Civil Rights."

Inside, CORE Program Director Norman Hill presented CORE's demands to the platform committee, which was holding hearings on civil rights. The demands include meaningful and immediate implementation of the civil rights law, repudiation of Republican congressment who voted against the law and repudiation of alliances with Dixiecrats on civil rights and other social legislation affecting Negroes and minority groups.

The demonstrations outside the hotel will be stepped-up as the convention gets underway with opposition to Goldwater the main theme. The CORE group in Phoenix, Goldwater's hometown, has taken a public stand against Goldwater. Acknowledging that this is a departure from CORE's traditional, non-political psition, Austin Coleman, spokesman for the group, pointed to Goldwater's "inhumane stand in the field of civil rights."

CORE demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City will focus on attempts to unseat the segregationist delegations from Mississippi and Louisiana and to seat the Freedom Delegations in their place.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

CORE STARTS DRIVE TO UTILIZE PLACES OPENED BY LAW

New York City, July 9--One minute after the President had signed the civil rights bill, Gene Young, a 13-year-old CORE convention delegate from Mississippi, entered the Hotel Muehlebach barbershop in Kansas City for a haircut. When he was refused, other convention delegates sat-in, forcing the shop to close. Next day, Young got his haircut as did several other Negro delegates.

This was the first test of the law and the start of CORE's nationwide action program to utilize the hotels, restaurants, theatres and other public accomodations opened under the law's provisions. "We cannot allow resistance to build up as occurred in the 1954 school cases," said a testing form sent to all affiliates. "CORE groups can and should begin immediate attempts to utilize the facilities newly opened by law." CORE National Director James Farmer wired 120 national operators of public facilities urging compliance and announcing the testing program.

Testing got underway as the CORE convention delegates left Kansas City for their homes. CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick, on his way back to Durham, North Carolina, was refused admittance at two motels in Clarksdale, Mississippi and filed complaints under the law. A national NAACP deputation touring the state refrained from testing in Clarksdale, but its members were accomodated without incident in Jackson and Meridian.

Public facilities were tested and found to be generally complying in Birmingham, Alabama; Danville, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida and other cities which have been the sites of major civil rights demonstrations. In many smaller communities such as Americus, Georgia and Quincy, Florida, from which CORE has received reports, testers were served but then attacked by gangs of white youths. In Quincy, after three young Negroes were served at Luden's drive-in, some whites reached into the car and dumped the contents of the Negroes' trays into their laps.

On the eve of a city-wide testing program in Monroe, Louisiana, CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore's car was forced off the road by several carloads of whites and he took refuge in a Negro home. He had written to 21 mayors announcing that the public facilities in their communities would be tested by CORE workers engaged in the Louisiana summer voter registration program.

In New Roads, tests showed that the library and all public buildings had desegregated. In New Orleans, the theatres, a target of recent CORE demonstrations, now admit everybody regardless of color, New Orleans CORE tests have shown.

In Hammond, Faith Hope and Charity Hall, the CORE registration headquarters was bombed. In McComb, Mississippi, a home occupied by civil rights workers was bombed and two of the workers, Curtis Hayes and Dennis Sweeney were injured. Pat Walker, CORE Task Force worker was unhurt. CORE Vice-Chairman, Rudy Lombard, is presently in Mississippi assisting Dave Dennis, CORE's representative on COFO. CORE has launched a program to recruit Task Force workers for Mississippi for the period following the end of the summer project.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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REALTORS FAIL TO EVADE CORE PICKETS

Los Angeles, Calif., July 9--On two recent occasions, the Southwest Realty Board has attempted to evade Los Angeles CORE pickets by secretely shifting weekly meetings from its headquarters to the International Hotel.

However, both times the maneuver was discovered by the CORE group and the pickets appeared at the International Hotel. On the last occasion, the realtors dodged the pickets by leaving through the hotel's back door. On May 25, departure from their meeting was delayed for more than two hours when 14 demonstrators conducted a lie-in at the parking lot adjoining the board's headquarters. The 14 finally were arrested.

The purpose of the weekly demonstrations is to get the board to admit Negro real estate brokers. Although the board operates in the heart of a Negro area, it has no Negro members. The board is an affiliate of the California Real Estate Association, the organization which is heading a drive to repeal the state fair housing law. A CORE statewide anti-repeal campaign was launched recently at a three-day conference in Oakland.

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7/16/64

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE PICKETS REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

San Francisco, Calif., July 16: Some 250 CORE demonstrators, protesting the nomination of Barry Goldwater, staged a sit-down in the street in front of the Cow Palace, but police made no arrests.

The demonstrators had marched from the Cow Palace parking lot, after bottling up traffic there.

The sit-downers rose after 10 minutes and continued their parade away from the convention area on walkie-talkie direction from CORE. The demonstration had included a mock funeral complete with coffin for the Republican Party, born 1856 died 1964.

200 Infiltrate Hall

Yesterday 200 demonstrators infiltrated the convention and the guards and police were kept busy clearing them from the hall. Police quietly rushed reinforcements into the galleries and onto the convention floor. Within two hours, Captain Gene Stewart said that a "substantial number" of uninvited guests had been ushered out of the Cow Palace.

Picketing Outside

While one band of CORE demonstrators melted into the crowd inside the hall, another group circled in a picket lines outside. Both groups were protesting Goldwater's nomination on grounds that it would be "disaster" for the rights cause and the nation.

The Negro delegates inside the hall agreed not to bolt the convention. George H. Fowler, chairman of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, said the group would not support Goldwater but would stay in the party to "serve as the Republican conscience."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

PEREZ DEFIES CORE, RIGHTS LAW

Pointe-A-La-Hache, La., July 16--It is illegal in Plaquemine Parish now to use any public facility-even a garbage dump-without a written permit.

The parish political stronghold of segregationist Leander H. Perez, Sr. picked up the gauntlet thrown down by Ronnie Moore of CORE and delivered a stinging reply. Moore demanded in a letter that all public facilities be desegregated in accordance with the new civil rights law.

At a meeting Thursday, the five-member parish commission council gave its president, Leander Perez, authority to set up machinery for issuing permits.

In addition to garbage dumps, a new ordinance applies to public buildings, parks, playgrounds, boat docks, ferries and fishing and recreation areas.

Violation of the ordinance is punishable by a fine up to $250 or up to 60 days in jail or both.

In his letter, Moore said "public accommodations can no longer be maintained on a racially segregated basis." He said if desegregation were not accomplished, CORE would "commence nonviolent direct action to attain the objectives of a community open to all its citizens...unless there is voluntary compliance with provisions of the civil rights act.

Replying to Moore, Perez wrote: "Our parish governing body is the Plaquemines Parish Commission Council, of which I am president. Therefore, I answer you as follows: "We do not recognize CORE as having any right to make demands of any kind upon us. We will not condone any Communist-directed activity in Plaquemines parish."

More-More-More

Perez has converted an 18th century Spanish fort in the marshes flanking the Mississippi River in the lower reaches of his parish into a stockade to house CORE demonstrators. The stockade is accessible only by boat across a mosquito and snake infested swamp.

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7/64

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

CORE MEETS RESISTANCE TESTING CIVIL RIGHTS ACT IN LOUISIANA

New Orleans, La., July 23: Immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Bill, CORE began an intensive testing of all public facilities in Louisiana. Ronnie Moore, CORE Field Secretary, stated that testing would be carried out in 22 cities. In initial testing, seven Negro youths were arrested when attempting to use the facilities of the public library in Monroe. A week later, 15 more were arrested at the library. No arrests have been made in other areas, but Negroes have been refused service in 40 percent of facilities tested, from an approximate total of 25.

In one incident, D.J. McDuffie, member of the Plaquemine City Council and mayor pro tem, is being sued by CORE workers Tolbert Harris and Spiver Gordon. The civil damage suit for $500,000, the first under the Civil Rights Act, charged McDuffie with violating the 1957 Civil Rights Act, a section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, simple, assault, disturbing the peace and defamation by use of profanity.

According to the petition, Harris and Gordon went to the City Cafe in Plaquemine to eat a meal, but their way was blocked by McDuffie, who held his hand on an empty soft drink bottle and said: "The first black ---- that steps in here, I'll knock his brains out." Since the way was blocked, the men left.

In another incident, Leola Hood, a Negro, was served a hamburger at the Tiger Drive-In in New Roads, for which she had to pay $20.00. She obtained a receipt, which was turned over to CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore.

More-More-More

In other areas, crowds have gathered, to harass and threaten CORE workers attempting to use facilities covered under the Civil Rights Act. Moore stated that he would not release the schedule for testing until the test is in progress in any given community.

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7/64

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
Cortlandt 7- 6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

STORM JAIL WHERE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS ARE IMPRISONED

Jonesboro, La., July 30 - A mob of about 100 whites armed with rifles late at night July 29 converged on the parish jail and threatened the 20 CORE civil rights workers imprisoned there. The mob finally dispersed after CORE alerted the FBI.

The onslaught occurred in total darkness. Lights throughout the town had been turned off, allegedly to repair power lines. The last time this occurred, several months ago, was the night when crosses were burned throughout the area.

During the three days preceding the jail-storming, a total of 39 CORE civil rights workers had been arrested for picketing the library and for standing-in at the municipal swimming pool. Both the library and the pool refuse to admit Negroes, despite the federal civil rights law. Eating places are still segregated and "white" and "colored" signs are in evidence everywhere.

Verna Nash, the mother of one of the demonstrators, was arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" and her bail was set at $1500. All minors were later released in the custody of parents, leaving a total of 20 civil rights workers in jail.

CORE Task Force worker Danny Mitchell, who is leading the Jonesboro project, has wired the U.S. Department of Justice asking the federal government to obtain a habeas corpus writ releasing the 20 from jail, to seek an injunction against further violations of the civil rights law and to prosecute local officials responsible for these violations.

Shortly after sending the wire, Mitchell, Catherine Patterson, Fred Brooks, William Yates, Robert Weaver and Ruth Wells were arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

A "RATTY" DEMONSTRATION

Chicago, Ill., July 30--Carrying placards saying "Mayor Daley, Do You Want a Rat for a Roomate?" and "Let Babies Be Food for Rats No More!", 100 CORE pickets marched on City Hall July 24.

To make it more graphic, the demonstrators nailed four rats, three in plastic bags, to a wooden cross outside the building. To bring the message closer to home, four women who went inside with Winston Lockett, the demonstration's leader, to negotiate, placed the dead rats in their pocketbooks. One of the women, Mrs. Carol Redmond, deposited one of the rodents on the desk of a secretary to Raymond Simon, the mayor's chief administrative officer, who earlier in the day had issued a statement rejecting CORE's demands.

These demands include city employment of 250 jobless slum dwellers for rat clearance, garbage pickups more than once a week and stricter enforcement of the health code in respect to helth hazards in slum areas.

Following the negotiations inside City Hall, Lockett told the pickets: "Our confrontations and demonstrations will continue until each and every one of thse demands are met."

The anti-slum program is part of CORE's Chicago summer project which is under the direction of Eugene Tournour.

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ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

109 YEAR OLD WOMAN REGISTERS ON UNPLANNED FREEDOM DAY

by Judy Benninger

Quincy, Fla., July 30 - July 27 became an unplanned CORE Freedom Day in Gadsden county. When the registrar's office opened at 9 A.M. about 20 Negroes had lined up. Between then and closing time at 5 P.M. there were from 15 to 75 Negroes in line at all times. A Negro was being registered every second. The number registered plus the number turned away during this one day approximately equaled the total number of Negroes registered in the county as of January.

One CORE member walked up and down the line of those waiting to register, answering questions and keeping the line orderly. Another CORE member stood at the exit, pinning "I Am Registered" buttons on those who had completed registration. CORE Task Force workers, members of the local CORE group and adults from the voter registration steering committee canvassed and leafleted.

At about 2:45 a car from Chattahooche, 26 miles away, arrived and a woman 109 was helped out by two CORE Task force workers accompanying her. She had been born in slavery, she told them, and thought it was about time that she should register and vote.

Others in her neighborhood had said they were afraid and she had made them promise that if she came back alive from the registrar's office, they would register next week. Upon returning to Chattahoochee, she was confronted by a small group of anxious neighbors. "There was nothing to it," she assured them. Her daughter, who is 90 years old, and her grandaughter immediately promised to register the following Monday.

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FARMER SIGNS ANTI-RIOT STATEMENT, DECLINES ON DEMONSTRATION MORATORIUM

New York, N.Y., July 30: Following a top civil rights leadership conference here on July 29th, CORE National Director James Farmer joined with four other leaders in signing a statement "strongly opposing looting, vandalism or any type of criminal activities" but declined to join them in signing a statement urging "a broad curtailment, if not total moratorium of mass demonstrations until after Election Day."

The four other signers were Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of NAACP, Whitney Young of Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of NALC. John Lewis of SNCC declined to sign either statement.

While expressing "our serious concern with the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas," the anti-riot statement made clear: "We wish to draw a sharp distinction between the above-named activity and legitimate protest effort by denied and desperate citizens seeking relief."

CORE's Role in the Riots

During the Manhattan and Brooklyn riots, which were set off with the slaying of 15-year-old James Powell by Police Lieutenant James Gilligan, Farmer together with CORE Field Director James McCain patrolled the troublespots and talked with people on the streets.

"CORE's James Farmer spent many long hours trudging the streets of Harlem through this dreadful interval, pleading for sanity and discipline with all who would listen and warning against the madness of mayhem," wrote James Wechsler in his New York Post column.

More-More-More

Many teams from Manhattan and Brooklyn CORE groups did likewise. CORE spotters alerted the local offices as to the locations of troublespots. At four local CORE offices full-fledged first aid stations were established attended by doctors and registered nurses.

In the upstate city of Rochester, where rioting broke out the weekend after the incidents in New York, the CORE group played a similar role of peacemaking. In conjunction with the local NAACP and other local civil rights groups, Rochester CORE organized teams which visited the troublespots, located in the opposite ends of town: in the 7th ward and in the 3rd and 11th wards. On the Joseph Avenue block which was most damaged, the CORE storefront with its "Freedom Now" placard in the window, was the only storefront which remained intact after the rioting.

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TOWN SUPERVISOR AGREES TO NEGOTIATE ON MIGRANTS' HOUSING

Riverhead, N.Y., August 6--Following a month and a half of action by the Long Island and Suffolk County CORE groups, Town Supervisor Robert Vojovoda has agreed to negotiate on the issue of adequate housing for migratory workers in this eastern Long Island farming area.

His previous refusal to negotiate prompted a protest march to the center of town on June 27 in which two CORE members and six migratory workers were arrested.

CORE's chief goal is to help find decent housing for more then 100 families still living in Hollis Warner brooding sheds and tarpaper shacks which were taken over by the county in May.

On July 16 Michael Raskin, one of two full-time CORE workers assigned to the project was arrested for escorting Robert Shaw, regional director of the State Commission on Human Rights around the Hollis Warner shacks. Five days later, Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE, was arrested while leading a similar inspection tour by Monsignor Michael McLaughlin of the Rockville Centre Diocese and Hyman Bookbinder, executive director of President Johnson's task force on poverty. Following the tour, Msgr. McLaughlin described the living conditions as "unbelievable." Bookbinder commented, "Some of the houses are as bad as I've seen in Appalachia or Harlem."

As a result of the CORE campaign and pleas from other civil rights groups, the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors has allocated $8,000 for hiring an expert to help relocate families still living in Hollis Warner shacks. Some families already have been moved but CORE charges that their relocation has been to living quarters which, in many instances, are too distant, too expensive and inadequate.

Called "Operation Tinderbox" in memory of 15 Negroes who have been burned to death over the past five years in Hollis Warner shacks, this CORE project is the first to deal with the plight of migratory workers.

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NINE FREEDOM RIDER-CLERGYMEN CHOOSE JAIL OVER FINES

Tallahassee, Fla., August 6--Having lost their appeals, nine ministers and rabbis who participated in CORE's 1961 interfaith, interracial Freedom Ride and were arrested for trying to desegregate the Tallahassee airport re restaurant, surrendered on August 3 to start 60-day jail terms. They chose to go to jail rather than pay $500 fines.

Following rejection of their appeals by the U. S. Supreme Court, Tallahassee officials demanded that they either pay the fines or return and serve their sentences. Meanwhile their attorney, Howard Dixon, is attempting to initiate a new appeal.

The nine are Rev. Robert Brown, Rev. John Collier, Rabbi Israel Dresner, Rabbi Martin Freedman, Rev. Arthur Hardge, Rev. Wayne Hartmire, Jr., Rev. Petty McKinney, Rev. Robert Stone and Rev. A. McRaven Warner.

The airport restaurant became desegregated soon after the clergymen's protest action following negotiations between CORE and the Union News Co. In 1962 the local Howard Johnson restaurant opened to all and in 1963, following action by Tallahassee CORE, the local Howard Johnson restaurant opened to all and in 1963, following action by Tallahassee CORE, the local Dobbs House restaurant desegregated.

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FIND BODIES OF THREE MURDERED CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

Philadelphia, Miss., August 6--The bodies of three civil rights workers who disappeared on June 21 were found on August 4 by F.B.I. agents in a newly-erected earthen dam six miles southwest of town. Their bodies showed evidence of gunshots and beating.

The three are Michael Schwerner, a CORE Task Force worker who since January had directed a CORE community center in Meridian; James Chaney, a CORE Task Force worker and a native of Meridian and Andrew Goodman, a student who had just arrived from the Freedom Summer training center in Ohio. They had been arrested on a speeding charge on their way to Longdale to investigate the burning of Mount Zion Methodist Church.

Local officials' testimony as to the exact time of their release from jail, where they had been held several hours, is conflicting. The circumstances of the triple murder remain unknown. Immediately following their disappearance, former CIA Director Allen Dulles was dispatched to the scene by President Johnson and a Navy contingent joined the search.

Mass picket demonstrations at federal buildings in many cities across the country were organized by CORE groups to urge federal intervention and full protection for civil rights workers in the deep south. However, as the summer continues, there have been repeated shootings, arson, physical violence, threats and other forms of intimidation by Mississippi and Louisiana segregationists. There also have been a large number of harassing arrests of civil rights workers by local police.

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THRONGS MOURN THREE SLAIN RIGHTS WORKERS

On August 7 in Meridian, Mississippi and two days later in New York City, hundreds of persons turned out at funeral service for three civil rights workers murdered June 21 near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The three bullet-ridden bodies had been found on August 4 by FBI agents in a newly-erected earthen dam.

The funeral of James Chaney, who had been a CORE Task Force worker, took place in his hometown of Meridian. His body showed evidence of severe beating in addition to gunshot. Over 600 mourners gathered at four churches and then marched to the First Union Baptist Church, where the services were held. On their way, the marchers were the targets of verbal abuse and thrown bottles from a jeering crowd of whites. Two girls in the march were injured by broken glass, though not seriously. One of the speakers at the servies was Dave Dennis, Field Secretary for CORE and the Assistant Director of COFO. Following an impassioned speech demanding that this tragedy not be forgotten, he collapsed in tears.

In New York, the funeral of Andrew Goodman, a student, was held Sunday morning at the Ethical Culture Meeting House and that of Michael Schwerner, a CORE Task Force worker, Sunday eveing at Community Church. A bomb threat at Goodman's funeral brought in police who removed the flowers near the casket. Far more than capacity crowds attended both funerals, with several hundred persons forced to stand outside in the streets. CORE National Director James Farmer was among the speakers at the services for Schwerner.

COMMUNITY CENTER PLANNED AS MEMORIAL

As a memorial to the three slain rights workers, CORE plans to build a new community center in Meridian. It will replace the present center which had been directed by Michael Schwerner and his wife, Rita, since January. Mrs. Schwerner, who has accepted a job as a CORE Field Secretary, will continue to work in Meridian. The CORE Center will include a day-care center, workshop, game rooms, sewing rooms, clinic and offices.

Albert Mayer and Paul Willen, architects, and Jackie Robinson, have agreed to sponsor the new center. The National Council of Churches will assist.

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FREE NINE FREEDOM RIDER-CLERGYMEN WHO CHOSE JAIL

Tallahassee, Fla., Aug. 13--Nine ministers and rabbis arrested during CORE's 1961 interfaith, interracial Freedom Ride for trying to desegregate the Tallahassee airport restaurant, were freed on August 6 after serving four days of a 60-day sentence. Having lost their appeals, they had surrendered to go to jail rather than pay $500 fines.

After four days, Judge John Rudd signed an order remitting the balance of the sentence. Their attorney, Howard Dixon, attributed the judge's action to "a realization by city officials that they were gathering a harvest of ill will throughout the country because of the treatment of the clergymen."

The nine are Rev. Robert Brown, Rev. John Collier, Rabbi Israel Dresner, Rabbi Martin Freedman, Rev. Arthur Hardge, Rev. Wayne Hartmire, Jr., Rev. Petty McKinney, Rev. Robert Stone and Rev. A. McRaven Warner.

The airport restaurant became desegregated soon after the Freedom Ride following negotiations between CORE and Union News Company.

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UPHOLD FARMER'S REJECTION OF DEMONSTRATION MORATORIUM

New York, N.Y., Aug. 13--CORE's governing body, the National Action Council, on August 9, upheld the position taken by the organization's National Director James Farmer 10 days earlier in rejecting a moratorium on demonstrations.

The NAC statement said: "Because the deep grievances of the Negro community continue to be present, we continue to demonstrate. Well-organized and disciplined demonstrations must continue as a way to work toward the elimination of these grievances. Only by constant public reminders of the evils that exist will the white majority face these evils and take the necessary steps to eliminate them.

"Demonstrations serve as a way to channel, in a militant fashion, the justifiable frustrations and anger of the Negro community. A community with no way of acting directly on its own behalf is far more likely to erupt in anger and violence than one which has the opportunity to vigorously demonstrate and whose just demands are met.

"Because proposals of temporary moratoriums can lead to the permanent end of viable protest by the Negro community, we continue to demonstrate. The so-called white backlash, a phenomenon whose appearance has frequented America whenever Negroes have vigorously spoken out on behalf of their rights, will not be mollified by temporary cessation of demonstrations. Indeed, more likely, the vote will be in just the opposite manner from that sought by the moratorium proposers; for, having gained a moratorium by the threat of a Goldwater victory, the white backlashers and their allies, the racists, will seek a permanent cessation in the event of Goldwater's election"

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HARASS BLIND MAN WHO GAVE SWIMMING PARTY FOR CORE

Tucson, Arizona, Aug. 20--Charles Hamill, a 72-year-old, blind retired manufacturer who offered his swimming pool for a fund-raising party for Tucson CORE, has been harassed in a manner reminiscent of the deep south.

On the eve of the Party, he had received several threatening phone calls from persons accusing him of being a "nigger-lover" and "Communist" and warning him to "beware of the dark."

Several days after the party, when his wife was out, his pool was polluted with two gallons of motor oil. Being blind, he was unable to identify the vandals. Commenting on their action, he said, ironically: "That took real courage, didn't it?"

The most recent harassment was a bomb threat. A voice which sounded like that of an elderly man threatened "to bomb you and the niggers."

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CANNING FRIM REFUSES CONTRACTS TO NEGRO FARMERS WHO VOTE

St. Franciscill, La., Aug. 20--The Princevill Canning Co. is using its local economic position to maintain white supremacy in this parish of West Feliciana where no Negro had resgistered to vote from reconstruction days until last October.

The company, which is the only market in the area for sweet potatoes, the main crop, has adopted a policy of refusing to negotiate a contract with any Negro farmer who attempts to exercise his right to register and vote.

As a consequence, those Negro farmers who have become involved in CORE's registration drive are in a deperate plight. CORE is trying to find markets for their crops outside of the area, but it has proved to be largely unsuccessful, so far.

CORE has also launched a nationwide boycott of Princeville products, which are sold in supermarkets under the trade names "Royal Prince" and "Jack-O-Lantern." CORE National Director James Farmer has written leading super supermarket chains urging them to refuse to handle these products.

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WIN PACT WITH REALTOR DESPITE PRO-GOLDWATER COUNTERPICKETS

Hicksville, N.Y., Aug. 20--Long Island CORE won a precedent-setting agreement with Vigilant Associates, one of the largest real estate brokers in this area, despite counterpicketing by pro-Goldwater youths carrying placards such as "Keep Niggers Out--Support Your Local KKK" and "I Like Niggers--I Think Everybody Should Own One."

This group counterpicketed during the entire week of picketing by CORE. The picketing started after a CORE test proved discrimination on the part of the realtor. As many as 900 white spectators, most of them supporting the counterpickets, were drawn to the scene where there was a heavy concentration of police. However, up to 20 white residents of Hicksville had the courage to join the CORE picket line.

Describing the counterpicketing group, Newsday, a local paper, reported: "Of 12 anti-CORE pickets questioned, all said they favored Senator Barry Goldwater for President. At times they chanted "Barry, Barry." John Judge, 16, of Hicksville, said: "I like Goldwater because he doesn't like niggers either."

Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE said: "The agreement we won is precedent-setting because it marks the first time a Long Island real estate broker has agreed to take positive action on his own against housing discrimination." Under the agreement, negotiated with the aid of County Attorney Jack Weinstein, the realtor agreed to place advertisements in the Negro press and to use the words "fair housing broker" when advertising in the daily newspapers.

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FIRST FREEDOM DAY IN AREA OF SIX BOMBINGS

Magnolia, Miss., Aug. 20--The first Freedom Day to be held in this terror-stricken area of southwest Mississippi took place on August 18 without incident. Only three days previous, a Negro supermarket was bombed, marking the sixth bombing in the area this summer.

Pat Walker, CORE Task Force Worker, whose temporary home was bombed in early July, reported that 47 Negroes lined up in front of the Pike County courthouse. During the day, 38 succeeded in registering. The courthouse had been roped off by local police. The following day, 15 Negroes registered.

Until the Freedom Day, only 207 Negroes had registered, representing about 3% of the Negro vote. White registration is 82%.

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MAY REFUSE TO CARRY BAGGAGE TO BIASED CABS

Seattle, Wash., Aug. 27--Porters at the Seattle-Tacoma airport, who are members of the Building Service Employees International Union, may refuse to carry baggage to Farwest and Gray Top cabs if those two companies continue their refusal to hire Negro drivers.

Bob Madkin, porter concessionaire at the airport, explained that his 17 employees "do not feel that they should help Farwest and Gray Top support themselves financially when it appears they flatly refuse to hire Negroes."

Acting on a complaint of Seattle CORE, Glen Mansfield, chief investigator of the state agency against discrimination reported that neither firm has any Negro drivers nor plans to hire any. In contrast, Yellow Cab has 35 Negro drivers.

Win Job Campaign at Supermarkets

A month-long action campaign by Seattle CORE, marked by picketing and shop-ins, ended with a fair employment agreement covering Tradewell supermarkets.

The action started after two years of fruitless negotiations during which the total number of Negro employees rose only from two to six. The stores employ 260 workers.

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SHOOT AT RIGHTS WORKER'S CAR, THREATEN HIM WITH DEATH

Madison, Fla., Aug. 27--Five shotgun blasts were fired on August 25 into the car of Michael Geison, a Gainesville student who has been working as a volunteer for CORE's voter registration drive in Madison county. The car was parked outside the home of Rev. D. H. Jamison, a Negro minister who is housing Geison and another student-civil rights worker.

Following the shooting, an anonymous caller threatened: "That fire was a miss, the next five won't be--get out of town!"

A few weeks ago, Geison found a fire bomb planted in his car. During July he was arrested twice for "reckless driving" while working on voter registration. Following his first arrest, he filed a false arrest suit against the city and county in which he sought $100,000 damages.

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Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

OPEN HEADQUARTERS IN TOWN WHERE THREE RIGHTS WORKERS WERE SLAIN

Philadelphia, Miss., Aug. 27--In a vacated two-story structure which was formerly a Negro hotel named after Charles Evers, COFO recently opened headquarters for the first time in this town where three civil rights workers were murdered on June 21. It is manned by a staff of 12 including CORE Task Force workers James Collier and George Smith.

The first week of operation was characterized ironically by a staff member as a "comedy of terrors." Each night after dark, cars filled with insult-shouting whites drove past. The first night a shotgun was leveled at the building. Threats of bombing and burning followed. The number of the newly installed phone already had become known throughout the community.

One night, several carloads of whites displaying pistols and shotguns stopped and the occupants got out and menacingly lounged around the building. Later, an anonymous phone called threatened: "Your time is running out: the end is tonight." When staff members retire, they post a sentry.

Occasionally Sheriff Cecil Price, the man who arrested the three civil rights workers on the afternoon prior to their murder, drives by the new headquarters with sirens screaming. On one occasion, he served the rights workers with a summons questioning the validity of the lease which COFO had signed. Then, Sheriff Lawrence Rainey ordered them to vacate under threat of arrest on trespassing charges. The rights workers ignored the order.

Meanwhile, in the daytime, they carry on their work canvassing Negroes on voter registration and informing them of the forthcoming Freedom School sessions to be held soon both at the newly acquired building and in open air classrooms throughout Neshoba county. Books and literature are being distributed in the Negro community in an old panel truck which serves as a bookmobile

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ROUND-THE-CLOCK VIGIL SUPPORTS FREEDOM DELEGATION

Atlantic City, N.J., Aug. 27--A round-the-clock, silent vigil in support of the Freedom Democratic Party delegation to the Democratic national convention was conducted on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall by CORE and SNCC August 24-27.

The number of participants reached a peak of over 1500 during the August 25 convention session. That evening the silence of the vigil was broken for a rally at which members of the Freedom delegation, including Aaron Henry and Rev. Edwin King as well as CORE National Director James Farmer, spoke. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a member of the Freedom delegation, led a spirited session of Freedom Songs.

There were other brief periods of speeches and songs. During a heavy thunder shower, a session of Freedom Songs started. Having decided against taking shelter, the group decided to sing until the rain stopped. The vigilers alternately stood and sat on the boardwalk throughout the days and nights of the convention in view of thousands of boardwalk strollers. Many eastern CORE groups dispatched buses and cars of participants to Atlantic City.

Throughout the demonstration, the CORE-SNCC sponsoring committee was in consultation with the Freedom delegation and followed their advice as to tactics. The Freedom delegation rejected a compromise reached by the convention's credentials committee to seat only two of its delegates, but decided to attend the convention, nevertheless. So, at the session following the credentials committee's decision, a group of Freedom delegates walked into the hall and took the seats vacated by the Eastland delegation. By the next session, these seats had been removed, so the Freedom delegates remained standing in the same area and joined the in the vote of acclamation for President Johnson.

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CORE INCREASES VOTER REGISTRATION IN CALIFORNIA

San Francisco, Sept. 3 - Twelve Task Force workers have been assigned to California to work with the 25 CORE chapters of the state in the most intensive voter registration drive ever undertaken by CORE in the North.

The Task Force and the volunteers will concentrate their action in the minority communities in Alemada, Los Angeles and San Francisco in cooperation with CORE's national drive to register and educate voters to CORE's position of demanding the defeat of the conservative elements of both political parties. The focus of the California attack will be aimed at Proposition 14, also known as the Rumford Act, which would repeal California's present open-occupancy law which prohibits discrimination in the rental and sale of housing.

Chet Duncan, the director of CORE's Western Regional office, stated "We mean to make every effort to see that the segregation amendment, Proposition 14, is defeated - as well as all those who would make hatred, injustice and bigotry respectable and a way of life. It is a year of grave decision and ominous danger and all must stand up and be counted."

CORE's national voter registration drive was stepped up following a statement by the National Action Council, the governing body of CORE. "All appropriate methods to register and educate voters between now and November to insure the crushing defeat of "Goldwaterism" in both parties will be used," the Council said in its report.

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CORE ACTION CHANGES HIRING POLICY ON NATION'S TALLEST MONUMENT

St. Louis, Sept. 3--On July 14, two members of St. Louis CORE, Richard Daly and Percy Green, climbed 100 feet up the partially completed Gateway Arch, which is destined to be the nation's tallest monument and a symbol of its westward expansion. They remained aloft for four hours.

Upon descending, they were arrested for "trespassing," but their action was the focal point of a St. Louis CORE picketing campaign which lasted through the spring and summer. The campaign recently ended when Johannes Jensen, a top official of the National Park Service, guaranteed that U.S. nondiscrimination requirements would be enforced in awarding future contracts.

The contract for the initial phase of construction, the concrete pouring, had been given to the MacDonald Construction Company, whose hiring policies prompted the CORE protest action. Following an investigation, a spokesman for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity admitted in early August that his committee was "not completely satisfied" with the MacDonald Construction Company's employment practices.

To avert a repeat performance, Jensen said, future contracts will be awarded on a small-contract basis which will permit an increased number of bidders and will give the government more leeway to bypass a low bidder whose employment policy is dubious.

The Gateway Arch, designed by the late Eero Saarinen, will be 630 feet high when it is completed within the forthcoming year. The arch will be part of the St. Louis Riverfront massive renovation program.

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Refer: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

CORE GROUPS ACT ON SCHOOLS

With the new school year starting, many CORE groups across the country are pursuing action against defacto segregation.

In Indianapolis, Indiana on August 27 six CORE members started a marathon sit-in in the school administration building. The action came just a month after a sit-in in the office of the superintendent of schools which ended with the arrest of the three participants including John Torian, chairman of Indianapolis CORE. During the month, de facto segregated school buildings in the Negro neighborhood have been picketed. CORE is seeking to halt construction work on these schools and, as CORE Vice Chairman Donald Bundles expressed it to the school board: "to use new construction for promoting integration rather than segregation."

In Columbus, Ohio, Monroe junior high, a newly constructed school in a Negro area, was selected as the site for a recent protest rally sponsored by CORE and other groups. Negro students from the area previously had been attending the integrated Linmoor junior high school. As one speaker at the rally expressed it: "We just want to make sure that there are no more Monroes built."

In Cleveland, where CORE Vice Chairman Bruce Klunder was crushed to death by a bulldozer last April during a school demonstration, a city-wide biracial committee has been appointed and, under a new school superintendent, headway is being made against defacto segregation.

In Dallas, Texas, where a grade-a-year desegregation plan is in effect, CORE pickets have been marching in front of the school administration building. "The atmosphere of Dallas has changed and it is time for complete desegration," Rev. Earl Allen, chairman of CORE said in testimony before the school board.

In Seatle, Washington, CORE is seeking free transportation for Negro students who elect to transfer from segregated to integrated schools. The group also has requested the school board to close Mann elementary school, which is largely Negro and to pair-off High Point elementary school with two other schools which are nearby.

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Refer: Martin Rich or Jim Peck

PICKETED BANK HIRES FIRST NEGRO

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 2 --The Suburban Trust Co., one of Maryland's biggest banks, which for the past two months has been picketed by Prince George County CORE, has hired its first Negro white-collar employee. She is Thelma Gibson and she works as a clerk-typist at the bank's Mount Rainier branch.

The bank plans "to take on more non-whites in the next few weeks," reports Wayne Fowler, its personnel assistant. But Joseph Richards, Jr., Vice-Chairman of the bank's board of directors denies that this constitutes a policy change or that the CORE campaign is the cause.

Week's Picketing Brings Shopping Center Pact

Bay Shore, N.Y., Sept. 27--A week of picketing by Suffolk County CORE resulted in a fair employment agreement with the Gardiner Manor Shopping Center. On one occasion, police dispersed a group of white youths assembled to taunt the pickets.

Under the pact, merchants in the shopping center have agreed to hire at least 35 minority group employees within 60 days, reports Henry Smith, Chairman of Suffolk County CORE. Presently the stores employ only 12 Negroes out of a total of 300.

The agreement is the fifth to be won by the Suffolk County and Long Island CORE groups with major Long Island shopping centers.

# # #

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38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Attn: Jim Peck and Marvin Rich

LAUNCH COMMUNITY-WIDE PROJECT "TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE"

Syracuse, N.Y., Sept. 10: Asserting that "the problems confronting Negroes are hopelessly interrelated," Syracuse CORE has initiated a project calling for a "massive assault on these problems at all levels."

Named "Project 101," because "101 years after the Emancipation Proclamation all men are not free," it includes 108 proposals for desegregating the community and promoting racial harmony. The proposals together with a detailed analysis of the key issues, are included in a 42-page booklet issued by Syracuse CORE and distributed to community leaders.

"Although some of the proposals are bold, some expensive and some require considerable adjustment by the whole community, they represent minimal steps for breaking the treadmill cycle in which the Negro in Syracuse is caught," writes Dr. George Wiley, the CORE group's community relations director, in an introduction to the booklet. "They are quite inexpensive when measured against the ghastly alternatives of Harlem and Rochester."

Dr. Wiley chaired the public meeting at which the project was launched officially. Among community leaders who attended were Acting Mayor Roy Simmons, County Executive John Mulroy and several officials of local corporations. The problems were presented first-hand by five residents of the "15th-ward-ghetto." Following the meeting, Dr. Wiley commented: "possibly it was because of the recent riots in nearby Rochester, but for the first time members of the power structure appeared to be, at least, listening to what we are saying."

Of the 108 proposals, the major ones call for construction of at least 500 units of additional low-income housing by public and private interests, revamping of assignment practices toward desegregating public housing, formulation by each major local business of a program bringing the racial composition of its work force in harmony with that of the community, redistricting the elementary and junior high school systems so that no school will be more than 30% Negro by next fall and creation of a civilian review board on police brutality.

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9/64

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

DISCOVERY OF DEAD BOY CLIMAXES WEEK OF INTIMIDATION

Canton, Mississippi, Sept. 10: Discovery by pulp workers of the dead body of a 14-year old Negro boy in the Big Black River climaxed a week marked by threats, arrests and the dynamiting of a white-owned store patronized by Negroes.

The boy, Herbert Oarsby, who had been wearing a CORE-inscribed T-shirt, was declared missing September 6. The previous day another Negro youth had been observed being forced at gunpoint into a white-driven pickup truck.

It was in the early hours of September 6 that a dynamite blast wrecked Joe & Barb's grocery store, which is owned by Joe Ferguson, a white man, but which has been patronized by Negroes participating in the 9-month-old boycott of downtown stores. Later in the day FBI agents and sheriff's deputies removed eight sticks of unexploded dynamite from underneath another grocery store patronized by the boycotters. The latter store is owned by George Washington, a Negro.

Describing the damage at Joe & Barb's, CORE Task Force worker George Raymond said: "All the windows were blown out and the street was covered with pieces of block, wood and glass. Much of the merchandise was destroyed."

Later in the day, Raymond along with James Sanders, a CORE volunteer, were arrested for "investigation." That evening, Wilbert Robertson, a local civil rights leader and seven other Negroes were picked up by police at a downtown cafe. Two days later, William Forsythe, another CORE volunteer was arrested after accompanying two Negroes to the registrar's office.

During the week parents of two Negro students who had sought to attend the white high school received threats. The mother of Chester Thomas was threatened with eviction by the city auditor who owns the property where the family lives. Another threat came from the city postmaster, James Luder.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

A FREEDOM RIDE INTO OKLAHOMA'S "LITTLE DIXIE"

Oklahoma City, Okla., Sept. 10: Members of the Oklahoma City and Tulsa CORE groups recently boarded a bus to test compliance with the civil rights law in the southeastern part of the state, which is known as "Little Dixie." They decided to charter a bus rather than go in a 14-car motorcade because the director of the state human rights commission had promised police protection if a single vehicle were used.

Such protection proved helpful particularly in the town of Hugo, which characterizes itself as "the city with a smile." "I saw no smiles," writes Allen Cuthbert, a CORE member, in the Oklahoma Black Dispatch. "As we drove through the downtown sections of Hugo, I estimated foom 1,500 to 2,000 people were in the streets, waiting. As the CORE group left the bus and began their various tests, a crowd of hostile and belligerent whites watched.

"As I walked the streets, talking to people, I somehow got the feeling that Oklahoma City was a billion miles away. I walked into one restaurant to talk to the people in the test group. I heard from the hecklers: 'What is this I smell? Is it a cigar? No, it's a nigger.' The owner said: 'the law says I have to serve niggers, but I don't have to serve the whites with them.' (This test group was interracial).

"After all eating establishments were tested, (seven of them served the testers) we headed for the bus. When we got there we found about 150 Negroes who told us they had been watching it for us. Archibald Hill (chairman of Oklahoma City CORE) told them that what CORE had just done would be of no value if they did not follow through. They promised they would.

More-More-More

Several women also made such a promise and CORE has already received their first report."

In the town of Antlers, at the Kiamichi restaurant, which refused service, a crowd of whites surrounded the testers and its spokesman threatened: "You niggers get out of here and take the white trash with you!" One person in the crowd drew a knife and another grabbed the testers' tape recorder. However, the testers were able to leave uninjured.

Despite these incidents, the majority of eating places in the "Little Dixie" area were found to be in compliance with the civil rights law. In Ada, Stonewall and Atoka, the testers were served without incident. At several restaurants which refused service, testers were told that the establishments were for sale. Complaints have been filed against all restaurants which refused service.

Statewide Testing Trips in Missouri

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 10: Eleven Missouri restaurants and one motel have been charged with violation of the federal civil rights law following four test trips by St. Louis CORE covering all parts of the state. The teams went north to Hannibal, west to Jefferson City, to the resort area around Bagnell Dam and to the Bootheel. Lucian Richards, chairman of St. Louis CORE, said that a total of 94 establishments had been tested.

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9/17

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

CORE WORKER ARRESTED ON PHONY CHARGE, BEATEN IN JAIL

Americus, Ga., Sept 17--Zev Aelony, CORE Task Force worker who a year ago was one of four civil rights workers jailed for three months on a death penalty charge under a subsequently voided state insurrection was arrested September 14 on a phony charge and beaten by six whites in the city jail. X-rays are being taken to determine whether any of his ribs are broken. His head is badly bruised.

He was arrested by Patrolman Gay on a charge of not having Georgia license plates--while he was in the process of applying for the plates. Having just returned from a vacation at his home in Minneapolis, his car still carried plates of that state.
"Is that your car?" asked Patrolman Gay. "I've been hearing about it for three weeks: you've been carrying niggers." Aelony insisted that he had been away for the past three weeks and showed a Sears-Roebuck receipt to prove it. But Patrolman Gay arrested him, nevertheless.

Aelony has been working toward formation of a cooperative industry here.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SCHOOL BOARD ADMITS NEGROES FOLLOWING FIRST COMPLAINT UNDER U.S. LAW

Sand Springs, Okla., Sept. 17--Previously all-white Charles Page High School has admitted its first Negro juniors and sophomores following a reversal of policy by the local school board.

After five Negro juniors and sophomores seeking to transfer from the all-Negro Booker T. Washington School had been rejected, a complaint--the first in Oklahoma--was filed under the U.S. civil rights law. Then Rev. K.E. Ray and two Tulsa CORE Spokesmen--James Russell and Eugene Freeman--conferred with U.S. District Attorney John Imel who told them that if the complaint were declared legitimate in Washington, the next step would be an FBI investigation of the Sand Springs school system. The school board's policy reversal followed.

In earlier negotiations, the board had agreed to admit Negro seniors to Page but had refused to admit juniors until 1965 and sophomores until 1966. Speaking fof CORE at those negotiations was Marques Haynes, a local resident who is owner-star of the Harlem Magicians basketball team.

First Rights Suit In Arizona

Tucson, Ariz., Sept. 17--First suit under the U.S. civil rights law in Arizona was filed by Roy Twitty, president of Tucson CORE, against the Truckers' Cafe in Coolidge. When Twitty sought service there on July 4th, Mrs. Andrew Blakeman, wife of the owner, told him: "It is not our policy to serve Negroes inside. We will give you coffee to go." In August the restaurant was picketed.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or James Peck

CORE BANK DRIVE WINS PACT FOR HIRING 8,000

San Francisco, Calif., Sept. 17--A 100-day-long statewide action campaign resulted in an agreement between CORE and the Bank of America, world's biggest bank, under which 8,000 Negroes and Mexican-Americans will be hired within the coming year.

Still being negotiated are CORE demands for hiring by the bank of a skilled human relations director to administer the new job program and for a clause stating that the bank will not enter into subcontracts with businesses which discriminate.

"There are two major by-products of the CORE-Bank of America projects, "Sherman Gerke, San Francisco CORE's public relations director points out in an article in the Sun Reporter. "First is the fact that other banks have 'voluntarily' started hiring Negroes in small numbers. Second is the strengthening of the state Fair Employment Practices Commission. When the bank, in an effort to stall CORE, went to the FEPC, it substantially strengthened the FEPC by involving it in a substantive, affirmative action program."

Twenty-six California chapters of CORE were involved in the 100-day campaign. In many cities throughout the state branches of the bank were the scene's of picketing, sit-ins and coin-ins. The latter is a technique of stalling business by lining-up at tellers' windows to get change. Even as the campaign ended, 11 members of San Diego CORE including the dean of El Cajon's Grossmont Junior College, surrendered to serve one to two-day jail sentences for contempt of an injunction against mass picketing of the Bank of America in that city.

William Bradley, chairman of San Francisco CORE and of the group's statewide negotiating team commented: "It is clear that every bit of progress the bank has made is a direct result of CORE's negotiation and direct action."

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or James Peck

CITY HALL SIT-IN CLIMAXES FIRST RENT STRIKE

Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 17--This city's first rent strike, initiated in early August by Cincinnati CORE against the Standish Apartments, climaxed with a round-the-clock sit-in on the marble hallway floor and outer steps of City Hall.

Two of the sit-inners--Mrs. Judy Menzi, wife of an Episcopal clergyman and Alister Macintyre have been fasting. Clyde Vinegar, who had gone on a 90-day absence leave as Cincinnati CORE chairman, joined the sit-in, explaining: "The CORE membership has called me back as their chairman."

The City Hall protest followed picketing of the home of Irwin Rhodes, landlord of the Standish Apartments, in an attempt to get him to sign a 9-point agreement to make much-needed repairs and reinstate Elijah O'Toole, the caretaker fired after the rent strike started.

Following a CORE-conducted inspection tour on the eve of the rent strike, the Cleveland Call & Post reported: "Tenants said the building was infested with roaches and rats. They complained of bad wiring, bad plumbing, falling plaster, broken windows, town screens, poor lighting and poor heating during the cold winter months. The tour through the building revealed the complaints to be valid.

Gladly Cedes Apartment to Negro Who Applied First

Boston, Mass., Sept. 17--"I liked the apartment but if I was given preference because I am white and he is Negro, it is a preference I do not want." So stated Robert Terwilliger, Jr., a teaching fellow at Boston University in ceding the apartment he had rented to James Bishop, a Negro.

Bishop had applied for the apartment before Terwilliger and was quoted by the superintendent a monthly rental $10 higher than that quoted to two white CORE testers.

More-More-More

He left a deposit, nevertheless, but upon returning two days later, was told the apartment had been rented. James Moss, owner of the building was summoned and upon examining the facts, agreed that the Negro was entitled to the apartment. The only obstacle was Terwilliger's occupancy and that was overcome by the latter's goodwill. Boston CORE Chairman Alan Gartner described the incident as "an example of all-round good faith compliance with fair housing legislation.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

LOUISIANA CANNING FIRM RELENTS--CORE BOYCOTT ENDED

St. Francisville, La., Sept. 24: The Princeville Canning Company which had notified 150 Negro farmers, many of them voter registrants, that they would not get contracts for their sweet potatoes this year, has relented.

With the beginning of the harvest, the firm has sent these Negro farmers letters saying: "If you raised any sweet potatoes this summer and would like to sell them, Princeville Canning Company will be glad to purchase from non-contractors as well as contractors."

Commenting on the company's action, CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore said: "Princeville's letter to the farmers without contract is a CORE victory. One factor was the appearance here--at CORE's urging--of William Bay, a Chicago merchant, who expressed desire to buy the farmers' sweet potatoes this year and next."

Another factor was the national CORE boycott of Princeville products, which are sold in supermarkets under the trade names "Royal Prince" and "Jack-O-Lantern." A spokesman for one supermarket chain--Daitch-Shopwell--had met with CORE National Director James Farmer and had agreed to cease buying Princeville products.

The CORE boycott was ended after Princeville dispatched its letter to the Negro farmers. The company is the only market in this area for sweet potatoes, the main crop and hence the Negro farmers who had been denied their usual annual contracts faced a desperate plight. At present CORE is helping these farmers to form a cooperative.

In this parish of West Feliciana, no Negro had registered to vote from reconstruction days until last October.

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38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REFER: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

CITY HALL SIT-IN WINS BROAD SLUM PROBE

Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 24--An eight-day, round-the-clock, CORE sit-in at City Hall in which up to 100 persons at a time participated, ended when the City Council's special committee on housing and urban development agreed to a thorough investigation of slum housing. The committee's chairman, Willis Gradison, proposed that the City Council's nine members make a personal tour to eyewitness prevailing conditions.

The agreement was reached at a meeting of the special committee held at CORE's request. At the meeting, the building commissioner agreed to start compiling a list of building owners under order to correct defective conditions. Previously only records of the actual buildings were maintained.

Regarding the Standish Apartments, whose rent strike--the first in Cincinnati--had prompted the City Hall sit-in, the safety commissioner admitted that building regulations could have been enforced "to the letter of the law" but argued that this might have meant evictions. George Ferguson, chairman of CORE's housing committee, had charged that the health, county welfare and building departments all had shown favoritism toward Standish Apartments.

Cincinnati CORE Chairman Clyde Vinegar stated that along with the promised city probe "CORE will continue its own investigation into slum housing and more rent strikes will take place if landlords fail to comply with existing building and health codes."

Saturday "Voter-Cades"

Cincinnati CORE and NAACP have joined in a series of Saturday "voter-cades" in which volunteer cars and chaurch buses transport proppective registrants to the Board of Elections. The first "voter-cade" brought in more than 200 registrants.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

FIRST FREEDOM DAY IN TOWN WHERE RIGHTS WORKERS WERE KILLED

Philadelphia, Miss., Oct. 1--Thirty Negroes lined up at the courthouse on Sept. 14, the First Freedom Day in this town where three civil rights workers were murdered last June. All 30 succeeded in registering. But Allan Schiffman, a CORE observer, was arrested for "failing to obey a police order."

A week later, six more Negroes came to register but were turned away on grounds that they could not do so while court is in session. A suit has been filed as a consequence and a major county-wide freedom rally, the second to be held, is set for October 4. The first was attended by over 250 persons.

Following Freedom Day, the intimidation which marked the first week's operation of the local COFO headquarters was resumed, reports CORE Task Force Worker James Collier. Cars filled with insult-shouting whites drove past ; the building. One white who intruded and assaulted a voter registration worker, was arrested for drunkenness.

On the night of September 17, a Choctaw Indian church, which the voter registration workers had planned to visit and the church of Rev. Clint Collier, who has been active in the voter drive, were bombed and totally destroyed. Six days later, 50 Negro students were expelled from school for wearing CORE "Freedom Now" buttons. All but six have been reinstated.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

OCEAN CITY DESEGREGATION COMPLETE---CORE CONGRATULATES MAYOR

Baltimore, Md., Oct. 1--Completion of "quiet and peaceful transition" to integration in Maryland's biggest seaside resort has brought a letter of congratulations to Mayor Hugh Cropper from James Griffin, chairman of Baltimore CORE.

The letter was prompted by a visit to Ocean City by Walter Carter, former chairman of Baltimore CORE and his family during the last weekend of August in which they "enjoyed the ocean, the food and the housing accomodations without mishap" and "were not exposed to a single racial remark."

Carter's weekend marked the conclusion of a CORE program of testing and n negotiations which started two summers ago. The beach, boardwalk and several restaurants were desegregated during the summer of 1962, Griffin recalls in his letter. The work of the city's biracial commission the following summer, particularly its ruling that the remaining restaurants were to be integrated was a "leap forward." At the start of this past summer, the commission informed CORE that the hotels and motels would be open and this was verified by CORE tests.

"We are pleased that this type of vacation can now be enjoyed by all families who can afford it," Griffin's letter concludes. "It is even more gratifying that this goal was reached peacefully, without one single demonstration.

Ocean City is in a county exempted from the state public accomodations law.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

VOTER REGISTRATION HIGHLIGHTS

CORE Leader Wins in Special Primary

Oklahoma City, Pkla., Oct. 1--Archibald Hill, chairman of Oklahoma City CORE, defeated his white rivals as a Democratic candidate for the State House of Representatives in a special primary election ordered by a federal court over the reapportionment issue. John White, also a Negro, won another House nomination and Melvin Porter, a Negro, won Democratic nomination for the State Senate.

Register 15,000 Negroes in Goldwater's Home Town

Phoenix, Ariz., Oct. 1--As a consequence of a voter registration drive by Phoenix CORE, 15,000 Negroes have registered in this home city of Barry Goldwater, so reported Chet Duncan, CORE's western field secretary.

Woman of 87 Registers in Howard Smith's District

Arlington, Va., Oct. 1--An 87 year-old woman, Mrs. Clara Green, is the most aged person to register in the CORE voter drive in this district of Representative Howard Smith, veteran ultra-segregationist in Congress. Mrs. Green is one of 1,005 Negroes registered, reports John Robinson, director of the campaign.

CORE Worker to Run in Mississippi

Canton, Miss., Oct. 1--CORE Task Force Worker Annie Devine will run against Arthur Winstead, the Eastland candidate, as Congressional representative from the fourth district.

Voter Drives Credited for Sharp Boost

Amityville, N.Y.--Following announcements by elections commissioners that voter registration on Long Island has increased sharply by 33,000, Henry Smith, chairman of Suffolk County CORE attributed this to the summer-long voter drives conducted by his group in that county and by Long Island CORE in Nassau County.

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

SIT-IN WINS CAMPAIGN AGAINST FORCED LABOR

Oakland, Calif., Oct. 1--A five-day sit-in at the Alameda County Welfare Building brought reversal of a policy of forcing welfare recipients to either accept underpaid farm work or forego their welfare benefits.

"After negotiations which lasted nearly six hours, the Welfare Rights Organization, with the support of CORE, was successful in settling all six of the cases involved," reports Chet Duncan, CORE's Western Regional Field Secretary.

"At 5:05 p.m., an officer from the Department of the County Sheriff announced that the building where the sit-in was in progress would be closed to all but employees and gave us four minutes to leave. All 35 of us remained seated. Two of us, a member of Berkely CORE and myself, were carried out. As I was dumped on the front steps, news of the victory was announced and members of both the Welfare Rights Organization and CORE gathered around and sang freedom songs."

Unemployment Demonstration at City Hall

Tucson, Ariz., Oct. 1--Over 20 members of Tucson CORE, carrying placards and banners, assembled in El Presidio Park recently and then marched into City Hall where the City Council was in executive session. They handed a five-point program to alleviate unemployment to Mayor Lew Davis and City Council members.

The first demand is that the city cease using prisoners to work for the park and sanitation departments and, instead, employ individuals who need work. Others call for passage of a local FEPC ordinance, utilization of federal funds for urban renewal, application for federal funds from the War on Poverty Act and bringing to Tucson new industries which will hire on a non-discriminatory basis.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ARREST DEPUTY, SHERIFF---BUT NOT ON TRIPLE MURDER CHARGE

Philadelphia, Miss., Oct. 8--Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price, the officer who arrested three civil rights workers on the eve of their murder last June and released them at 10:30 p.m., was, himself, arrested on October 3. Also arrested was Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, who threatened to evict voter registration workers when they established a community center here in late August.

The arrests of the sheriff and his deputy--along with ex-Sheriff E. G. Barnett and two city policemen, Richard Willis and O. N. Burkes, followed their indictments by a federal grand jury in Biloxi. Charged with conspiracy as law officers to deprive Negroes of their constitutional rights, the five were arraigned in Meridian and released on $1,000 to $2,000 bail each. They were out in time to police a major freedom rally held the following day in Philadelphia.

When the sealed indictments had been returned by the federal grand jury, persons close to the investigation said they were in connection with the murder last June of CORE Task Force workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, a student volunteer. However, the indictments involve incidents which occurred long before--last January 26 and in October, 1962.

On the more recent date the sheriff and his deputies are charged with arresting a Negro for drunkenness and beating him over the head with a blackjack so that he required five months hospitalization. In October, 1962, all five arrested officers are accused of beating, with leather straps, five Negroes arrested on cow-stealing charges.

CORE Finances Building of New Community Center

Harmony, Miss., Oct. 8--A new community center in this small Negro village is being contructed by volunteers with building materials donated by CORE. CORE Field Secretary Jerome Smith is supervising and working on the construction.

Harmony is adjacent to Carthage, seat of Leake county, where schools are under a federal desegregation order and where this fall, Deborah Lewis became the first Negro student to attend a local white school.

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE PICKETS SUPPORT UNION DEMANDS FOR RECOGNITION

New York, N.Y., Oct. 8--Two CORE groups in New York picketed recently in support of union demands for recognition by non-proft institutions which are exempt from labor laws.

Columbia University CORE picketed the John Jay Hall cafeteria in protest over the university's refusal to bargain with Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union. Michael Fluge, chairman of the group, charged that management had threatened to dismiss cafeteria employees who unionize.

Downtown CORE joined a picket line of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union at the Hospital for Joint Diseases. Chris Sprowal, chairman of the group, announced: "Our members have joined the picket line and will take any future action necessary to aid the workers." New York City and Long Island CORE groups frequently have joined the picket lines of Local 1199, whose economic struggles are linked particularly closely to the issue of discrimination.

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RECORD MONTH IN LOUISIANA VOTER CAMPAIGN

Baton Rouge, La., Oct. 8--"We registered a total of 1,082 persons in September--the highest number for any single month since CORE started its Louisiana voter registration campaign two years ago," report CORE Field Secretary Ronnie Moore, who has led the drive over the two-year period. The figure covers a total of 13 parishes in the fourth and fifth congressional districts.

Pointing out that "the existence of biased registrars and the limitation of federal action still constitute a major obstacle," Moore says in his report: "The only factor which made it possible for us to make such a gain was the sudden and enormous concern of the Negro people motivated by their desire to defeat or at least put the strongest voting protest possible against Barry Goldwater."

Asserting that discrimination is 'just one of the problems,' he states: "Negro voter applicants and civil rights workers constantly are harassed, arrested, prosecuted and subjected to economic, political and physical reprisals by private citizens, public officials and sometimes businesses."

TRIPLE REGISTRATION IN FLORIDA COUNTY

Quincy, Fla., Oct. 8--The number of Negroes registered in Gadsden county more than tripled during a three-month concentrated registration campaign conducted by CORE. This was reported by CORE Task Force Workers David McVoy and Stuart Wechsler, both of whom were arrested on phony charges during the campaign. The total number of Negroes registered rose from 1,425 on July 7 to 4,755 on October 3 when the report was issued. Substantial increases in Negro registration also were made in three other northwestern Florida counties involved in the CORE drive.

"Not only have 5400 Negroes been registered in the four counties, but there has arisen a realization among members of the community theat change is possible. Task Force Workers, both Negro and white, have been accepted readily by the community and in general there has been community support for the project."

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Attn: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CHAIN-IN SPOTLIGHTS DEMAND FOR U.S. ACTION IN DEEP SOUTH

New York, N.Y., Oct. 14--Ten members of CORE groups in the New York area, each with a placard bearing one letter of the slogan "Freedom Now,", chained themselves to the front pillars of the federal building here the morning of October 14. Five others, with placard-portraits of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi on June 21, stood on the building's steps.

In mid-afternoon, the ten chained to the columns had their padlocks unlocked by other CORE members and re-chained themselves inside the three revolving doors leading into the building. There they remained until the end of the working day. Although the demonstrators were prepared to jail-in if arrested, there were no arrests. The coordinator was Louis Smith, regional CORE Field Secretary.

The demonstration, coinciding with President Johnson's campaign appearances in this area, was aimed at dramatizing CORE's demand for increased federal protection of civil rights activities in the deep south.

These demands were presented personally to President Johnson by members of Bergen County CORE and Newark-Essex CORE as he spoke at a big northern New Jersey shopping center. Members of the groups carried nine coffins to symbolize the total number of persons killed throughout the summer in Mississippi.

In Worcester, ten CORE members sat-in at the F.B.I. office and in Boston, a CORE committee conferred with Representative John McCormack.

# # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

STUDENT SITDOWNERS FOIL ARREST OF CORE MAN IN POLICE CAR

Berkely, Calif., Oct. 14--Jack Weinberg, a University of California ex-student and a member of Berkely CORE, was arrested for "trespassing' in connection with a three-day student protest action over a no-politics-on-campus ruling, and was put in a police car. But the arrest proceedings stopped there because several hundred students surrounded the police car and conducted a sitdown which lasted 30 hours.

After the first 24 hours, the Oakland Tribune commented: "Jack Weinberg, 24, graduated 'with great distinction' from the University of California in mathematics in 1963, today holds another kind of distinction. He has passed the 24-hour mark in the back seat of a campus police car as hostage to ideals of University of California student protestors."

Weinberg never did get to the police station, because as part of a settlement negotiated between the students and the administration, the "trespassing" charge against him was dropped. Also, a faculty committee will review the suspension of eight students who openly challenged the ban by setting-up booths and soliciting funds for CORE, SNCC and SLATE (a campus political group) outside the administration building.

As for the no-politics-on-campus ruling, which set off the protest action, it will be reviewed by a student-faculty-administration committee.

# # #

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE DECAL USED IN FAIR HOUSING CAMPAIGN

Mill Valley, Calif., Oct. 15--A CORE fair housing decal, which realtors can place in their windows, is being used by Marin County CORE in its campaign for housing equality.

First realtor to display it was Maggi Walker of Larkspur. Within a month after its preparation, 17 firms were displaying the decal.

According to Joan Corbett, chairman of the CORE group's housing committee, Marin County is virtually lily-white with Negroes confined to the ghetto area of Marin City.

# # #

38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN CAMPAIGN TO KEEP BUS TERMINAL OUT OF RESIDENTIAL AREA

Syracuse, N.Y., Oct. 22--Syracuse CORE has won its campaign to keep Greyhound Bus Lines from relocating its terminal in a Negro residential area and is now distributing leaflets, door-to-door, pointing out that "nonviolent protest works" in solving community problems.

The leaflet distribution started following Greyhound's announcement that it would seek a terminal site other than the one on Adams Street, despite approval of that site by City Hall. The proposed Adams Street location had been protested by the Negro community.

The "nonviolent protest" included three weeks of nightly picketing outside the present terminal and several demonstrations inside.

"Operation Stand-Up"

Springfield, Mass., Oct. 22--"Operation Stand-Up" is the name of a program launched by Springfield CORE to get residents of minority group neighborhoods to stand up against poor housing conditions.

Under the program, CORE members will visit residents of these neighborhoods armed with the Health Department's information sheeet on proper maintenance and will encourage the filing of complaints inccases where the landlord "is not meeting his legal responsibilities," explained CORE Chairman Oscar Bright.

"One thing we'll be watching for," he added, "is rent increases after complaints are lodged. If a resident's rent is raised right after making a complaint, we're going to do all we can to find him new quarters."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

PICKET BOARD MEMBERS' HOMES IN FAIR JOB CAMPAIGN

Newark, N.J., Oct. 22--Newark-Essex CORE has started to picket the homes of members of the Board of Directors of Hoffman-LaRoce, Inc. in an effort to get this major drug firm to negotiate a fair employment agreement. At present, less than three percent of the company's 4,000 local employees are non-white, asserts Richard Proctor, Jr., chairman of the group's employment committee.

Negotiations started in July and picketing of the plant, which is located in Nutley, has been in progress since September.

Recently the group sent letters to some 300 doctors in the area urging them to stop using the company's products and to appeal to management for adoption of a fair employment policy. A substantial number of the doctors have responded favorably, Proctor reports.

The CORE group also has filed a complaint with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

# # #

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

FIRST FREEDOM DAY APPLICANT IN PHILADELPHIA IS REGISTERED

Philadelphia, Miss., Oct. 22--Rev. Melvin Kirkland, a lifelong resident of Neshoba county, became the first Negro registered of 30 who lined-up at the courthouse and took their tests on Freedom Day, September 14, in this community where three civil rights workers were murdered last June.

Upon inquiring at the courthouse on October 16, he was informed that he had passed the test. On five occasions since 1952 he took the examination, only to be told that he had failed. The 29 others who took test on Freedom Day will find out the results soon.

Rev. Kirkland, a retired clergyman and farmer, lives only half a mile from Mount Zion Baptist Church, which was burned to the ground on June 15. It was to investigate this church burning that the three civil rights workers had journeyed to Philadelphia on the eve of their murder. Rev. Kirkland met them on that occasion. It was his first meeting with Andrew Goodman, student volunteer, but he had known CORE Task Force Workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner when they first came into the county in April.

Add 17 to Mississippi Staff

To continue the Mississippi program following the departure of the summer student volunteers, CORE has added 17 Task Force workes to its Mississippi staff. They have been assigned as field-organizers, Freedom School teachers and community center directors.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

PICKETS AT "NIGHT IN OLD SAN ANTONIO" REMIND SOUTHERN GOVERNORS OF TODAY

San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 29--While 16 southern governors, some of them wearing sombreros, attended a special staging of "A Night in Old San Antonio" and while, according to the San Antonio News "Governor George Wallace of Alabama sampled his anticuchos and declared with a smile: 'This is good country,'' CORE pickets reminded them of present day issues.

Four of the demonstrators carried a coffin representing the death of segregation. Others marched with placards saying: "Moral Evil Invades San Antonio", "Governors, Would You Rather Fight than Switch?" and "Where Is Democracy?"

The "A Night in Old San Antonio" program was staged by the city administration in La Villita's Juarex Plaza in conjunction with the 30th annual conference of southern governors.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

"NO DEALS LIKE LAST YEAR" ON FAIR HOUSING

Providence, R. I., Oct. 29--"Will You Sell Us Out Again?", "Yes Now, No Later?", "No Deals Like Last Year", "Fair Housing Now!"

With these picket sign slogans, members of Rhode Island CORE warned delegates to the Democratic State Convention against a repeat performance of last year when the Democratic-controlled Rhode Island House of Representatives defeated a fair housing bill.

"If the Democratic Party is unwilling to support fair housing completely, then we urge them to cease the hypocrisy of including it in their platform," siad Rhode Island CORE Chairman William Cosgrove, who led the pickets. Cosgrove, who is Assistant Professor of German at Brown University, urged the Democrats to withold endorsement from candidates opposed to fair housing.

Last year, under the chairmanship of Rev. Arthur Hardge, the CORE group concentrated on the housing issue and conducted a series of dramatic demonstrations inside the House both before and after defeat of the housing legislation.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE LEADER ARRESTED IN PROTEST AGAINST PRISON LABOR

Tucson, Ariz., Oct. 29--Roy Twitty, President of Tucson CORE, was arrested during the group's first demonstration against use of prison labor by the sanitation and park departments.

Seized by police as he stood in the entranceway to the city garbage truck garage, he was charged with loitering and trespassing on city property. Bond was set at $10, but Twitty announced he would go to jail and fast for three days.

That day, the trucks left the garage without their usual load of prisoners. "The refuse collection superintendent decided not to work them only because they were not needed today," explained City Manager Mark Keane.

Tucson CORE had warned that nonviolent action would take place unless Keane yielded by October 15 on the prison labor issue. Twitty pointed out that at least 100 jobs would be opened by elimination of prison labor.

Supporting CORE's position, the Tucson chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union wrote the mayor: "Prison labor should not take the place of paid employment when there are so many men in Tucson who are willing to work but cannot find jobs."

To spotlight the local unemployment situation, Tucson CORE recently marched on City Hall where the City Council was in executive session and presented a five-point program. The first point called for the city's ceasing to use prisoners in the sanitation and park departments.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

ELECTION HIGHLIGHTS - NORTH AND SOUTH

In Quincy, Florida, seat of Gadsden county, where CORE conducted a concentrated voter registration drive throughout the summer, Goldwater placards had been placed illegally both inside and outside the registrar's office. Yet Goldwater won the county by only 190 votes, receiving 4,566 against 4,376 for Johnson. Of the Johnson votes, 4,097 of them were cast by Negroes. The Negro turnout for the county was 92% and in some precincts it was 100%. The first Negro ever to run for elective office in the area, Jewel Dixie, received 1,529 write-in votes for sheriff.

While the county was not quite won for Johnson, the Negro vote--plus the Negro vote in other parts of Florida generally and, specifically, in Miami's Dade County, where CORE had conducted an intensive registration drive, carried the state for Johnson--in contrast to the other deep south states.

In St. Francisville, Louisiana, seat of West Feliciana parish, it was the first time in this century that Negroes had voted. All 36 Negroes who had registered turned out to vote. Only a year ago, Rev. Joseph Carter became the first Negro to register since reconstruction. A totally small, but relatively sizeable, number of Negroes voted in other parishes where CORE has been engaged in registration campaigns.

In Mississippi, where the majority of Negroes still are disfranchised, over 67,000 Negroes expressed their desire to go to the polls by voting in a mock election conducted by the Freedom Democratic Party. They cast their ballots for four Negro Congressional candidates--Aaron Henry, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Annie Devine and Mrs. Virginia Gray.

-more-

Although Goldwater carried the state of Georgia, Charles Weltner, the Democratic incumbent, defeated his Republican rival by 10,000 votes in the fifth congressional district (Atlanta). A Negro vote of more then 31,000 was responsible. In the fourth congressional district, according to a New York Times survey: "Atlanta political observers concur that the total Negro vote was greater than the margin by which James Mackay, the Democratic candidate, defeated Roscoe Pickett, Republican."

The Times survey concluded that "a massive Negro vote was the decisive or an important element" both "in certain southern and border states...as well as in the north."

Other specific examples given in the survey are "the victory of George Grider over his Republican rival, Robert James, in the ninth congressional district of Tennessee (Memphis) and "the third congressional district in Kentucky (Louisville), where former Mayor Charles Farnsley defeated the Republican incumbent, M. G. Snyder." The survey also points out that "the large Negro vote for Senator Ralph Yarborough, Democrat of Texas was conclusive."

In Cincinnati, "the heavy Negro vote was considered the main cause of the defeat of Rep. Carl Rich, Republican in the first congressional district who had never been defeated in his political career and was considered unbeatable" and in Indianapolis "the same forces that were at work in the south and elsewhere in the north put the Republican candidate for the House out of the running."

In New York State, John Pillion, the only congessman to vote against the Civil Rights Bill, was defeated. Rep. George Meader of Michigan and Ben Jensen of Iowa, who also had voted against the bill, were likewise defeated.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

"DEEDS--NOT WORDS" IS SLOGAN OF SEATTLE'S DOWNTOWN BOYCOTT

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 6--"We Need Deeds--Not Words. Don't Shop Downtown. The Downtown Boycott is On." These slogans appear atop the most recent issue of Seattle CORE's newsletter. D.E.E.D.S. are the initials for the CORE program: Drive for Equal Employment in Downtown Seattle.

Its goal is 1,200 new jobs by next year without cutting into white employment. Widespread picketing and leaflet distribution is planned in conjunction with the campaign.

The boycott had been scheduled to start earlier, after downtown employers failed to meet CORE's demand for 300 Negro and minority group jobs by September 1. But action was postponed because of a Chamber of Commerce promise to hold a "Jobs Fair" in mid-October to which employers would come with at least 200 adequate employment offers. However, the "Jobs Fair" was postponed for at least a month, if not longer.

"In the negotiations between civil rights groups and business, nobody has disputed CORE's figures that Negroes hold less than 2% of retail trade jobs, less than 3% of office jobs and only 1% of the jobs in banking, insurance, real estate and related fields," report the Seattle Daily Times. "CORE says Negroes spend $12 million downtown annually and Negroes account for 5% of all sales generally."

The Times article concludes: "One civil rights leader was critical of CORE's present tactics, but acknowledged CORE was facing up to the most basic issue in the Negro's struggle for equality--jobs."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Jim Peck or Marvin Rich

REVERSE CONVICTIONS OF OVER 200 ALABAMA DEMONSTRATORS

Montgomer, Ala., Nov. 6--The Alabama Court of Appeals has reversed the contempt convictions of over 200 nonviolent demonstrators arrested in Gadsden during the summer of 1963 in a local desegregation campaign led by CORE and marked by brutality on the part of cattle-prod-swinging state troopers.

Accused of violating an injunction against protest marches, the demonstrators had been summarily arrested and jailed without being charged and without bail. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, under an agreement with CORE, handled the Gadsden cases, then sought habeas corpus writs. These were denied, but the judge finally agreed to set bail.

"The now famous case of Miss Mary Hamilton arose at the original hearing of the habeas corpus petition, as Miss Hamilton, a CORE Field Worker, was cited for contempt when she refused to answer questions so long as the prosecutor addressed her by her first name," recalls The Atlanta World in reporting the Alabama high court's decision. "Legal Defense Fund lawyers won a historic decision last spring when the United States Supreme Court held that Miss Hamilton be addressed with a courtesy title, as befits the dignity of all American citizens."

In another recent decision, the Alabama Court of Appeals reversed the convictions of 12 CORE Freedom Walkers arrested for trying to complete the walk started by William Moore, the postman, who was murdered on the night of April 23, 1963. The 12, including CORE Assistant National Director Richard Haley, had jailed-in for a month awaiting trial.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE STATEMENT ON NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS

New York, N.Y., Nov. 6--The following statement on the outcome of the national election has been issued by CORE National Director James Farmer.

"The Amercan people have shown their good sense. They have voted on the basis of issues and not of prejudice. They have repudiated the Goldwaterites who have themselves repudiated America's traditions and her hopes.

'We in CORE are proud of the constructive role played by hundreds of thousands of Negro voters, many of whom have made great sacrifices to enroll and vote. We believe that we have provided the margin of victory in such southern states as Florida, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina.

'We offer our support to President Johnson and Vice-President Humphrey in building the Good Society for all our citizens. We urge all of those elected to go about the constructive tasks of building that society at every level of government--federal, state and local. We must open up new avenues to peaceful settlements abroad, eliminate poverty and sectionalism at home. In civil rights there must be federal protection for those risking their lives to secure the vote and the rights granted all citizens by our Constitution.

'We also call upon the new Congress to so organize itself that those who have publicly repudiated the Democratic party will be repudiated by it. We urge that Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Representative Albert Watson of South Carolina be denied membership in the Democratic caucus.

'The passage of Proposition 14 in California is unfortunate. The proposition is patently unconstitutional and will be repudiated in the courts. However, the passage of such a measure indicates that we must redouble our efforts to inform the public and to register and organize for political action. This will be done."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

CORE Radio System

CAPTION

To avert a repeat performance of the lack of communications which prevented three civil rights workers, prior to their murders last June, from giving warning of the danger they faced, this antenna for a two-way radio system has been set up atop the roof of the home of Rev. Melvin Kirkland near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The two-way radio system enables contact with civil rights workers who are out canvassing and working on voter registration. Rev. Kirkland is the first Negro registered of 30 who took their tests on Philadelphia's first Freedom Day, September 14.

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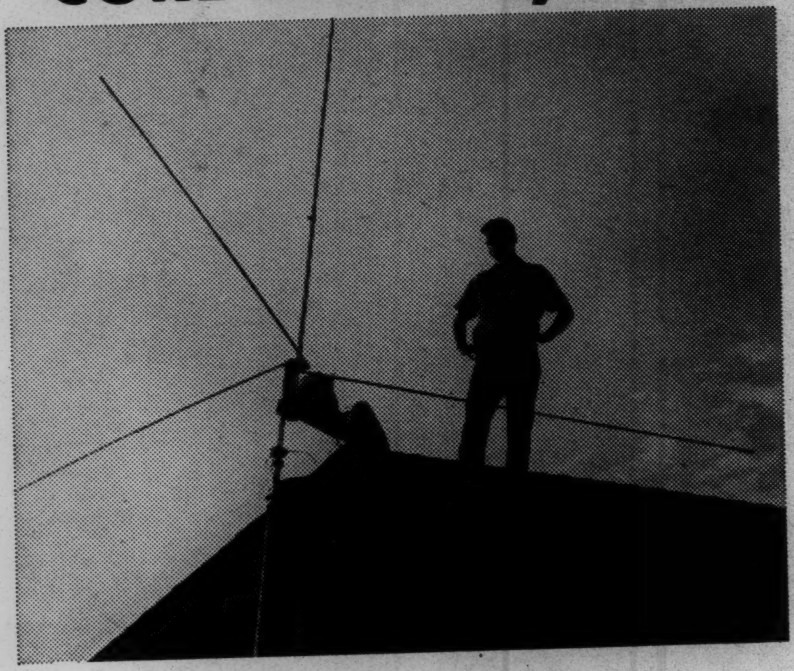
CORE Radio System



NOV 9 1964

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
Western States Region
2085 Sutter Street, San Francisco.
JO. 7-3430

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (Shirley Mesher - Public Relations.)

MAJOR POSITION PAPER - CORE REACTION TO PASSAGE OF PROPOSITION 14.
Issued by Harold K. Brown (San Diego - 262-0292) - State-wide Housing Chr.
and Vice Chairman, Western States Region of CORE.

With only one small county narrowly defeating Proposition 14, the entire state of California must share the guilt, shame and burden of obvious prejudice and bigotry. This can be the only real meaning of a vote that has made segregation and bigotry legal.

It has stripped off the thin facade of "good will" and the plea that "most people really want to do the right and moral thing". No matter what excuse anyone gives, there was in this case only one 'right'.

It has been suggested by some that demonstrations and sit-ins etc. which happened almost a year ago 'turned' the public against fair housing. How rediculous and weak is such baseless thinking. If people really believed in equality and justice and the rights of men, they would not suddenly stop believing even if they did not approve of certain tactics used to gain these ends. Certainly, it would only cause them to work harder and more urgently and effect the same results through other means. It has been precisely the failur of other means and the failure of response from individuals and those in influential positions that caused civil rights groups to turn to non-violent direct action.

This issue was of tremendous importance and its ramifications are bound to be felt throughout the nation. And no amount of apologies will now soothe the anger, disgust and distrust felt by the minority communities in California and throughout the United States ... indeed, throughout the world. These are not matters - human rights and dignity - that legislation can deny. These are inherent rights of every American citizen and the majority - no matter how loudly or powerfully they express themselves - can in fact take away the rights of part of their citizenry.

The Congress of Racial Equality is fully convinced - and has been from the beginning - that this far ranging segregationist amendment to the California State Constitution is illegal and that the courts will declare it so. Never-the-less, since it was on the ballot, the populous of this state had a unique opportunity to show their 'good faith' and intentions and to respond boldly, morally and sympathetically to the righteous cry of their fellow man.

(more)

They heavily spurned the opportunity and instead chose to strike out and stamp on the very heart and head of their minority populations; and at the same time they allowed such hate and racist organizations as the John Birch Society to flourish and the White Citizen's Council to organize in several cities in the state. What a sad and hineous day to be recorded in the annals of American History. California need no longer look with pretended disgust at the South and shake a finger at their crimes. For this vote has shown once again that the North is no better than the South...only that it pretends to be different and has an illusion of being "fair". This hypocracy and double-talk is even worse.

We know that many thousands of Californians answered the call and put in countless hours working for the defeat of Proposition 14. We know and appreciate this. All California CORE chapters also worked quietly, hard and long - in close cooperation with Californians Against Proposition 14 - during the summer and up through the closing of the polls on election day. And also to no avail.)

The united effort of thousands and thousands of volunteers, hundreds of endorsing organizations, top legal and social opinions and literature in abundance was not able to avert the crushing defeat on this issue. CORE also then hopes that the newspapers, clergy, elected officials, civic leaders, labor leaders, lawyers, doctors, dentists, businessmen and workers, housewifes, students and all others that campaigned so intensely will now know that sadly and pitifully, this is not the way nor the answer. That, unfortunately, as much as we would like to see it otherwise, the only way is through stronger pressures...pressures that make escape and denial impossible...pressures that force the self-imposed 'blind' to open their eyes to reality.

CORE will support every effort to have a swift decision from the courts declaring this Amendment unconstitutional and illegal. In the meantime, we will continue to fight for unsegregated housing and try to establish and build fair housing listing services in cooperation with other agencies. And we will also insist that 'the-letter-of-the-law' be observed by the Federal government in denying - as they must, due to discrimination - any future FHA loans in the State of California and some $270 million Federal aid ear-marked for Urban Renewal in California. Urban Renewal is already under way in about 37 cities in the state ...and part of the $276.6 million now involved might also be recinded. If California wants to discriminate and practice bigotry, then they must know and feel the penalties - including the tremendous cost in funds to the state and in jobs which will be lost as a result.

(more)

Those who fought so hard for a NO on 14 have now tasted and shared in a small part of the depth of constant frustration that the Negro and other minorities suffer and despair of every day of their life. They should now understand and will perhaps join us as we return to negotiations and a heavy non-violent action program to accomplish the rest of the job in all phases of civil rights ... to give every American his first class rights ... to give him his dignity. And if our moderate methods fail to gain significant results, then surely very shortly there will be others that will seek and practice much more extreme actions.

All sincerely of 'good faith' might as well face the ugly realities of the situation and look at it honestly. The "streets" might not be the "best" way, but - in our corrupted and warped and sick society - it is obviously the only way!

We Shall Overcome!

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CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

PICKET THREAT CAUSES TRANSFER OF POLICEMAN WHO KILLED BOY

Brooklyn, N.Y., Nov. 12--A CORE picket demonstration planned for the 92nd precinct resulted in the reassignment of Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan "to an undisclosed post."

On "sick leave" since July 16 when he fatally shot 15-year-old James Powell and thus set off the Harlem riots, Gilligan had been scheduled for assignment to the 92nd precinct. The assignment followed his exoneration by a county grand jury and by a police departmental review board.

Regarding the departmental review board's action, Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE, asserted that it "reemphasizes the need for a civilian review board in cases of police brutality." He added that "this is the real issue--not Gilligan." He deplored the fact "that the police department has refused to consider the moral issues of Gilligan's callous attitude toward human life."

Demonstrate at East St. Louis Police Station

East St. Louis, Ill., Nov. 12--A group of over 60 demonstrators, led by East St. Louis CORE Chairman Homer Randolph, sang freedom songs and prayed in the desk sergeant's office at police headquarters here.

"Police, to protect themselves from the singing invaders, locked doors of all departments inside the station, except that leading to the desk sergeant," reports the East St. Louis Journal.

The demonstrators were protesting the police department's failure to suspend Sergeant Raymond Hill and Patrolman Robert Cox pending investigation of the beating of 19-year-old Willie Ward following his arrest in a minor traffic accident.

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CO 7-6270

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WIN CAMPAIGN AGAINST BIAS IN PUBLIC HOUSING

Richmond, Calif., Nov. 12 -- A CORE campaign against discriminatory practices by the Richmond Housing Authority, ended when, following a negotiations session, the housing commissioners unanimously adopted a resolution embodying CORE demands.

Negotiations had been in progress since a sleep-in demonstration last August at the agency's headquarters. At that time CORE presented the agency with an 8-point "Equal Opportunity Housing Program."

The resolution adopted by the housing commsssioners, according to the Richmond Independent: "covers equality in maintenance, in provision of supplies and suppliers, employes of the RHA, sub and prime contractors and establishes courteous treatment for all tenants. It provides allocation of vacancies on a basis of the order applications are received, sets standard procedures for RHA and calls for giving CORE any statistics which RHA can legally furnish."

In connection with the latter provision, at which RHA previously had balked, the housing agency has asked the state attorney general's office to supply the requested statistics. CORE maintains that not enough Negroes are admitted to RHA housing units. During the negotiations, Mrs. Savanna Bello, spokesman for Richmond CORE, pointed out that Negroes constitute 23% of Richmond's population.

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DEMONSTRATE IN CANADA AGAINST AWARD TO BIASED U.S. UTILITY

Montreal, Canada, Nov. 19--What probably was the first CORE demonstration in Canada was conducted here on November 13 by 32 pickets from CORE groups in Syracuse and Utica, New York.

They picketed the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, where the World Congress on Public Relations was presenting an award to the Niagara-Mohawk Co., major upstate New York utility, "for presenting the best public relations image." The two CORE groups have been campaigning to get Niagara-Mohawk to adopt a fair employment policy.

The pickets journeyed to Montreal by auto. They were delayed a half-hour at the border, when Canadian immigration officials detected the picket signs in the cars.

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CORE PICKETS NATIONAL REALTORS CONVENTION

Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 19--Los Angeles CORE picketed the 57th annual convention of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, at which the realtors' president, Ed Mendenhall, boasted of having "loaned" its California affiliate $100,000 for passage of Propositon 14 in the recent election.

Placards carried by the CORE pickets in front of the Biltmore Hotel said: "Los Angeles Realty Board--Teacher of Bigotry," "Proposition 14 Makes California a Sister to Mississippi" and "November 3, 1964: California's Day of Infamy."

Proposition 14, adopted by a vote of 3,656,712 to 1,893,942, in effect repeals the Rumford Act, a state fair housing law which had been in effect for a year. The proposition's constitutionality is being challenged in the courts by the NAACP. Federal housing funds for California have been suspended.

The first demonstration against Proposition 14 took place here two days after Election Day when over 300 persons participated in a torchlight parade to City Hall. Addressing the demonstrators from City Hall steps, Arthur Silvers, chairman of Los Angeles CORE, placed blame for the propostition's passage "on the California Real Estate Association, the most organized bunch of bigots that exist in the State of California."

The president of the California association, Art S. Leitch, received a special award at the opening session of the realtors' national convention.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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NEGRO CORE LEADER WINS HOUSE SEAT IN WHITE DISTRICT

Oklahoma City, Okla., Nov. 19--Despite a last-minute Goldwater leaflet distribution seeking to incite the prejudices of white voters, Archibald Hill, chairman of Oklahoma City CORE, overwhelmingly defeated his Republican, white rival, thus winning a seat in the State House of Representatives.

Hill is a Negro, but the district in which he ran is predominantly white, being comprised of seven all-white precincts, three predominantly Negro precincts and one integrated precinct. The final vote was 2506 for Archibald Hill and 450 for Jack Brown, the Republican candidate. Hill had won the Democratic nomination by defeating his white rival in a special primary election ordered by a federal court over the reapportionment issue.

"The young attorney (he is 29 and a native of Atlanta, Georgia) had been a practicing attorney in Oklahoma City for the past four years," reports the Atlanta World. "During this period, he has handled litigation for most of the civil rights cases brought by Negroes in a push for equality. In addition, he has led numerous demonstrations and is presently chairman of CORE in the area."

71-Year-Old Woman Travels TOO Far to Vote--CORE Brings Her Back

Quincy, Fla., Nov. 19--"Typical (of the militancy of Negroes here) was the gray-haired Negro woman who walked from her sharecropper's shack to Greensboro, three miles away, then hitchhiked a ride on a truck to Quincy," report the Miami Herald in a feature story on the effectiveness of CORE's voter registration drive in northwest Florida.

"This was a mistake, so CORE workers took her back to Greensboro to vote. This is the first time in the 50 years she has been of voting age that she went to the polls, she said.

"Johnnie Walker, a 21-year-old Quincy leader of CORE, was taking five Negro women to the polls. One of them was almost blind. He explained that if she wanted to vote for Johnson, she should pick the candidate on the first line--if she could see the blur of the line--and if she wanted Goldwater, to pick the second line. At the suggested Goldwater alternative, all five women whooped with laughter."

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CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

GEORGE WILEY NAMED ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE

New York, N.Y., November 25--George Wiley, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Syracuse University and a founder of the CORE chapter in that upstate New York city, has been named Associate National Director of CORE. He succeeds Richard Haley, who now heads CORE's southern office in New Orleans and directs the staff throughout the south.

"At Syracuse University, George Wiley has become known as 'the militant man on campus,'" said the New York Times in a special biography following the announcement of his appointment. "He was a founder and leader of the Syracuse chapter of CORE. His vigorous activities in the civil rights movement led to his appointment as Associate National Director of CORE, making him the 'Number Two man to James Farmer, the National Director."

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CORE INSTRUMENTAL IN FIRST CRIMINAL PROSECUTION FOR JOB BIAS

New York, N.Y., Nov. 25--What is believed to be the nation's first criminal prosecution for employment discrimination, announced November 24 by the New York District Attorney's office, was largely the result of CORE research coupled with pressure to get city officials to invoke existing laws.

The case involved, that of Haywood Jones, was one of many researched by CORE and referred to the District Attorney's office following the 1963 summer demonstrations at construction sites in which hundreds of CORE members were arrested for protesting job discrimination but no contractor or union official was arrested for practicing job discrimination.

Jones, a Negro laborer, had been hired in the fall of 1962 by Jayco Air Conditioning Corp., a contracting sub-contractor, and then fired at the behest of Jules Schurkman, company attorney, under pressure from Thomas McLinskey, who for 45 years had been business agent for Plumbers Local 638. The District Attorney's announcement disclosed that both the attorney and the union official have been indicted by a grand jury under sections of the penal law calling for up to 90 days in jail and $500 fines. Local 638 had no Negroes among its 4,000 members until last August when its officials learned that the present case was being prepared.

Commenting on the District Attorney's announcement, CORE National Director James Farmer said, "We hope that this prosecution will be the first in a long series of court actions which will warn the city that job discrimination is legally, as well as morally, wrong."

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CORE DRIVE MAKES BIG DRUG FIRM CHANGE JOB POLICY

Newark, N.J., Nov. 25--An agreement representing "a mutual effort to provide job opportunities for minority groups" ended a two-month action campaign by Newark-Essex CORE against Hoffman-LaRoche, Inc., major drug manufacturing firm. The drive was marked by picketing of the company's Nutley plant as well as of top company officials' homes and, on November 13, by a chain-in by two CORE members at the plant gates.

The agreement was announced by Ray Proctor, the CORE group's chairman, following a negotiations session at which the company for the first time showed its employment records to CORE. These records demonstrated that since October 1, when V. D. Matis became executive vice-president, the company had changed its employment practices to the extent of hiring 25% non-whites in job capacities including technicians, chemical operators, drug salesmen and office workers. In July, when negotiations first started, less than three percent of the company's 4,000 local employees were non-white.

The company also has agreed to set up a job training program for chemical operators and a counseling service for on-the-job promotions. In addition, the firm will seek dismissal of an injunction against CORE activity on its premises. The writ had been obtained after the chain-in.

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CHRISTMAS BOYCOTTS OVER JOBS IN SEATTLE AND BERKELEY

Seattle, Wash., November 25--From Thanksgiving until Christmas, Seattle CORE is intensifying its DEEDS downtown boycott campaign which went into effect October 19. DEEDS stands for Drive for Equal Employment in Downtown Seattle. Its goal is 1,200 new jobs by next year without cutting into white employment.

"This is the time of year when most businesses make their yearly profits," points out the latest issue of Seattle CORE's newsletter. "This is the time when CORE members can bring the greatest pressure to bear."

Leaflets distributed around the city urge: "Don't shop downtown. Use other areas such as Greenwood, University District, Renton, Northgate, White Center, etc. For shopping, movies, restaurants, you don't need the downtown area. It needs you and your money. Refuse to buy discrimination."

Berkeley, Calif., November 25--Berkeley CORE's second Christmas boycott of Shattuck Avenue stores which have an unfair employment policy gets underway after the Thanksgiving weekend.

Announcement of the boycott was made in letters to 200 Shattuck Avenue employers who do not employ at least one minority group member out of four in all job categories.

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PICKETING AND SIT-IN WIN APARTMENT FOR PROFESSOR

Islip, N.Y., Dec. 3--Picketing of Lakecrest Garden Apartments bolstered with a sit-in at the rental office by Suffolk CORE Chairman Henry Smith and two CORE members, won for Mrs. Sylvia Martin and her family the 4½-room apartment of her choice. Mrs. Martin is a Professor of Nursing at the New York State Agricultural and Technical Institute at Farmingdale. She has a 22-month-old son. Her husband is a New York municipal employee.

Mrs. Martin had made a $50 deposit on the apartment in September but after a month elapsed without word from the realtor, she appealed to CORE and filed a complaint with the State Human Rights Commission.

A CORE deputation met with Jack Hudson, the manager, who said the matter had been turned over to the building's owner, Brown-Turner, Inc., in New York City. Thereupon, CORE picketed that office. At one point, the realtor offered Mrs. Martin a smaller apartment on the pretext that the family's financial status was insufficient for a larger one. But CORE spokesmen were able to show that white families with incomes no bigger than the Martin's were occupying 4½-room apartments. Finally, the management relented and, at a conference at the Mineola office of the State Human Rights Commission, agreed to rent the Martins the 4½-room apartment.

# # #

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TWO-YEAR BOYCOTT OF ONE STORE CHANGES TOWN'S JOB PATTERN

Oroville, Calif., Dec. 3--A two-year boycott of the Barnes Supermarket not only has made that store abandon its lily-white job policy, but has changed the employment pattern in the entire town. Negroes now are working at the local branches of Montgomery Ward, the Bank of America and several other downtown stores.

The boycott, bolstered by picketing, had won the support of more than 95% of the non-white community. Finally, following rumors that the store was about to close, management hired its first Negro clerk and the long boycott was ended.

"Members of CORE's Oroville chapter are comparing their success with Barnes Supermarket to the results of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott, though on a smaller scale," commented Chet Duncan, CORE's western field secretary. "They feel it demonstrates again the effectiveness of complete Negro community support in ending discrimination."

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THANKSGIVING DEMONSTRATIONS IN THREE CITIES

New York, N.Y., Dec. 3--In a heavy downpour of rain, at the height of the Thanksgiving weekend exodus, CORE mass picket demonstrations took place at the Port Authority terminal here and at Trailways terminals in Baltimore and Washington. At the same time, CORE members lined up at the ticket windows to ask questions and delayed ticket sales.

Target of the demonstrations, which were coordinated by CORE Field Secretary Eric Mann, is Safeway Trailways, the unit of National Trailways operating between New York and Washington. In violation of a fair employment agreement negotiated with CORE a year ago, Safeway Trailways has refused to promote its porters, has laid off 12 of them and has fired one. CORE is demanding reinstatement of Sam Reed, the fired porter, and reaffirmation of the company's agreement to upgrade four other porters. Other demands include future observance of the CORE agreement, conferences every three months to implement it and advertising by the company as an equal opportunity employer.

The Thanksgiving Eve demonstrations were the first in Washington and Baltimore. Two previous mass demonstrations had been conducted in New York. On November 7, 22 demonstrators were arrested when they sought to picket inside the Port Authority terminal. On November 14, CORE members who lined up at the ticket windows were armed with bags containing pennies. After asking ticket agents a series of questions, they then emptied the bags on the counter and slowly started to count the coins finding, "regretfully", that there were not a sufficient number to pay for the ticket requested. This delayed ticket sales additionally.

Further demonstrations are planned and CORE has instituted a widespread boycott of Safeway Trailways.

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CORE POLL WATCHER MEETS EX-GOVERNOR BARNETT...AND BEATING

Madison, Miss., Dec. 10--When Marvin Rich, CORE Community Relations Director came here December 3 to poll-watch at the Agricultural Stabilization Committee election, little did he expect to have the "honor" of meeting ex-Governor Ross Barnett and of being badly beaten afterwards.

When Rich went across the street from the polling place to a grocery store to buy a carton of milk, he encountered "a big, portly man in a yellow hunting outfit and big boots who stopped me and asked: 'Where your from?' I said I was from New York and he grunted and looked pained. 'Are you a WHITE man?' he asked me. Then he turned away and walked out. At that point, I didn't know who he was."

The portly man thereupon entered the polling place where, according to Martha Wright, another CORE poll-watcher, everybody addressed him as "Governor." He shouted: "Why don't these agitators go home where they belong!" followed by obscene remarks to Miss Wright. Upon emerging from the building, he got into his Cadillac and a group of young whites conferred with him for about ten minutes.

Then, they approached Rich and told him to re-park his car. He refused until ordered to do so by the duputy constable. Upon returning from the new parking place, which was about 300 yeards away, the white youths started throwing rocks at him. Finally, four of them jumped him, started slugging and hit him with a belt buckle. He suffered a broken nose and bruises on his body.

Elsewhere in the county, four CORE poll watchers were arrested on minor charges: George Raymond, a CORE Task Force worker and project director, and three CORE volunteers, Elaine DeLott, Euvester Simson and Ann Darden. It was the first Agricultural Stabilization Committee election in which Negroes had run and in the town of Camden, a Negro, Luther Honeysuckle, was elected to the committee.

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FREEDOM SCHOOL STUDENTS, TEACHERS ARRESTED FOR TESTING

Meridian, Miss., December 10--Eight students and two teachers from the local Freedom School were arrested on December 2 on the second stop of a tour to test compliance by local restaurants with the Civil Rights Law.

"Disorderly conduct" charges against the eight students were dismissed but the two teachers--Freeman Cocroft and Lucian Kabat, both CORE volunteers--were accused of "contributing to the delinquency of minors."

The arrests occurred at the Trailways bus station, the second stop on the testing tour. At the first stop, the Toddle House, the testers were served, but with 25¢ size bottles of soft drinks rather than the regular size.

Gale Falk, director of the local Freedom School, recently served four days in jail rather than pay a $12 fine on a phony traffic charge.

# # #

OWNER'S SON THREATENS TESTERS WITH GUN

Quincy, Fla., December 10--When local CORE testers tried to enter the Havana Restaurant, located about 10 miles from here, the owner's son met them with a gun. Pointing to the rear entrance, he shouted "Niggers to the back!" A CORE observer across the street was able to photograph the scene.

In Quincy, five CORE members sat-in at the B & B restaurant demanding that the owner return to Linda Dixie the $7 charged for a ham sandwich during an earlier test. The owner closed down the restaurant.

# # #

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PHILA., MISSISSIPPI ARRESTS 'WILL GIVE COURAGE TO DECENT PEOPLE

New York, N.Y., Dec. 10--"Although it is unlikely that the 21 suspects arrested by the F.B.I. in connection with the Philadelphia triple murder will be convicted in Mississippi, the fact that they were arrested will give courage to the decent people of that state to begin to wrest control of the their communities from the racists, bigots and hatemongers."

So asserted CORE National Director James Farmer in a public statement issued after the 21, including Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and his deputy, Cecil Price, were taken into custody on December 4.

"I will not prejudice the case, but I understand the evidence against the accused is very substantial. The investigation has been painstaking; the prosecution must be diligent and vigorous. We want the defendants to have a trial that is fair in every regard.

"Yet whoever is guilty of this atrocious assassination should be convicted for the sake of justice, not vengeance. We feel particularly close to the case since two of the three murder victims--James Chaney and Michael Schwerner--were our own CORE workers whom we knew personally and for whom we had the highest esteem, respect and affection."

In Meridian, on the eve of the preliminary court hearing for the 21 suspects, some 200 persons filled Mount Olive Baptist Church for a prayer meeting for justice. Following a half hour of silent prayer, they listened to a talk by Dave Dennis, CORE Southern Program Director.

# # #

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PICKET THREAT BRINGS "INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT" OF WILLIS SPEECH

Worcester, Mass., December 10--A threat by Worcester CORE to picket the initial Public Rally on Schools December 5 resulted in cancellation of the main speaker, Dr. Benjamin Willis, Chicago's anti-integrationist school superintendent. The rally's sponsor, Friends of Worcester Public Schools, announced that Willis's appearance had been postponed indefinitely."

Ruby Jarrett, chairman of the CORE group, emphasized that the picketing would have been directed solely against Willis--not against the rally's sponsor.

CORE leaflets, which had been prepared for distribution, said: "To give honor to Dr. Benjamin Willis could be interpreted as giving sanction to his policies and practices. Hundreds of thousands of well-informed Chicagoans have been convinced after years of trying to get improvements in the Chicago public schools that the ONLY way Chicago can have either quality or integrated education is WITHOUT Benjamin Willis as school superintendent."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE STARTS CLEANUP CAMPAIGN "ON OTHER SIDE OF THE FENCE"

Cedar Heights, Md, December 17--Prince George County CORE has initiated a campaign to rehabilitate this dilapidated Negro slum which, literally, is "on the other side of the fence."

It was thus described in a recent Baltimore Sun feature article and CORE Regional Secretary Louis Smith has characterized the eight-foot high fence dividing Cedar Heights from the white community of Seat Pleasant as "another Berlin wall." Though the Seat Pleasant shopping center is only two blocks away, Cedar Heights residents have to circumvent the fence by a mile-long walk to get there. Following CORE threats of nonviolent direct action, the county commissioners presently are negotiating with CORE on plans to break through the fence.

As for Cedar Heights, the Washington Star said, in reporting the CORE cleanup campaign: "Caught in a tight wedge between superhighways, the small community has become a graveyard for abandoned cars, for every conceivable bit of household junk from boilers to bathtubs."

"Ridding the area of this accumulated junk was the first step in CORE's Cedar Heights Action Program, known as CHAP. Members of the CORE group, the University of Maryland chapter of Students for a Democratic Society and local residents joined in collecting the junk and loading it onto trucks provided by the county commissioners.

Other steps in the CORE program call for paving the streets, most of which are unpaved, low-cost housing to replace the present tarpaper shacks, construction of sewers, sidewalks and playgrounds, school integration and a workable urban renewal program.

"One of the individuals directly responsible for the start of the program," reports the Washington Star, "is Michael Tabor, a 22-year-old social worker who is CORE's chairman for Prince George County."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FIRST NEGROES REGISTERED IN NORTH FLORIDA COUNTY

Bristol, Fla., Dec. 17--On December 16, 62 Negroes registered at the courthouse, becoming the first of their race to register in Liberty County since 1956. Among them was an 83-year-old blind man and a school bus driver. Negro school bus drivers and teachers have been threatened with dismissal if they attend CORE meetings.

Five whites tried to intimidate the registrants and CORE Task Force Worker Stuart Wechsler as they stood outside, but there was no incident. The previous week, 95 Negroes had come to register but had found the office closed. More Negroes are planning to register next week. The registration office is open once weekly.

According to CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon, the last time Negroes registered in Liberty county, 13 of them, they subsequently were forced by the Ku Klux Klan to withdraw their names. No Negro actually has voted in Liberty County in this century, Gordon said.

# # #

CORE'S NORTH FLORIDA HEADQUARTERS SET AFIRE

Quincy, Fla., Dec. 17--A fire set in CORE's northern Florida headquarters here damaged three of the office's six rooms. According to police, an anonymous tip had been phoned at 3:30 a.m. to the Department of Public Safety.

Upon arrival, the firemen found six separate blazes which had been started with kerosene-soaked rubbish together with reports (including complaints to the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice) and records taken from the shelves. Within about twenty minutes, the fire was extinguished.

While commending the Department of Public Safety for "their prompt and efficient handling of the situation," CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon pointed out: "The incident shows that the haters in Florida can be as extremist as those in other deep south states with worse reputations."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WIN CORE DRIVE TO DESEGREGATE LOUISIANA LIBRARY

Jonesboro, La., Dec. 17--A CORE library desegregation campaign which started just after passage of the Civil Rights Law with the arrest of pickets, ended successfully at 9:30 a.m. on December 16. By closing time, 236 Negroes had secured library cards and a few Negroes were still in line. The following day, all chairs and tables were removed, but the library was open.

# # #

TWO PING-PONG PLAYERS ASSAULTED WHILE TESTING RECREATION CENTER

Monroe, La., Dec. 17--On the first day that CORE had succeeded in desegregating this city's recreation centers, two Negroes, Sarah McCoy and Sammy Gray, were assaulted as they played ping-pong at one of the previously all-white centers.

The day before, when an interracial CORE group arrived to use the facilities, the center was closed. But the following afternoon a similar group came, were registered and remained at the center for two hours without incident.

However, that evening, shortly after Miss McCoy and Mr. Gray started their ping-pong game, a group of some 15 whites stormed in. One of them, identified as Robert Fuller, asked Gray, "Ain't you satisfied with what you got?" and proceeded to slap him. He then addressed the same question to Miss McCoy and hit her, knocking her glasses to the floor. Several other men in the group then attacked Gray and drove him from the building. Fuller instructed the women in the group to "take care of" Miss McCoy. The following day, Fuller signed warrants for the arrest of the two Negroes charging them with simple battery against his son. Following their release on bond, they, in turn, filed battery charges against Fuller, but the latter was not arrested.

"There is strong segregationist opposition to our northern Louisiana program and to the aspirations of the Negro in Monroe," commented CORE Field Secretary Oretha Castle. "The weapon of that oppostion is violence. "But just as we succeeded in opening Monroe's public libraries this past summer, just as Monroe's Freedom Movement finally opened downtown public accomodations, we will press until our children can enjoy public recreation without fear."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MISSISSIPPI MANUFACTURERS QUERIED ON RACIAL PRACTICES

New York, N.Y., Dec. 30--In line with CORE policy of always attempting negotiation before action, CORE National Director James Farmer has sent queries to 36 major manufacturers with plants in Mississippi as to their racial practices. In cases where responses are inadequate and where negotiations are refused, boycotts will be initiated.

Specifically, the letters say: "We are anxious to know what steps you, as a major industry in Mississippi, have already taken and what steps you plan to take in the following fields: employment of Negroes at all levels, securing e effective, equal and responsible law enforcement in the community where you operate and establishement of a statewide climate of accepting the mandates of the U. S. Constitution."

The queries went to both national corporations with branches in Mississippi and to companies located solely within the state.

Recently both CORE and NAACP acclaimed the failure of Mississippi's Pearl River water supply district to secure an acceptable bid for its $24.6 million bond issue. Both organizations had urged investment firms to boycott the bond; "We feel the companies have shown a great moral responsibility in witholding bids for these bonds," commented Carl Rachlin, CORE's General Counsel. Subsequently, Mississippi did succeed in selling two issues of school and college bonds totaling $8.7 million, but, according to the Associated Press: "Brokers said interest costs exceeded market rates because of protests by civil rights groups against the securities."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FARMER EXPRESSES CORE SUPPORT OF FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

Berkeley, Calif., Dec. 30--CORE National Director James Farmer recently flew here to personally express CORE's support of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California which climaxed on December 3 with the arrest of 784 student sit-inners.

Addressing a rally of over 1500 students and faculty members at the main campus entrance, Farmer said: "This fight now is ours just as much as it is yours. If there had been no students, we would have had no Freedom Rides.

"Are we to say now that the Bill of Rights includes Mississippi but not the University of California? I can understand the bigots of Mississippi, because they are know-nothings. But we are not dealing with know-nothings at the University of California and I find it difficult to understand the curtailment of free speech and advocacy here."

The campus CORE group is among several student organizations which for the past few months have protested a no-politics-on-campus ruling.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BLACKFACE AGAIN BARRED IN MUMMERS PARADE

Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 1--For the second successive year, as a result of CORE action, blackface was eliminated in the New Year's Day Mummers Parade here.

"Last year, while I was chairman of Philadelphia CORE, the group engaged in a project to eliminate the blackface minstrels from the otherwise very beautiful Mummers Parade," recalls Louis Smith, who is presently a regional CORE field secretary. "The injunction we obtained then does not apply to this year's parade and because of the city administration's failure to deal firmly with the issue, we found ourselves again faced with the prospect of resorting to direct action.

"Following a protest letter from CORE National Director James Farmer to the mayor, the Commission on Human Relations called a meeting with Philadelphia CORE and myself. As a consequence of this meeting, Terry Chisholm, who heads the commission, informed me that the permit to parade would have a clause banning blackface and that police would arrest anyone using it."

# # #

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT

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JAMES FARMER APPOINTS COUNCIL FOR PILOT BROOKLYN PROGRAM

James Farmer, National Director of CORE, announced this week the appointment of a group of prominent Brooklyn civic, religious and labor leaders to a National CORE Community Relations Advisory Council.

The new council is composed of Dr. Robert Palmer, founder of Brooklyn CORE and new Director of the John F. Kennedy JOIN center, Chairman; Co-chairmen: Mrs. Mande B. Richardson, veteran civic leader; Rabbi Benjamin Kreitman, Director of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, Dr. J. Scott Kennedy, actor, director and professor at Brooklyn College; Rev. George Lawrence, Pastor of Antioch Baptist Church; Irving Epstine, Executive Director of the Textiles Workers Union of New York; Attorney Joseph B. Williams, Board Chairman of Cornerstone Baptist Church; Nat Rogers, District 65 Representative; Anthony Scotto, President of Local 1814, I.L.A.; Members include: Harold Newman, Vice-President of Local 1412 AFSCME; Howard Box, President of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society; Rev. Donald McKinney of the First Unitarian Church; Mrs. Lilbie Field of the Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Clubs, and a liason representative of Brooklyn CORE.

The group will assist National Staff Associate Benjamin A. Brown in organizing "Friends of National CORE" committees to raise funds through varied intercultural, interracial and inter-religious parties, programs, forums and rallies.

"Our new program will aim to build greater unity through frank dialogues on Negro-White relations, Negro-Labor relations and through intercultural social activities," said Benjamin A. Brown,

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BRINGS BURNT CROSSES TO NORTHERN HOME

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 7--When David Kramer, CORE's Louisiana Freedom Schools Director, came home here for the holidays, he brought with him two of the crosses which were burned at intersections in Monroe on election eve. He has now returned to Louisiana, where he has been working for CORE six months, during which time he was arrested three times and beaten once.

In presenting the crosses to the local CORE office, he said: "I want to emphasize the conditions in Louisiana are almost identical to those in Mississippi."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

YEAR'S DRIVE WINS JOB BREAKTHROUGH IN JERSEY BREWERIES

Newark, N. J., Jan. 7--Last February, West Essex CORE came to the support of Negro brewery workers who, though classified as seasonal employees, worked year-round and performed the same dutires as regular employees but for less pay and fewer benefits.

In May, the CORE group picketed the New Jersey Brewers Association, as well as the National Labor Relations Board, which was processing the Negro workers' complaint.

At the year's end, David Anderson, chairman of West Essex CORE, was able to announce an agreement with the Brewers Association which he described as "a significant accomplishment in attaining job opportunities for minority groups in a major American industry."

Under the agreement, the workers previously classified as seasonal, have been given regular status and access to join the unions, which previously had been denied. The unions, Teamsters Locals 4, 153 and 843, cooperated in working out the settlement.

In addition, the agreement established an accelerated program to employ more Negro drivers on beer deliveries to New York. This will be particularly meaningful with Ballantine's, whose total delivery to New York comes from its Newark plant. Other beer firms covered by the agreement are Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and Rheingold.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LAUNCH PROGRAM OF LITTLE SCHOOLS IN DEPRIVED AREA

Philadelphia, Pa., Jan 7--A program of small, neighborhood schools especially geared for pre-school training has been launched by Philadelphia CORE in the culturally deprived North Philadelphia area.

"Philadelphia CORE selected North Philadelphia because two-thirds of the Negro population is compressed into this area where the incidence of poverty is the greatest, schools the worst, police harrassment the most constant and housing the most dilapidated," explains James Williams, chairman of the group.

"Already, two school sites have been acquired, money for three more is available and the first five schools should be in operation by the end of January. Though these first schools are being funded privately, we hope eventually to receive financial support from the Economic Opportunity Program in Washington."

To implement the school program, CORE has formed a state-chartered corporation involving members of civic groups, block councils, churches and individual North Philadelphia residents. Several CORE members are officers of the corporation.

The need for the schools is emphasized by the fact that 91,000 Philadelphia kindergarten children are presently without facilities to receive them and will remain so unless there is a massive building program. The little schools will be located in houses close to the childrens' homes. But while the emphasis will be on pre-school children, the schools also will provide tutoring and club activities for junior high school students and job counseling for young adults.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SHOTS FIRED INTO CORE COMMUNITY CENTER

Quincy, Fla., Jan. 7--Less than three weeks after CORE's local office was set aflame, 15 shots were fired by nightriders into the CORE community center here. At first, CORE volunteers Sidney Daniels and Jimmy Card, who were in the building, mistook the shots for fireworks. The bullet holes were discovered later. One of the bullets came close to entering the room where the two CORE volunteers had been standing.

As in the case of the fire, the Department of Public Safety launched an investigation but without results. The U. S. Department of Justice has been urged to supply increased protection for civil rights workers in this area.

# # #

OPEN DRIVE IN LAST COUNTY WITHOUT NEGRO REGISTRANTS IN FLORIDA

Mayo, Fla., Jan. 7--Following the first registration of Negroes in Liberty county in mid-December, CORE is launching a voter campaign here in Lafayette county, the only county in the state which still has no Negro registrants.

This was announced by Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force Worker in the Florida Free Press, newsletter of the northwestern Florida voter registration campaign. "CORE will aid the Negro people of Lafayette county in their fight for freedom," he said.

# # #

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CO 7-6270
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ANTI-NEGRO SOCIAL COMMISSIONER-TARGET OF CORE PROTESTS-QUITS

Milwaukee, Wisc., Jan. 14-- Fred Lins, target of Milwaukee CORE demonstrations in 1963, finally has offered his resignation from the Community Social Development Commission of Greater Milwaukee. The resignation was accepted by Eugene Grobschmidt, chairman of the County Board, even though he had resisted CORE demands for the removal of Lins, who is a local sausage manufacturer.

"Lin's appointment by Grobschmidt touched off Milwaukee's first civil rights demonstrations--prolonged picketing and sit-ins at the courthouse---and plunged Grobschmidt into the biggest controversy of his political career," The Milwaukee Sentinel recalls.

In an interview in July, 1963, Lins was quoted as saying that many Negro students "have an I.Q. of nothing" and that Negroes "look so much alike that you can't identify the ones that commit the crime." He suggested better schools for Negroes in the south "to keep them down there."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TESTERS SERVED-THOUGH MILK IS 60¢

Jonesboro, La. Jan. 14-- The M & D Restaurant on Main Street served Negroes for the first time---even though the price of milk was found to be 60¢. This was reported by CORE Task Force Worker Charles Fenton following a series of tests in this town where CORE recently desegregated the library following a 6-month campaign.

The following day a CORE test group went to Nomey's Inn. They were served at noon, but when they returned four hours later, they were refused service. The restaurant subsequently shut down and its four employees were reported to have been laid off.

At the Blue Grill, the group was served, although several members of the Jackson parish sheriff's department who were eating there, got up and went outside until the testers had departed.

There will be further tests, Fenton reported, followed by action in the event the establishments do not comply with the law.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BOSTON GLOBE HAILS CORE DRIVE AGAINST SLUMLORDS

Boston, Mass. Jan. 14--- "The Congress of Racial Equality, sparkplug of the new drive against slumlords, deserves commendation," said a Boston Globe editorial on January 14, "It should not be---and will not be---put off by more empty promises."

By "new" drive, the editorial refers to CORE's action following a disastrous fire December 30 on Hammond Street, Roxbury, in which four persons perished. Following the fire, CORE issued a statement pointing out that during its investigation of the past year, 73 building code violations had been discovered on the block where the tragedy occurred.

"CORE volunteers have been investigating complaints for a year," The Boston Globe pointed out in a full-page feature story a week prior to its editorial. "During that time, this volunteer group has recorded 6217 violations of fire, health and building codes in 126 buildings owned by 48 different landlords.

"The CORE workers have gotten some results, but getting a plastering job done in a decrepit property is a major project and virtually all the landlords are still avoiding meeting legal and human standards in the maintenance of their property. CORE is not looking for frills. They just want violations of law corrected."

-more-

To ensure that there will be no more "empty promises," representatives of CORE together with a group of Roxbury tenants met with Mayor Collins on January 12 and presented him with a report, "One Year of Promise," which outlined CORE's efforts throughout 1964. Specifically they asked him to instruct city department heads to declare dwelling units with serious violations "unfit for human habitation," to have the Health Department use its authority in this regard and invoke provisions of the Sanitary Code that repairs can be made and billed to landlords and the initiation of a systematic code inspection program in the Roxbury area.

The mayor has promised to make weekly progress reports, "If the reports prove unsatisfactory, we will then demonstrate at City Hall," announced Alan Gartner, chairman of Boston CORE.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HIGH COURT CLEARS LEADER OF 1961 DEMONSTRATION IN BATON ROUGE

Washington, D.C., Jan. 21--Rev. B. Elton Cox, leader of a CORE mass demonstration on December 15, 1961 to desegregate lunch counters in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was acquitted by the U. S. Supreme Court on January 18 on all three counts under which he ad been arrested and sentenced to 19 months in jail. The decision reversed a ruling by the Louisiana Supreme Court.

Tear gas bombs and police dogs had been used by Baton Rouge police to break up the 1961 demonstration in which some 4,000 persons, most of them Southern University students, participated. They had assembled across from the courthouse to protest the arrest of 23 sit-inners the previous day.

On the disturbing-the-peace charge, the Supreme Court acted unanimously, holding that the Louisiana law is unconstitutionally broad in scope. Regarding the obstructing-public-passages charge, the high court held, seven to two, that the "unfettered discretion" exercised by the local authorities in enforcing a state law against street assemblies, constituted "an unwarranted abridgement" of Cox's freedom of speech. On the picketing-near-a-courthouse charge, the court in a five to four ruling pointed out that local police had agreed to permit demonstrators across the street from the courthouse and had reversed themselves only after the protest action had started.

The successful appeal was handled by Carl Rachlin, CORE's chief counsel and Nils Douglas and Robert Collins, CORE attorneys from New Orleans.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WIN FAIR JOB PACT WITH MICHIGAN AAA

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 21--The American Automobile Association has negotiated a fair employment agreement, ending an action campaign by Detroit CORE which started in the fall of 1963 and was highlighted last October with the arrest of two CORE negotiating teams on "trespassing" charges.

First Negro to be hired following the settlement was Francine Turner, a Northwestern High School graduate who had been working in the City-County building as a clerk-typist. According to a survey made by CORE prior to the settlement, AAA throughout the state employed only 17 Negroes in a work force of 2,000.

Under the settlement terms, AAA agreed to give CORE a census by job category, to discuss employment in all its Michigan offices, to meet periodically with CORE on implementation of fair employment and to advertise as an equal opportunity employer.

MARKET REHIRES NEGROES FIRED FOR UNION ACTIVITY

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 21--A Detroit CORE picket line persuaded the Food Farm Market to rehire five Negro employees who had been discharged after trying to get a union to organize the shop.

"The store is located in an all-Negro community and our picket lines were turning away from 30% to 40% of the customers," said Larry Anderson, the group's publicity chairman.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TWO CAMPAIGNS TO MAKE URBAN RENEWAL FIT COMMUNITY NEEDS

Trenton, N.J., Jan. 21--In this sate capital and in the northern New Jersey twon of Englewood, CORE groups are engaged in action campaigns aimed at drastically changing locally-drafted urban renewal plans so that they will comply with community needs.

Here in Trenton,, when a group of CORE pickets recently appeared at Mayor Arthur Holland's home, they were confronted with two paddy wagons and police dogs, much as they would have been if they had attempted such a demonstration in a deep south community. However, there were no arrests. But on November 5, two CORE field secretaries, Herbert Callender and Louis Smith, and four CORE spokesmen were arrested at City Hall following a hearing on urban renewal. Accused of "obstructing and interfering with persons in a public place," the six were convicted and their case is being appealed.

Target of the Trenton protest action is the third and final phase of the John Fitch Way urban renewal project, covering 104 acres in the downtown area. In the first two phases, over half the area went for state and city buildings. The city plans to devote the final phase to high income housing only. CORE urges that at least half of the Phase Three units should be low income housing. An immediate result of CORE action was the city's establishment of an adequately staffed relocation center for the Negro families to be displaced by Phase Three.

While CORE's Trenton campaign did not start until November, the CORE drive in Englewood got underway last June. As a consequence, federal approval of Englewood's urban renewal plan still is being withheld.

Following a complete study of the plan, Bergen County CORE voiced its opposition on ground that the new housing was to be located in a ghetto area, was inadequate in quantity and was too high-priced.

Next, CORE canvassed individuals and neighborhood groups in the Fourth Ward with a view toward drafting an urban renewal plan suited to the community's needs. The CORE plan was drafted at a widely-attended public hearing, which followed a completely inadequate hearing held by the city. It was then forwarded to the federal agencies involved. Federal officials a arranged a meeting between the CORE plan's spokesmen and city officials, but the latter remained adamant. Federal funds for the city's plan have not been approved, to date.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TWO CHURCHES BURNED IN LOUISIANA

Jonesboro, La., Jan. 21--Two churches used by CORE for voter registration activities were burned to the ground around 2 a.m., January 17. They were Pleasant Grove Baptist Church and Bethany Baptist Church.

CORE officials alerted the F.B.I., but it was not until approximately nine hours after the fires that agents arrived on the scene. CORE Southern Director Richard Haley wired Governor John McKeithen: "One month ago, John Morris died, a flaming torch, in nearby Ferriday. Today two Negro churches lie in ashes in Jonesboro. CORE urges complete investigation instead of platitudes."

No arrest has been made to date in the case of Morris, who was burned to death when two white men dumped gasoline inside his small shoe repair shop and set it afire.

The church burnings came only a couple of weeks after CORE had started testing public accomodations to determine whether they were complying with the Civil Rights Act. In fact, the most recent tests, in which Negroes were served without incident, took place the day before the two fires.

SEEK SCHOOL TRANSFERS FOR 150 NEGROES IN LOUISIANA

Plaquemine, La., Jan 21--Transfer applications for 150 Negro students seeking to enroll at midterm in previously all-white schools were requested of the Iberville parish school board by Tolbert Harris of Plaquemine CORE. In seeking the forms, Tolbert pointed out that he also represents the PTA of Seymourville, one of Plaquemine's two ghetto areas.

When Walter Marioneaus, president of the school board, asked if the forms were being requested as an integration move, Harris said: "That is right." Marionneaux then claimed that the federal desegregation order served on the board does not become effective until September. Harris said that he is seeking the transfers now under the Civil Rights Law.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE, STUDENTS TO REBUILD TWO LOUISIANA CHURCHES

Jonesboro, La., Jan. 28--With materials supplied by CORE and labor volunteered by Southern University students and local residents, the two churches burned to the ground on January 17 will be rebuilt. They were Pleasant Grove Baptist Church and Bethany Baptist Church, both used by CORE for voter registration activities.

Coordinating the rebuilding of the churches, is CORE Field Secretary Jerome Smith, who a few months ago coordinated construction of the CORE community center in Harmony, Mississippi. He has negotiated an agreement on student volunteers in conferences with both university officials and student government spokesmen at Southern University in Baton Rouge. It was Southern University students who played a key role in the Baton Rouge freedom struggle in 1960 and 1961. Jonesboro residents already have raised $3,000 to help cover the cost of materials. The churches were valued at about $35,000.

Help Church Member to Enter All-White College

A member of Bethany Baptist Church, James Potts, wants to enter all-white Louisiana Polytechnic Institute at Ruston and his application was denied "pending receipt of a court order setting aside these (segregation) laws and regulations." So CORE's attorneys have filed suit in U. S. District Court. Potts is presently attending Grambling College, an all-Negro school.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM PARTY ON CAMPUS KNOWN AS FLORIDA POLITICIANS' TRAINING GROUND

Gainesville, Fla., Jan. 28--A Freedom Party has been organized to challenge the traditional two-party fraternity bloc system at the predominently white University of Florida, which is known as the training ground for Florida politicians.

"The Freedom Party will seek to replace such ex-student government politicians as George Smathers with persons in tune with reality and modern needs," says Judy Benninger, Vice-President of Gainesville CORE, which along with the Student Group for Equal Rights, helped to form the Party. "Of the five top candidates, three have been to jail for civil rights activities. The candidate for president is a former CORE volunteer in Suwanee county and the vice-presidential candidate is one of the original seven Negro students who desegregated the university.

"The platform includes full freedom of speech, a ban on university-imposed double jeopardy for students arrested in civil rights activities, recruitment of Negro athletes, non-discriminatory housing of students on and off campus, and recruitment of Negro high school students on the same basis as whites.

Win Desegregation of Vocational School

Thirteen members of Gainsville CORE were prepared on January 18 to form a human chain in front of the entrance to a white junior high school if the school board persisted in its refusal to admit Negroes to nightime vocational classes.

But the action was made unnecessary when four Negro women, who had been turned away a week before, were admitted without incident. CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon accompanied them. The school is only two blocks from their homes. The all-Negro Lincoln School, to which they had been directed last week, is three miles away.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1-28-65

WIN AGREEMENT ON STORE JOB COUNT

San Francisco, Calif., Jan 28--An agreement on the issue of a store-by-store count of minority group employment in department and drygoods stores, ended a dispute which had led to picketing of four stores by San Francisco CORE during the Christmas shopping season.

The agreement is between the United San Francisco Freedom Movement, representing CORE as well as other local civil rights organization and the Retailers Community Relations Group, representing 34 stores. Their initial agreement had been reached a year ago.

Under the neew agreement, negotiated through the city's Human Rights Commission, the Commission will make store-by-store counts every three months and submit the figures to the civil rights groups. Individual firms which do not adhere to a fair hiring policy will be dropped from the Association.

It was the Association's refusal to submit a store-by-store count directly the the civil rights organizations, which had led to the pre-Christmas picketing. CORE Chairman William Bradley pointed out that a store-by-store count is necessary "because some of the firms in the Association are hiding behind the progress made by others."

The San Francisco Sun Reporter commented: "In forcing the Retailers Community Relations Group to install a complete program of fair hiring, the United San Francisco Freedom Movement has won an important victory. This victory can be attributed solely to the direct action and boycott engaged in by members of the movement."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LONG CORE CAMPAIGN WON PACT AVERTING INAUGURATION PICKETING

Washington, D.C., - Feb. 4 - The unpublicized story behind the last minute fair employment agreement averting picketing of Capital hotels during Inauguration ceremonies, is a Washington CORE campaign which started last June.

At that time, CORE started its investigation, which revealed that not only were Negroes barred from front office jobs, but from positions as waiter, waitress, doorman and even bellboy. The manager of one of the five largest banquet hotels admitted that within the six years of his employment, the waiters' union had never dispatched a Negro waiter to a job. In some hotels there were even segregated dressing and eating facilities for employees.

In July, CORE's employment committee sent letters to eight leading hotels but further action was withheld for two months when the Urban League and NAAACP asked that the Hotel Association be given a chance to comply with an oral agreement reached with the League. In mid-September CORE again sent letters to the hotels and a meeting with the Hotel Association followed.

Since management's progress report was inadequate, CORE announced its first picket line-- at a hotel where an "Equal Opportunity Day" luncheon was scheduled. The picketing was averted by last-minute megotiation of a fair employment agreement.

-more-

The Hotel Association thereupon asked the District Commissioners to set up an meeting with not only CORE, but the Urban League, NAACP and SCLC. NAACP and SCLC agreed to join forces with CORE, but the League declined. Negotiations between the three groups and the Hotel Association started about 10 days before the Inauguration and reached a deadlock. On January 18 the Mayflower Hotel was picketed. Anxious to avert picketing of the hotels during the Inaugural balls, the District Commissioners' Council on Human Rights called an emergency negotiating session and an agreement was negotiated.

The agreement, covering 45 major hotels, specified that 25 qualified Negroes be given hotel jobs within two weeks and that 118 training opportunities for Negroes in skilled jobs be made available within the coming year. The Hotel Association will notify the unions involved that it will insist on compliance and will advertise job openings in the Negro press.

"This is an agreement which depends on policing for its effectiveness," commented Reginald Webb of Washington CORE. "We hope we have established effective p0licing machinery

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TWO CORE WORKERS BEATEN IN CLAN RIDDEN TOWN

Bogalusa, La., Feb. 4 - Two CORE Task Force workers members - William Yates and Steve Miller - were severely beaten by a gang of whites on Feb. 3 in this Louisiana town where last month Klan terrorism forced cancellation of a meeting to be addressed by former Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas.

The assault took place at 4 P.M. as the two CORE workers left a meeting at a Negro union hall. The two took refuge in a Negro cafe. Yates required hospitalization.

Two days before, they had been warned by the sheriff to leave town. For a week they had been testing public accomodations and had been served without incident at eight out of thirteen establishments.

MEMBER OF BURNED CHURCH WINS ADMISSION TO ALL-WHITE COLLEGE

Jonesboro, La., Feb 4 - James Potts, a member of Bethany Baptist Church, which was burned to the ground on Jan. 17th, has succeeded in gaining admission to all-white Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

As a consequence of a suit filed by CORE attorney Nils Douglas, U.S. Judge E. Gordon West in Baton Rouge ordered immediate desegregation of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. At the same time, as a result of a suit bought by seven Negroes, Judge West ordered desegregation of Northwestern State College. These were the last two Louisiana state colleges to remain segregated.

After filing of the suit, Potts had received one telephone threat that he "will have to learn how to dodge buckshot" and a second threat that " you will be killed if you set foot on campus."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LOCAL WEEKLY HAILS CORE GROUP'S PROGRESS IN FIRST YEAR

New City, N.Y., Feb. 4--Noting that just a year ago "The Rockland County chapter of CORE elected its first slate of officers," the New City Citizen, a weekly paper, asserts: "In the past year, it has piled up a dramatic series of civil rights gains in the county. CORE's record in Rockland is one that its leaders can take pride in."

Listing the gains, as enumerated in the CORE group's annual report, the paper cites:

"Having Rockland A & P's, Woolworth's in Nyack and the Ben Franklin store in Haverstraw hire members of minority groups; helping the State County & Municipal Employees Union in picketing and negotiation with the New York State Thruway Authority for active recruitment of minority group workers; breaking the color line on the Spring Valley police force; getting a barber shop in Nyack to agree to cut Negroes' hair and starting a fair housing campaign in Haverstraw which resulted in the relocation of a number of Negro families, condemnation of some slums and repair and remodeling of other sub-standard housing."

While there is still defacto segregation in the Nyack fire department, the New City Citizen points out that as a result of the CORE group's campaign on this issue, "the idea of including a new firehouse in Nyack's urban renewal plans suddenly was dropped."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FIRST WHITE IN QUINCY, FLORIDA, JOINS CORE

Quincy, Fla., Feb. 11--J. Q. Kelly, local chain store owner, became the first white person in this northwest Florida town to join CORE--and he is proud of it.

At a meeting with CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon, CORE Task Force Worker Stuart Wechsler, CORE Chairman Johnny Watson and William Robinson of the Civic Interest Group, Kelly requested that his decision be publicized in the Florida Free Press, local organ of the freedom movement.

He also announced that he is seeking federal funds to start a center for instructing Negroes in all phases of chain store operation. Meanwhile, he is offering his company's facilities and personnel for this objective.

CORE started working in Quincy, the seat of Gadsden county, about a year ago and as a result over 4,000 Negroes presently are registered to vote. Recently the county for the first time appointed a Negro juror.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE HELPS DISABLED MISSISSIPPI FARMER GET ANTI-POVERTY LOAN

Carthage, Miss., Feb. 11 - With the aid of CORE workers in Leake County, Elton Wilder, partially disabled Negro farmer has received a $2,270 loan through the FHA with funds from the Economic Opportunity Act.

The loan, over a 15-year period, will enable him to refinance an overdue short-term mortgage on his farm, to further develop the property, to purchase livestock and to pay operating expenses for 1965. The family thus will be able to double their gross income, which last year totalled $780.

Until he was partially disabled six years ago, Wilder was able to supplement his income by working at a sawmill. Now, he can work not more than six hours a day, but with the help of his wife and three children he is able to operate the farm.

In other sections of Mississippi and also in Louisiana, CORE is helping Negro farmers to get anti-poverty loans.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE MAN IN LEGISLATURE PLAYS "KEY ROLE" ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Jefferson City, Mo., Feb. 11--Representative Raymond Howard, a Negro and member of St. Louis CORE who has just taken office in the state legislature, is playing what the St. Louis Post-Dispatch describes as a "key role" in the campaign to abolish capital punishment in Missouri.

Only three weeks after taking office, he introduced his bill to abolish the death penalty. The following day, a similar measure was introduced in the Senate. Governor Warren Hearnes then granted a stay of execution for Lloyd Anderson to determine whether the two bills have a chance for passage. In last year's legislature, an effort to abolish the death penalty failed.

In addition, Howard has introduced two other bills, both aimed at equal justice for the underprivileged. One provides that bail be granted on a person's own recognizance and another stipulates that arrest records be kept confidential until a person is convicted of a crime.

> "The appearance of a freshman House member in such a key role comes as no surprise to those who followed Howard's election race in St. Louis's tenth district," commented the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. "The 29-year-old lawyer campaigned on a program of 'overhauling the archaic statutes on criminal justice in Missouri.'
>
> "Howard has practiced law in St. Louis for three years. He served eight days in jail for contempt of court when acting as an attorney for CORE in the Jefferson Bank demonstrations. The St. Louis Court of Appeals later reversed the contempt finding and freed him."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PICKETS URGE REMOVAL OF SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER WHO CALLED NEGROES "INFERIOR"

Riverside, Calif., Feb. 11--Members of CORE and two other civil rights groups wanted to address the most recent meeting of the county board of education and personally express their demand for the resignation of Dr. W. Edwin Gardner.

But when the board president, John Roberts, denied them this rights, they decided tp icket the board meeting instead. One of the picket signs said: "Mississippi Needs 'Pop' Gardner."

At a board meeting on December 18, Gardner had asserted that Negroes are "genetically inferior."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PTTTSBURGH PICKETS DEMAND ACTION ON SLUMS

Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 18--Pittsburgh CORE recently conducted the first picket demonstration in its campaign to eliminate health hazards in slum area housing. The picketing took place outside the City-County Building following a fruitless negotiations session between a CORE committee, including residents of the Hill district and County Health Director Herbert Domke.

Frederick Richardson, chairman of the CORE group's housing committee, complained that the Halth Department had failed to answer a request to check 25 violations found by the committee in dwellings on Center Avenue, Foreside Place and Clark Street. Domke asserted that the CORE request had been misplaced due to the absence of the chief of the Health Department's central district.

Mrs. Ruth Harley, a resident of Anaheim Street, asked if the Department could act against owners of buildings where children are bitten by rats. Domke replied that the Department "doesn't have the responsibility, money or authority to ratproof a house."

The violations found by CORE were graphically demonstrated to newsmen through a film shown at the group's headquarters just prior to the meeting with Domke.

"Some of the things shown included poor plumbing, ceiling and wall holes, rags stuffed in windows, unvented heaters and roaches," reported the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

Richardson announced that CORE will conduct more demonstrations unless county officials take mainingful action. While expressing gratification at a recent agreement between CORE and three realtors reached after months of surveying and negotiation, Richardson emphasized that county and city officials should assume a role of responsibility in enforcing housing codes.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM PARTY WINS ONE SEAT IN FLORIDA CAMPUS ELECTION

Gainesville, Fla., Feb. 18--The recently formed Freedom Party at the predominently white University of Florida has won one seat in the recent student government election. Chris Benninger was elected to the Architecture Legislative Council with 113 votes as against 61 for the candidate of the Progress Party, the dominant group which won 53 out of 69 positions in the election.

Jim Harmeling, a former CORE volunteer in Suwanee country, who ran for president of the student body, received 879 votes as against 3,756 for the winning Progress Party candidate. Walter McVoy, another CORE worker who ran for the Sophomore Legislative Council got 156 votes as against 196 for the student elected to that office.

The University of Florida is known as the training ground for Florida politicians. "The Freedom Party seeks to replace such ex-student government politicians as George Smathers with persons in tune with reality and modern needs," says Judy Benninger, vice president of Gainseville CORE and sister of the one winning candidate. Gainesville CORE, along with the Student Group for Equal Rights, helped to form the Freedom Party.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ARREST 15 PROTESTING F.B.I. SPEAKER AT SEGREGATED MISS. HOTEL

Meridian, Miss., Feb. 18--Fifteen CORE pickets with placards asking "Does the FBI Condone Discrimination?" were arrested on February 16 as they marched in front of the segregated Lamar Hotel where FBI Supervisor Joseph Sullivan addressed a meeting in connection with National Crime Prevention Week.

Prior to the meeting, CORE had notified the FBI office in Jackson of the hotel's illegal discriminatory policy and that very morning a test had been conducted to make sure that the hotel had not effected a last-minute change.

One of the testers, Rev. M. L. Kirkland, was told: "I ought to knock your goddamned black head off." He is a minister from nearby Philadelphia who was the first Negro to register since the start of a voter campaign in that town where three civil rights workers were slain last June. Another tester was Mrs. Fanny Lee Chaney, mother of one of the three murder victims. The other two testers were Polly Heidelberg and W. C. Bester.

The 15 arrested pickets, Negroes and whites, were Frank and Judy Wright, and Ethel Black, CORE project director George Smith, Jr., Joe Morse, Richard Tinsley, Greg Kelso, Sam Brown, William Knighton, Agnes Smith, Catherine Crowell, Barbara Chaney Moss, Ira Harris and Albert Coleman. Charges with "obstructing the sidewalk," they were released on bond.

Pointing out that Sullivan in his speech praised the Meridian police and completely avoided the subject of civil rights, CORE Southern Director Richard Haley, in wires protesting the arrests, asked: "Is the role of the FBI to participate in discrimination or to investigate it?" The wires were sent to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as well as to President Johnson and Attorney General Katzenbach.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE RAISES SCHOOL ISSUE IN TULSA

Tulsa, Okla., Feb. 18--"The Tulsa school board publicized the most turbulent statement of a decade," according to TV Station KTUL,"when it flatly rejected an impressive plea by CORE to negotiate sensibly with the organization concerning integration in education."

So stated the Oklahoma Eagle, Negro weekly, under a banner headline "Tulsa School Board Shuns CORE Plan." Tulsa CORE set a deadline of April 1 for the school board to negotiate, but requested that the board give notification of its intentions by February 15.

"Since they have chosen to ignore us, we take for granted that the answer is negative," said CORE Chairman C. L. Robinson in a statement issued on that date. He asserted that CORE had added a new request: "that a special consultant be hired by May 1 to assist in correcting imbalance in education."

CORE's initiative in the school situation has received headline publicity and has been the topic of both favorable and unfavorable comments in the letters columns and of antogonistic editorials in the Tulsa Tribune and Tulsa Daily World. A news story in the Tribune, headed "Negro Rights Move Here Stepped Up," tells: "Formation of a Community Development Council was announced at a predominantly Negro rally. The CORE leadership was present at the rally and some CORE officers also are officers of the new Council."

MARCH AND SING AT MILWAUKEE BOARD MEETING

Milwaukee, Wisc., Feb. 18--"About halfway through the meeting (of the school board), members of three civil rights groups stood up to sing and march around the school board auditorium," reports the Milwaukee Journal. "The demonstrators left the building just as police arrived."

The three groups were CORE, NAACP and the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee. Twenty-two demonstrators were involved.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK TIMES DETAILS CORE COMMUNITY PROGRAM IN LOUISIANA

New York, N.Y., Feb. 25--In a four-column feature story headed "Rights Workers Heartened by Louisiana Gains," the New York Times on February 20 gave a detailed report on CORE's community program in Monroe and the northern Louisiana area.

"The Louisiana campaign is being run by CORE, which last summer sent about 50 staff members and volunteers to start civil rights work around the issue of voter registration," the article says.

"CORE with an eye toward encouraging the grassroots to develop their own ideas, is now working out details for a 1965 summer program that might resemble an attack on poverty more than an attack on segregation.

"The ten or so field workers who are remaining here through the winter are taking surveys to determine what precentage of the Negro dwellings in Monroe still have only outhouses.

"There is talk that Negro mothers in the community may set up their own day-care centers for pre-school children, so that the mothers may work.

"A food and clothing distribution program, supported by northerners and funds from the national CORE office, is already in operation.

"Pulp and paper corporations here, which hold defense contracts, are being asked to show that they do not discriminate.

"'In a way,' said Miss Oretha Castle (CORE Field Secretary) 'this battle is a tougher one than the one for public accomodations. What we're talking about now is related to the more deeply entrenched political institutions.'"

# # #

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LAUNCH AREA-WIDE DRIVE FOR RESTAURANT JOBS

Oakland, Calif.--An area-wide campaign for equal job opportunities at 168 Alameda county restaurants has been launched by Berkeley and Oakland CORE.

Minority group members constitute less than 1% of the bartenders and less than 2% of the waitresses in these restaurants, asserts Eugane Drew, chairman of the Oakland group.

The Bow and Bell Restaurant in Jack London Square, initial target of the campaign, has been the scene of two mass picket demonstrations. During the second demonstration, in which there were over 100 pickets, five were arrested: Sharon Stern, Cyril Simmons, David Friedman, Michael Parker and David Goines. A sixth was arrested during picketing of the jail, where the five were held.

# # #

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PHILADELPHIA CORE PROTEST BRINGS NAMING OF BROADER ANTI-POVERTY BOARD

Philadelphia Pa., Feb. 25--Following Philadelphia CORE's denunciation and veto of five anti-poverty proposals sent to Washington by the Anti-Poverty Task Force, Mayor Tate has replaced the Task Force with a more representative body, the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. Comprised of from 26 to 32 members, this committee will include 12 representatives of civil rights and labor organizations, including Philadelphia CORE.

In rejecting the five proposals sent to Washington, Philadelphia CORE, as a member of the former body's Human Services Committee, had asserted:"The guidelines issued by the Office of Economic Opportunities state in simple English that poor people are to be involved in the planning, conduct and administration of all community action programs."

PICKETS DENOUNCE "SILK STOCKING" APPOINTEES

Buffalo, N.Y., Feb. 25--With placards saying "Maximum Feasible Participation"--a quote from federal legislation establishing the antipoverty program--30 Buffalo CORE pickets marched in front of County Hall protesting the "silk stocking" compostion of the committee established to administer the antipoverty program here. To prove their contention, the pickets had a map showing the location of committee members" residences, located in well-to-do neighborhoods.

Requesting that the Office of Economic Opportunities refuse to recognize the Buffalo committee, Luther Burnette, Chairman of Buffalo CORE, wrote: "Its members are predominantly highly placed public officials, business leaders and persons prominent in organized charities. Eighteen of the 21 members are white, none are Puerto Ricans or Indians, nor for that matter are any 'poor whites.'"

BUILDER OF ALL-WHITE HOMES UNFIT AS CHAIRMAN

Baltimore, Md., Feb. 25--Protesting the naming of Morton Macht as chairman of the committee administering the antipoverty program here, James Griffin, Chairman of Baltimore CORE, wrote Mayor McKeldin: "Mr. Macht, as a builder of new homes, has not offered equal access to those homes to qualified Negroes.

"It is not possible that key persons of the antipoverty program can identify with people of the ghetto if they are connected with discriminatory housing developments which keep the people of the ghetto walled in."

SCORE APPOINTMENT OF ULTRA-SEGREGATIONIST

Baton Rouge, La., Feb. 25--Appointment by Governor McKeithen of Shelby Jackson, ultra-segregationist, as assistant director of the antipoverty program in Louisiana has drawn a strong protest from CORE.

Acknowledging receipt of the CORE protest wire, the governor bluntly asserted: "Since most of us in Louisiana belive in segregation, it would be pretty hard to fill that job without appointing a segregationist." # # # #

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MURDER VICTIM'S FAMILY PICKET TO PROTEST COX DECISION

Meridian, Miss., March 4--The mother, brother and sister of James Chaney, one of the three civil rights workers murdered last June, led CORE-initiated picket demonstrations here to protest the ruling of U. S. Judge W. Harold Cox dismissing felony indictments against 17 Neshoba county officials and residents.

Mrs. Fannie Lee Chaney led 14 persons in a preliminary picketing on Feb. 26 at the federal courthouse. Ben Chaney and Barbara Chaney Moss led the major demonstration, which took place the following day and included some 40 pickets, most of them from Neshoba, Clarke and Lauderdale counties.

"The demonstrators converged on the building from both sides in groups of three and four," reports CORE Task Force Worker Joe Morse. "After reaching the steps, they pulled picket signs from under their coats and jackets and merged into a single line. If they had displayed their signs on the way, they would have been liable to arrest under a local law for 'parading without a permit.'

"Awaiting us in front of the building were the police chief, a large number of patrolmen and about 150 onlookers. There was considerable heckling and name-calling by a group of white youths, whom police made no move to curb. But there were no incidents and no arrests."

One of the placards said: "Murder is a Misdemeanor in Mississippi. It referred to the fact that Judge Cox ahd left standing misdemeanor indictments against the 17, while dismissing the felony indictments. The U. S. Justice Department filed notice on March 2 that it would appeal Judge Cox's decision to the Supreme Court.

CORE National Director James Farmer has asked Emanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee to begin impeachment proceedings against Judge Cox.

# # #

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PICKETS MARCH AT ARIZONA CAPITOL -- DESPITE SENATOR GISS

Phoenix, Ariz., March 4--Despite the threat of Senate Majority Leader Harold Giss that a demonstration at the State Capitol would kill the pending civil rights bill, 30 pickets representing CORE, NAACP, International Union of Mine Mill & Smelter Workers and Wesley Foundation marched there on March 1.

Purpose of the demonstration was to protest the amasculation by the House of a Senate-adopted civil rights bill. An additional aim was to object to Senator Giss's policy--restated on the floor during the picketing--against any demonstrations while the legislature is in session.

"Under the bill as passed by the Senate, complaints could be taken directly to the State Civil Rights Commission," expalins Mrs. Dale Hurliman of Tucson CORE. "The House amended it so that complainants would have to go to court and seek an injunction. This is a long and costly procedure and therefore there would be few complaints filed."

Prior to the demonstration, a deputation of the sponsoring groups met with the House-Senate conference committee on the bill and emphasized that "no bill weaker than the Senate version would be acceptable."

A year ago, CORE initiated a sit-in at the State Captil urging passage of a public accomodations bill which had been bottled-up in committee. The bill ultimately was defeated by the Senate.

# # #

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PROJECT 102

Cincinnati, Ohio, March 4--Last fall, the CORE group in Syracuse, New York launched a community-wide action program designated as Project 101, since that many years had elapsed since the Emancipation Proclamation.

Since it now is 1965, Cincinnati CORE has designated its new community-wide action program as Project 102.

According to the February issue of the Cincinnati CORE Newsletter, "Project 102 encompasses: broadening of community organization and tenant council programs, a more massive attack on substandard housing, political action for the fall elections, more and better jobs, an attack on defacto segregation in public schools and increased membership and financial support for CORE."

A project within this program, described in the same issue of the newsletter is CORE's support of the West End Community Council's opposition to "the proposed land grab by Bill DeWitt of the Cincinnati Reds" under which hundreds of Negro homes in the area would be demolished and replaced by parking lots. Another community project mentioned in the issue is the group's campaign against substandard housing which started last fall with a rent strike at the Standish Apartments. The mayor has been urged to initiate a public hearing on the adequacy of existing building codes and enforcement.

# # #

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FARMER JOINS SELMA MARCH, CORE GROUPS ACROSS U.S. IN SUPPORTING MARCHES

CORE National Director James Farmer flew to Selma, Alabama, to join southern CORE staff members in the March 9 massive march led by Martin Luther King, and including several hundred white ministers and prominent persons from all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, CORE chapters in major cities from east to west joined with other civil rights groups in mass marches and sit-ins at federal buildings urging immediate U. S. action to enforce voting rights and to secure the right to demonstrate peacefully in Alabama.

URGE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Immediately following his return from Selma, Farmer, at a press conference in New York called for a March on Washington unless the federal government "takes the proper steps to safeguard Negro rights in the South."

He added: "I consider our nation is facing a grave constitutional crisis and the responsibility rests firmly with the federal government which has not lived up to its responsibilities."

He also announced nation-wide mass demonstrations for March 14, just a week after the Sunday when club-swinging state and city policemen in Selma broke up the initial attempt to march to Montgomery, injuring 70 participants - 17 of them so gravely that they required hospitalization.

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DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING, BOYCOTT OF REALTORS MARK FAIR HOUSING DRIVE

Akron, Ohio, March 11--Door-to-door canvassing and a boycott of white realtors are involved in a concentrated, month-long, fair housing campaign in this city where, last summer, the Akron Area Board of Realtors led a successful drive to repeal a local fair housing ordinance.

The Board is the chief target of the boycott. Harold Bragg, President of Akron CORE points out that there are seven local Negro-operated real estate firms which home seekers can patronize during the boycott.

A second target of the campaign is the current urban renewal plan for the predominantly Negro opportunity pare area. Bumper stickers being distributed by the canvassers say "We Shall Not Be Moved," which in this instance is meant in its literal sense. If the urban renewal plan is put into effect now, with the local housing discrimination prevailing as it is, Negroes displaced will be unable to find suitable housing.

Training sessions for canvassers have been held at the Greater Peace Baptist Church. The city-wide campaign is being conducted by an ad hoc committee, the Committee for Justice and Equality in Housing, with the support of the local CORE and NAACP groups. The Negro community is being mobilized by block captains armed with literature explaining the campaign.

HALT PLAN TO DOWNZONE NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREA

Amityville, N.Y., March 11--The third attempt within as many years to downzone the predominantly Negro residential section of North Amityville for factory accupancy has failed. Following a vigorous protest campaign by Suffolk County CORE, the Central Long Island branch of NAACP and the Amityville Civic Association, the town board unanimously rejected the plan. Over 700 residents had been gotten to sign petitions against the downzoning.

Henry Smith, chairman of the CORE group and a resident of North Amityville had testified before the board: "Negroes do not want ugly factory buildings next to their homes. It's about time the board considered ethnic and minority groups."

# # #

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FIELD SECRETARY ARRESTED AFTER FLORIDA SCHOOL MARCH

Monticello, Fla., March 11--CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon was arrested on a "reckless driving" charge March 9 on his way out of this Jefferson County seat where he had led a student march for school integration. In protest of the harassment arrest, a type of arrest which has become common in the deep south, he plans to jail-in for at least five days.

The students, all of whom are from Howard Academy, the all-Negro school, marched to the courthouse where the school board was in session. One of them, Fred Sanders, went insdie to present their demand for school integration. The demand was flatly rejected and a boycott is being considered.

A pupil placement plan proposed by the board is completely inadequate, CORE Scholarship Education Defense Fund Attorney John Due has charged in a complaint filed with the U. S. Office of Education. Throughout northern Florida, where CORE has been leading a voter registration campaign, a drive is being conducted to block all school assistance programs which are discriminatory.

This drive also is directed at the local anti-poverty program, which presently is being adminstered by the all-white Rural Development Council. CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin has wired the Office of Economic Opportunity demanding that anti-poverty funds be withheld from Jefferson county so long as the administering agency excludes Negroes.

SCHOOL BOYCOTT IN LOUISIANA TOWN

Jonesboro, La., March 11--Local students started a boycott of their high school on March 8 demanding that Rev. Frederick Kirkpatrick, who is threatened with firing because of his civil rights activities, be retained, that the principal, J. R. Wilson, be discharged, that teaching of foreign languages be instituted and that the gym be rebuilt.

CORE Southern Program Director Dave Dennis and Task Force Worker Charles Fenton are helping to coordinate the student protest.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM HOUSE SET AFIRE IN INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

Independence, Mo., March 18, 1965--CORE's Freedom House in this locality, best known as the hometown of Former President Harry Truman, was set afire about midnight on March 10.

"Arson is believed to be the cause of the fire," reports Mrs. Virginia Jacobs, CORE chairman. "The fire was confined to the rear of the house. Damages to the structure amount to about $500. This does not account for valuable papers, books, household appliances and food which were destroyed. Thank God, no person was injured."

# # #

STUDENTS WHO WON SIT-IN WILL HELP REBUILD CHURCHES

Lawrence, Kansas, March 18, 1965--Some students from the University of Kansas, where CORE helped win a recent two-day student sit-in, will spend their spring break March 26-April 7 helping to rebuild two churches in Jonesboro, Louisiana, which were burned to the ground in January.

They will be joined by students from Syracuse University in Syracuse, N.Y. and Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri.

The student protest at the University of Kansas ended March 9 when Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe agreed to reinstate 110 students suspended after their arrest for conducting an all-night sit-in in his office. Among those arrested were a number of outstanding athletes including Gale Sayers, All-American halfback who plans to join the Chicago Bears next fall.

Chancellor Wescoe also announced action on student demands to bar discrimination in student housing, in advertising accepted by the student paper and in placement of student teachers. He agreed to negotiate for elimination of covert discrimination by fraternities and sororities.

Nathaniel Sims, a Negro who heads the Student Civil Rights Council, termed the demonstration "a great success." The settlement followed negotiations between Chancellor Wescoe and representatives of CORE, NAACP and local ministers. CORE was represented by Field Secretary Mike Lesser.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STARTS T.V. REPAIR SHOP WHICH ALSO SERVES AS FREEDOM CENTER

Gainesville, Fla., March 18, 1965--Steve McVoy, Vice-President of Gainesville CORE and former Task Force worker in northern Florida, has opened in a Negro area a TV repair shop which also serves as a local community center. He calls the shop "Freedom TV."

"The back half is a repair shop and the front is a sort of community center with a bulletin board, mimeograph machine, filing cabinets, etc.," reports McVoy. "The latter space is shared by CORE, the Human Relations Council and Gainesville Women for Equal Rights.

"Freedom T.V. provides low cost, high quality repair work. Already, business is good. The first month's profits will be invested in stock and equipment. Thereafter, profits will be divided: 50% going to National CORE earmarked for the North Florida voter project and 50% to Gainesville CORE for its local action. Finally, we hope that business will increase sufficiently so that we can begin training unemployed Negroes for T. V. repair work."

# # #

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CORE HELPS GAIN UNION CONTRACT IN NEGRO AREA

Detroit, Mich., March 18, 1965--Joining forces with Local 876, Retail Store Employees Union, Detroit CORE has helped to win a contract with Fair Way Supermarket, a store in the Negro community.

"Community support for the picket line was almost 100%," reports Larry Anderson, the CORE group's publicity chairman. "As a consequence of CORE's effort, workers at three other grocery stores in the neighborhood have contacted our employment committee for advice on organizing. Before Fair Way was organized, employees were paid as little as 60¢ to 70¢ an hour and often worked as long as 60 hours a week."

In January, a CORE picket line at the Food Farm Market persuaded that store to rehire five Negro employees who had been discharged after trying to get Local 876 to organize the shop.

AIDS IN WINNING HOSPITAL STRIKE

Bronxville, N.Y., March 18, 1965--Aided by CORE chapters in Westchester County and other civil rights groups, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union has won an agreement reinstating workers involved in a two-month hospital strike in this notoriously conservative, white, Protestant community. The institution involved is Lawrence Hospital.

CORE and the other civil rights groups had become involved, as they have with many of Local 1199's organizational efforts, because the majority of hospital workers are minority group employees whose working conditions, prior to unionization, were substandard. CORE members had picketing Lawrence Hospital and, following a brutal attack by Westchester police on March 6, CORE National Director James Farmer issued a special appeal "to converge on the picket lines."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ARREST DEMONSTRATORS AT ALABAMA SHOW GUARDED BY STATE TROOPERS

Chicago, Ill., March 24, 1965--While two Alabama state troopers guarding the Alabama tourist exhibit at the National Boat Travel & Outdoor Show distributed tourism-boosting literature, members of Chicago CORE distributed leaflets showing Alabama troopers beating a Negro with nightsticks.

The CORE leaflet distributors stood beneath a marquee reading "Welcome to Friendly Alabama" and close to a large-sized portrait of Governor George Wallace.

"Police moved in when the group, which entered the boat show in small clusters, suddenly formed a line in front of the Alabama exhibit and began singing: 'Ain't Gonna Let No State Trooper Turn Me 'Round,'" reported the Chicago American.

Within five minutes, police arrested 40 demonstrators. Outside the building were CORE pickets with placards saying "Alabama Is a Disgrace to the U. S." and "Free Selma First." The following day, 23 more demonstrators were arrested after they chained themselves together and sat down in front of the Alabama booth. "When they refused to leave, a force of 20 officers moved in with bolt cutters to haul them away," reported the Chicago Daily News. The weekend demonstration was sponsored by Chicago CORE.

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ACTION DRIVE AGAINST BIG UTILITY BRINGS ELEVEN ARRESTS

Syracuse, N. Y., March 24, 1965--Eleven members of Syracuse CORE have been arrested in the first week of a campaign of daily sit-ins at the Niagara Mohawk Power Co., big upstate utility.

One of the sit-ins was in the office of Earle Machold, company president. Others were in other parts of the building.

"After months of negotiation and several meetings with Niagara Mohawk, it became obvious that the company was not ready or willing to change its hiring policy and had no intention of doing so," said Fern Freel, Chairman of the Employment Committee of Syracuse CORE.

Leaflets point out that "out of a total work force of 1500 employees, Niagara Mohawk employs only eight Negroes. In other words, only one out of 187 Syracusans employed by Niagara Mohawk is Negro whereas over one out of 19 Syracusans who provide Niagara Mohawk with its income and profits is a Negro."

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR ARRESTED IN DEMONSTRATION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

New York, N. Y., March 24, 1965--CORE's Associate National Director, George Wiley, was one of 48 demonstrators arrested March 19 for a sitdown in front of the Chase Manhattan Bank Building protesting the bank's policy of making loans to South Africa.

Over 500 pickets marched in front of the building. Sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, S.D.S., the demonstration was supported by other student groups and by CORE.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PROPOSED BURY-IN WINS BAN ON SEGREGATED CEMETERIES

High Point, N. C., March 24, 1965--"How can we continue to be buried in a segregated graveyard and hope someday to rise and to live eternally in an integrated heaven?"

This was the question raised by the Reverend B. Elton Cox, CORE Field Secretary and a local resident, regarding the fact that Negroes here have been buried only in the all-Negro Greenhill Cemetery. But Rev. Cox's policy in this case was one of action, not just words.

He proposed to dramatize the situation by a bury-in, in which demonstrators clad in black would solemnly march into an all-white cemetery carrying a coffin labeled: "Let Us Bury Segregation." At the same time, a Negro would attempt to buy a lot in the cemetery.

The "bury-in" never took place, however, because the North Carolina Attorney-General issued a ruling that the local cemeteries must be integrated. The ruling asserted that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does cover cemeteries.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE INCREASES PRESSURE IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA

Jonesboro, La., March 24, 1965--Three hundred fifty students marched to the office of the school board here today, lead by Glen Johnson, a student leader, to protest inadequate courses in the Negro schools.

The demonstration, organized by CORE, centered around demands for classes in foreign languages at the secondary level and improvement in curriculum. The Superintendent of the School Board stated that he would have a reply for the students and CORE tomorrow. In the meantime, 250 students are picketing the office of the school board.

The demonstration was part of the stepped-up activity in the Jonesboro area by CORE, particularly in response to the "blockading" of the Negro area by the local police. During the past week, Negroes have not been allowed to leave the area in which they live. The blockade has been lifted, but intimidation has been continued on the part of the whites in Jonesboro.

James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, organized a march yesterday and spoke at a mass rally in the roller-skate arena, with 1,000 persons attending and the crowd overflowing onto the sidewalks. Jonesboro has a total population of 8,000.

As part of the demonstrations, four Negroes attempted to be served at the Blue Grill Restaurant in a test of local compliance to the Civil Rights Act. They were refused service and arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace. Twenty-five dollars bond was required but the charge was later dropped. The four were Mrs. Queenie Esther Thompson, 22, Mr. Freeman Scott, 17, Miss Brenda Barrett, 17, and Mr. Willard Roff, 19.

James Farmer also sent a telegram to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski protesting discriminatory policies by the local post office in Jonesboro, which will not deliver mail to Negroes. Negro residents are forced to rent a post office box or stop by the post office for their mail, even when they live on the same street as the white residents, whose mail is delivered. The Postmaster General has initiated an investigation.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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Voter Classes in Burned Hall

Laurel Hill, La., March 25, 1965--CORE voter registration classes continue in Masonic Hall despite charred ceiling burnt by racists. The hall had been the site of a two-year-old CORE voter registration drive that had put Negroes back on the voter rolls for the first time in the twentieth century.

Shortly after the burning, local officials removed the names of all voters from the books and required re-registration. The day after this picture was taken, voters found that a new test was being used. This meant a new series of voter registration classes.

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FROM: CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, New York 10038
WO 4-8297

March 30, 1965

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Ann Singer
WO 4-8297

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MARVIN RICH NAMED EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, INC.

Marvin Rich of 33-43 14th Street, Long Island City, takes office on Thursday, April 1, as Executive Director of CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York 38. Mr. Rich has been on the national staff of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) since 1959, with the title of Community Relations Director.

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc., is a tax-exempt fund incorporated in 1962 to provide close support and services to non-violent, direct-action, civil rights organizations, including but not limited to CORE. Its major programs have been providing on-the-spot legal defense, both in the South and in the New York area; college and law school scholarships for students whose need arises from or is directly related to civil rights activities; and voter education-registration programs in Louisiana, north Florida, California and South Carolina.

Mr. Rich's immediate responsibilities will include expansion of on-going programs; creation of a leadership development institute for civil rights and community leaders in the New York area; and inauguration of a Community Development Fellowship Program for college and graduate students to work in impoverished Negro communities this summer.

Mr. Rich was a founder of St. Louis CORE in 1948, while a student at Washington University. Following graduation in 1950, he worked in the St. Louis labor movement as a research analyst, organizer, and administrator. He was a leader in the successful labor union drive for desegregation of St. Louis public schools immediately after the U.S. Supreme Court decision of May 1954. He joined the national staff of CORE in 1959, after military service and a brief term as a labor researcher and administrator in Washington, D.C.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MARCH ON CITY HALL DESPITE ARREST THREAT

Cincinnati, Ohio, April 1, 1965--Over 200 persons, many of them adults from the Negro community, joined Cincinnati CORE's march on City Hall on March 27, despite a radio broadcast warning from city officals that they faced possible arrest for violating a city ordinance.

The ordinance, requiring a city permit, was adopted in 1963 at the time of a local march in support of the March on Washington. Two weeks ago, a city permit for a march supporting Selma was granted only at the last minute. "We decided to ignore the ordinance, because we feel its aim is, in practice, to discourage citizens from expressing their legitimate right of assembly and protest," said Rev. Stanley Holt, the CORE group's public relations director.

Purpose of the march was to protest city policy on issues vital to the Negro community. Specifically, CORE is seeking the immediate ouster of Buildings Commissioner Donald Hunter, who not only refuses to enforce housing codes, but opposes any changes in enforcement procedures, such as creation of a housing court. A campaign for enforcement of building codes has been in progress since the CORE-initiated rent strike at the Standish Apartments last fall.

Another target of protest is the city's plan to demolish hundreds of Negro homes in the West End to build a giant parking lot for the Cincinnati Reds. Referring to this plan, one of the children in the march carried a placard saying: "We Can't Sleep in Cars."

The marchers also protested the city's employment policies in the fire and police departments. Only one Negro is employed in the fire department and the number of Negroes in the police department has declined to 41 out of a total of 600.

In addition, the marchers urged passage of fair housing and welfare bills presently before the state legislature.

# # #

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ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ELIMINATE BLACKFACE IN MINSTREL SHOW

Providence R. I., April 1, 1965--Following a protest letter signed by 18 Negro students and negotiations with representatives of Rhode Island CORE and NAACP, the Kappa Sigma fraternity at Brown University for the first time eliminated blackface from its annual minstrel show on March 27.

"Through conversations with officials of CORE and NAACP, we have realized that in today's explosive atmosphere, a show of this type has wide-ranging repercussions in the greater Providence community," said a fraternity statement printed in the Brown Daily Herald. "To make the show more acceptable to the entrie Negro community, we have decided to eliminate the use of blackface. We also pledge that next year, the form and implications of the show will receive much deeper re-examination and re-evaluation in the light of this year's criticism."

CORE members of the negotiating team were Mrs. Tony Coolidge, Mrs. Arlene McKenzie, Mrs. Marguerite Costa, Robert Mason and George Lima.

In Philadelphia, for the second successive year, blackface was eliminated from the New Year's Day Mummers Parade as a result of CORE protest action.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM DAY MARCH IN MISSISSIPPI, CONTRAST TO LAST YEAR'S

Canton, Miss., April 1-- The Freedom Day march on March 30, in which 54 Negroes marched to the courthouse and filled out voter registration applications, was a peaceful contrast to the first one held a year ago in which helmeted police auxiliaries mounted a shotgun guard along the entire line of march.

On that occasion, marchers arriving from out of town were halted by a barricade of city police, while sheriffs and deputies from Madison as well as surrounding counties patrolled the streets in white prowl cars. Only six Negroes got inside the courthouse to fill out the forms. Two days later all seven local CORE staff members were arrested in connection with a school boycott.

"This year, very few police were on hand, and there were no attempts at intimidation," reports CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond. He said that the next local action will be a thorough testing of public accommodations.

The day before the march, a memorial service was held for Jimmie Jackson, Rev. James Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, the three murder victims of the recent Selma crisis. All the Negro stores and one white store responded to pleas to remain closed during the service.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

UNWELCOME KLAN CHIEF BLASTS GOVERNOR FOR NOT DEMOUNCING CORE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Hemingway, S. C., April 8, 1965--At a news conference just prior to a Ku Klux Klan rally here on April 13, Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton denounced Governor Donald Russell for opposing his coming into South Carolina while remaining mum on CORE's recently launched voter registration drive.

"A Communist training school established in South Carolina by COFO arrived in Columbia last week to start a Negro voter registration, but we haven't hear any objection to that from him," Shelton is quoted as saying by The State and The Columbia Record.

CORE Organization Director, James McCain, who is heading the statewide voter registration drive, explains: "While the KKK chief is quoted as saying 'COFO', he obviously meant CORE, since we are the only organization working on viter registration in Columbia as the date the State and Record articles were written."

The day before the Klan rally, the newspaper's lead editorial, headed "No Hoods Wanted," opened with: "The one thing South Carolina does not need, does not want, does not deserve, is local activity by the Ku Klux Klan."

Also opposing the Klan rally--and denounced along with the governor by Shelton as being "in the kiddie ring with President Johnson," was Hemingway's mayor, L. D. Lewis. Two days after the rally, in the town of Prosperity, a group of hooded and masked men broke into the jail and threatened the life of a Negro prisoner, Freddie Jackson.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DEMONSTRATE ON SCHOOLS IN BOSTON AND BALTIMORE

Boston, Mass., April 8, 1965--Over 1,000 persons picketed the opening session of the National School Board Association's convention here on April 4 protesting the organization's convening in a city where the local school board "has consistently insulted Negro parents, neglected Negro children and refused to deal with the problem of racial imbalance."

So stated leaflets distributed during the demonstration, which was sponsored by Boston CORE along with 18 other local groups. Placards carried by the pickets specifically denounced Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, the school board's chairman, who was on the auditorium's platform welcoming convention delegates. Mrs. Hicks, who is serving her second term, has stated that the board is concerned with education, not racial imbalance.

Baltimore, Maryland, April 8, 1965--A mass march on the school board was conducted on April 8 by Baltimore CORE and the Student Committee on Racial Equality climaxing a campaign for construction of a new Dunbar High School.

In addition, the marchers are requesting preferential consideration for all other bad, inner-city schools, initiation of a non-graded curriculum in these schools, instruction in Negro history, up-to-date vocational training and clinical reading services.

"Many of Baltimore's schools are obsolete, thousands of Negroes are denied first class education and are provided with obsolete books and equipment," point out the leaflets distributed.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STALL-IN BLOCKS ENTRANCES TO UTILITY PLANT WITH BIASED EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Syracuse, New York, April 8, 1965--For almost two hours during the early morning of April 8, a stall-in by four CORE-driven cars blocked three entrances to the Niagara Mohawk Power Company plant and cars attempting to enter were backed up for several miles.

The four drivers, Paul Leonard, Edwin Day, Bob Lubetsky and John McDowell, chained themselves underneath the stalled cars while a fifth CORE member, Robert Tenney, sat-in one of the vehicles. A squad of 50 policemen unchained the men, arrested them and moved the stalled vehicles out of the entranceways at approximately 9 a.m.

The demonstration was the most recent step in Syracuse CORE's campaign to get the giant utility to adopt a fair hiring policy. Nonviolent action, in the form of sit-ins, started in mid-March after months fo fruitless negotiations. At Syracuse CORE's last count, the company employed only eight Negroes out of a total work force of 1500.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM HOUSE HONORS SLAIN CORE OFFICIAL

Cleveland, Ohio, April 8, 1965--Cleveland CORE marked the first anniversary of the death of its vice chairman, Rev. Bruce Klunder, by launching a local and national fund drive for a Freedom House in his honor.

Rev. Klunder was killed April 7, 1964, when a bulldozer accidentally backed up over his prostrate body during a demonstration against de facto school segregation.

"The Klunder Freedom House will be located in the central area where residents can learn the role of civil rights organizations in effecting social change " said Ruth Turner, Executive Secretary of Cleveland CORE.

The fund drive was launched at a memorial service at Friendship Baptist Church, attended by some 400 persons. Chief speakers were Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi and John Lewis, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

A second memorial service, together with a symposium civil rights workshop, was conducted the Church of the Covenant by the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHURCH BURNS ON NIGHT AFTER NEGROES TRY TO REGISTER

Brandon, Miss., April 15 1965--On April 12, the very night after six members of Mount Pisgah Baptist Church came to this Rankin county seat to attempt to register their little church was completely destroyed by fire. A five-gallon fuel can was discovered under the charred floor joists the following morning.

CORE Task Force Worker Joanne Ooiman, who works at the Canton COFO office, reported that voter registration courses had been held at the church for several weeks but that nobody had gone to Brandon to attempt to register until April 11. The church was located in a sparsely settled Negro community about 12 miles from here and 25 miles from Canton. It was the fifth Negro church to be burned in Rankin county since early last year.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Syracuse, N.Y., April 15, 1965--

CLERICS VIGIL FOR FASTING CORE MEMBER

Syracuse, N. Y., April 15, 1965--Some 30 local clergymen are taking turns in a two-man, round-the-clock vigil insdie the Public Safety Building to support Roger Knapp, a local CORE leader who is jailed-in and fasting.

On April 13, CORE National Director James Farmer joined local CORE members in a protest demonstration in the building's lobby. He then conferred with the mayor's Commission on Human Rights on the issue which prompted Knapp's arrest--the discriminatory employment policy of Niagara Mohawk Power Company.

The arrest was made at Grace Memorial Church, two days after a stall-in by four CORE driven cars at the Niagara Mohawk plant. Knapp is accused of "interference with the arrest" of one of the drivers, Edwin Day. He had tried to dissuade police from attempting to forcibly yank Day from beneath a car before even cutting the chains binding him to the vehicle.

Although Knapp's original $500 bail has been rescinded, enabling him to come out on his own recognizance he insists on remaining jailed-in until Niagara Mohawk issues "a positive statement in good faith" regarding adoption of a fair employment policy.

EIGHT SCHOOL SIT-INNERS ARRESTED ON THIRD DAY

Baltimore, Md., April 15 1965--After sitting-in three days in the school board offices, eight members of Baltimore CORE were arrested on April 12. The sit-in started after a mass march on the school board climaxing a campaign for construction of a new Dunbar High School and improved educational facilities at inner-city schools.

"We're going to stay here until we get some concrete reply to our demands," James Griffin, chairman of Baltimore CORE had announced. A second school march is being planned.

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FARMER LEADS MARCH IN BOGALUSA

Bogalusa, La. April 15 1965--CORE National Director James Farmer led over 400 Negro residents of this Klan-ridden town on a Freedom March to City Hall on April 9, six hours after an original attempt to march had been halted by police following an outbreak of violence from white onlookers.

In the course of this outbreak, at the border of the downtown section, Randall Pounds attempted to blackjack Farmer but was thwarted by police. Other white onlookers assaulted newsmen. Four of the attackers, including Pounds were arrested four days later. This first attempt to march was halted by police after the assistant police chief's car accidentally struck and injured one of the whites who rushed at the marchers.

Six hours later, in mid-afternoon, the march was resumed and this time the marchers reached City Hall without incident. There, they were greeeted by Mayor Jesse Cutrer Jr., who promised that both he and the City Council would negotiate on demands for desegregation of public accomodations equal employment and educational opportunities and extension to all the community of sewers, paved roads and adequate street lighting. Another demand is for mail delivery to Negro homes, which at present is nonexistent.

However initial attempts at negotiation collapsed and on April 14, stores in the downtown area were picketed. Segregationists countered with a "buy-in" and recorded commercials by the Citizens Council urged whites to "look at them (the pickets) and laugh." Directing the picketing was Will Ussery, CORE Vice-Chairman from San Francisco, where the national office of Crown Zellerbach Corp. is located. He recently headed a 55-man deputation which conferred with top company officials there. Crown Zellerbach a paper manufacturer is the biggest industry in Bogalusa. Its plant is completely segregated.

Presently not even the restaurants which CORE integrated in January will serve Negroes. When Negroes enter, managers make a phone call and within five minutes white vigilantes arrive.

Two days before the march, there was a gunfire volley at the home where CORE Task Force Worker William Yates is staying but no CORE members were involved in the shooting.

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CITY HALL PICKETING FOLLOWS SECOND MARCH LED BY FARMER

Bogalusa, La. April 22, 1965--Bogalusa's City Hall was picketing for the first time on April 21, the day after CORE National Director James Farmer led a second mass march demanding negotiations on demands for desegregation of public accomodations, equal employment and educational opportunities and improved community facilities for Negroes.

An additional demand was for the ouster of three policemen who during the previous week had harassed Negro pickets at downtown stores and had failed to protect them against violence from white counter-pickets.

Mayor Jesse Cutrer, Jr., who at the conclusion of the first march, on April 9, greeted the marchers at City Hall and pledged to negotiate, has since assumed a stand of refusing to bargain until he can decide who represents the Negro community. CORE leaders charge that this is simply an evasion.

Following the April 20 march, in which over 600 persons participated, Farmer pledged even bigger demonstrations in this Klan-ridden town unless negotiations are forthcoming. Meanwhile, CORE Vice Chairman Will Ussery, returned to San Francisco where he again will meet with officials of the Crown Zellerbach Corp., whose segregated plant is the biggest industry in Bogalusa.

Hooded Officers in Police Station

Following his release on bond, Charles Williams, a civil rights worker, complained to the F.B.I. that he had been threatened by hooded officers while he was being booked on April 15. He said that before being placed in a cell, he was questioned by six men withwhite hoods who wore the khaki shirts and trousers of deputy sheriffs.

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CORE SLUM TOUR FOR PITTSBURGH OFFICIALS

Pittsburgh, Pa., April 22, 1965--Most recent action in Pittsburgh CORE's campaign to eliminate health hazards in slum area housing was to conduct a two-hour tour of the Hill district for a group of city and county officials.

"It's criminal to have to live in conditions like this," commented County Commissioner John McGrady after visiting a delapidated, three-story house. Other officals on the tour included J. Clyde Taylor, city building inspector and Edward Stockton, chief of the county health department's bureau of environmental health.

"The tour was arranged because we have been unable to demonstrate these situations on paper," explained Nicholas Flournoy chairman of Pittsburgh CORE. He promised "direct action against responsible officials" in the event the tour fails to bring concrete results. The CORE group recently picketed City Hall.

CORE SHOWS BOSTON SLUMS TO STATE LEGISLATORS

Boston, Mass., April 22 1965--Twelve state legislators recently were given a first-hand view of the Roxbury district's slums in a tour organized by Boston CORE. Subsequently, Alan Gartner, chairman of Boston CORE, together with Martin Luther King met with the mayor and discussed the housing issue as well as de facto school segregation.

Specifically, Boston CORE is seeking establishment of a new, comprehensive city agency which will deal with housing problems.

NEW HAVEN MAYOR BLASTS SLUMLORDS AFTER CORE MEETING

New Haven, Conn. April 22, 1965--Following a meeting with representatives of New Haven CORE, Mayor Richard Lee issued a statement denouncing "a new breed of slum landlord who has come into his own in the past few years" and cited the names of eleven slumlords, including a former Republican mayorality candidate.

In a report entitled "The Shame of Our City," New Haven CORE said, "Although the city has passed a strong housing code, it has not sought to enforce it, with the result that private slumlords do not make necessary repairs."

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ENDS JAIL-IN AND FAST AS COMPANY NEGOTIATES

Syracuse, N. Y., April 22, 1965--When Roger Knapp, a local CORE leader, was arrested on April 8 in connection with the campaign for a fair employment policy at the Niagara Mohawk Power Co., he committed himself to jail-in and fast until the company started to bargain in good faith.

Eleven days later, on April 19 he came out of jail and ended his fast as Niagara Mohawk started negotiations with a three-man committee representing Syracuse CORE. On the management negotiating team was Company Vice President Gus Waters. This complied with Knapp's stipulation that management's bargaining committee include officials empowered to make decisions.

Although his original $500 bail had been rescinded, enabling him to come out on his own recognizance he insisted on remaining jailed-in until negotiations got underway. A group of local clergymen supported him with a round-the-clock vigil inside the Public Safety Building.

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CORE PICKETS END BAN AT WORLD'S FAIR

New York, N.Y., April 29, 1965 -- More than 100 pickets from CORE groups in the New York area marched in front of the New York City Building at the World's Fair on April 25, ending a picketing ban which had prevailed throughout the Fair's first season. They were counter-picketed by nine white youths calling themselves the Society to Prevent Negroes from Getting Everything (SPONGE), a name which originated among commuters during last summer's white backlash.

Backed by CORE's two court victories upholding the right to picket at the Fair, the pickets on April 25 had been prepared to swear out arrest warrants against any Pinkerton policeman attempting to interfere with their rights. The Pinkertons did confiscate some of the placards at the Fair's gate, but sufficient placards were concealed under overcoats. Once the picket line was established, the Pinkertons made no attempt to disperse it.

The demonstration was the first direct action in CORE's campaign to defeat Mayor Wagner in the coming election "because of his obvious disregard for the Negro and Puerto Rican communities and the major problems of New York City," stated CORE Regional Director Joyce Ware. " We want to make it clear that our demonstration is not against the World's Fair but against the huge sum of money the city has put into the Fair and which could have been used to cure the ills of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities."

In Brooklyn, CORE National Director James Farmer has endorsed the formation of a local Freedom Democratic Movement and has backed the candidacy of the local CORE chairman, Major Owens, for City Council.

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NEGOTIATIONS START IN BOGALUSA

Bogalusa, La., April 29, 1965 -- Following two weeks of direct action, highligh by two mass marches under the leadership of CORE National Director James Farmer, Mayor Jesse Cutrer, Jr. has started to negotiate with CORE and the Bogalusa Voters League.

The negotiations were initiated through the efforts of a three-man mediatio team whose intercession was welcomed by both sides. The team includes Camille Gravel, an Alexandria attorney and former Democratic National Committeeman; Victor Bussie, president of the Louisiana AFL-CIO and State Senator Michael O'Ke Previously, the mayor had refused to bargain, claiming that he could not decide who represents the Negro community.

The demands include desegregation of public accomodations, improved communit facilities for Negroes and equal employment and educational opportunities. On the employment issue, the picketing of downtown stores, which started on April 2 is continuing.

SCHOOL RULING FOLLOWS FILING OF CORE BOND SUIT

New Orleans, La., April 29, 1965 -- Following the filing of a CORE suit challeng the legality of bonds for segregated schools, U.S. Judge Frank Ellis ordered the St. Tammany parish school board to present a desegregation plan by May 14. The suit, seeking to block issuance of $2 million in school bonds, was brought o behalf of Thomas Smith, a Negro resident of the parish.

"The court action put in question the entire legality of school bonds from a segregated school district and is expected to severely affect the willingness of brokerage houses and financial underwriters to buy such bonds," explained CORE Chief Counsel Carl Rachlin.

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FARMER LAUNCHES VOTER DRIVE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia, S.C., April 29 -- At a rally on April 25, attended by over 600 persons, CORE National Director James Farmer launched a statewide voter registration campaign which will constitute one of CORE's two main projects for the coming summer. The other is in Louisiana.

"The political situation has changed considerably since the recent death of South Carolina's senior senator," said CORE Program Director James McCain, who is a native of the state and who is heading the CORE drive. "Governor Russell stepped down so that he could be appointed senator for the unexpired term. This means that South Carolina will elect two senators in the 1966 genera election.

"If we work hard enough to increase the Negro vote by at least 100,000 or more, we definitely can make the difference in terms of who will be elected. Of course, no one knows at the moment who will run against Thurmond and Russell. We do know, however, that Russell is against the voting bill now before Congress and that Thurmond is against everything connected with civil rights." The unseating of Thurmond, who ran for President on the Dixiecrat ticket in 1948, will be one of the key objectives of our campaign."

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CORE CHAIRMAN FIRED FOR LEADING PICKET LINE

Rockville, Md., May 6, 1965--The day after leading a picket line at the county office building protesting the appointment of two segregationists to the Montgomery County Human Relations Commission, Michael Tabor, chairman of Suburgan Washington CORE, was fired from his job as welfare department social worker. County Manager Mason Butcher admitted that the picketing, which he described as "conduct unbecoming a county employee," was the sole readon for the dismissal.

A protest march on the county office building is being planned by Citizens Against County Tyranny, a local minister group headed by Rev. David Harris Cole. The American Civl Liberties Union will challenge the idsmissal.

Tabor, who has sued for reinstatement with back pay, commented: "The appointm to the Montgomer County Human Relations Commission of segregationists and my own termination of employment for 'conduct unbecoming a county employee' is indicative of the County Council's view regarding civil rights and racial matters, generally."

The two appointments which the CORE group protested were those of Rev. William Adams, who gave the invocation for Governor Wallace of Alabama during his election campaign appearance here and Mrs. William Brueggeman, who is affiliated with ultra-rightist groups and has opposed publicly the penalizing of discriminatory barbers and restaurant owners. Rev. Adams was nominated to the Human Relations Commission by John Henry Hiser, a county councilman who also is an outspoken segregationist. Two years ago Hiser closed the local theaters which he owns rather than integrate them.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FIRST FREEDOM RIDE NORTH

Syracuse, N.Y., May 6, 1965--Twenty-one civil rights workers from Selma, Alabama, arrived here aboard a bus in the late afternoon of May 5 on the first Freedom Ride North sponsored jointly by CORE and SNCC. On the side of the bus were signs saying "Selmacuse," an abbreviation of Selma to Syracuse, and "Freedom in 1965." Coordinators of the Selma group are Scott Smith, Jr. and John Hewlitt.

Some 400 persons, including members of seven upstate CORE groups and local residents greeted the riders at the bus station and marched with them to Clinton Square for a rally addressed by CORE National Director James Farmer. Speaking to over 1500 persons, Farmer chided Mayor William Walsh for having "skipped town" after asserting earlier that he welcomed the Selma riders.

The day after their arrival, the riders went into action, picketing the Niagara Mohawk Power Co. in protest over its discriminatory employment policy and vigiling at the jail where John McDowell, Executive Secretary of Syracuse CORE has been imprisoned since April 24. He had been arrested on that date, along with other members of a local CORE team attempting to negotiate with officials of Niagara Mohawk. Out of a total work force of 1500, the company employs only nine Negroes, all of whom are in menial postions.

The Freedom Ride North had been announced at a joint press conference by CORE National Director James Farmer and SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman. The announced aim of the Freedom Ride was to "dramatize northern hypocrisy on the race issue." Other Freedom Rides are being planned.

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FIRST ARRESTS IN FREEDOM RIDE NORTH PROJECT

Syracuse, N.Y., May 13, 1965--First arrests of the CORE-SNCC Freedom Ride North occurred on May 12 when seven sit-inners were seized at the Niagara Mohawk Power Co.'s "Powerama" dispaly in the Syracuse War Memorial.

The arrests were made at 11 p.m. two hours after the exhibit closed for the night. The sit-in started at 6 p.m.

Among the seven arrested were two of the Freedom Riders from Selma, Alabama: John Hope and Ester Delock. The other five were Rev. Emery Proctor of AME Zion Church, Robert Tenney, Executive Secretary of the Syracuse Peace Council and Pat Sandov, John Williams and LeRoy Wright, members of Syracuse CORE.

Twenty-one civil rights workers from Selma arrived here aboard a Freedom Bus on May 5 to join Syracuse CORE's campaign for a fair employment policy at Niagara Mohawk. The company employs only nine Negroes out of a total work force of 1500.

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SIT-IN OVER WIDOWED MOTHER OF NINE SPOTLIGHTS HOUSING ISSUE

New Haven, Conn., May 13, 1965--"Why did 12 young people deliberately get themselves arrested in City Hall Monday?" asks a staff reporter of the New Haven Journal-Courier in a feature story about New Haven CORE's May 10 sit-in at the Mayor's office.

"'What we are trying to do,' said one CORE member, ' is to take one case out of context and dramatize it to focus attention on the entire (housing) problem.'

"The case taken out of context is that of Mrs. Dorothy Watts, a widowed mother of nine, who lives in a substandard dwelling on Lock Street. The city moved her there until they could find permanent acceptable quarters for her. Mrs. Watts has been there since August, 1963. CORE charges that the Redevelopment Agency promised on March 4 to more her within 60 days to standard housing. Her four previous dwellings included two places owned and eventually demolished by the State Highway Department, two others gutted by fire."

Following the sit-in, Melvin Adams, head of the Redevelopment Agency, said that Mrs. Watts promptly would be offered a five-bedroom unit on Elm Avenue. However, local demonstrations on housing will continue, said CORE Chairman Walter Brooks who was among the arrested sit-inners, "because we are dealing with all substandard housing in the city, not just one case."

"ROACHES ARE MY PLAYMATES"

Detroit, Mich., May 13, 1965--Picketing the construction site of the swank St. Regis Hotel, one of the sons of Mrs. Delores Whiteside, carried a placard saying "Roaches Are My Playmates." Mrs. Whiteside's sign pointed out, facetiously: "Goodman Has a Private Poverty Program."

The reference was to Goodman Brothers Real Estate, owners of the St.

-more-

Regis and also of the slum building on Seward Street where Mrs. Whiteside lives and, along with several other families, has been threatened with eviction because of activity in a tenants council which Detroit CORE helped to organize.

The council has offered to discuss the issue with the realtor, but only with a CORE representative present. Refusing to negotiate on this basis, Sam Goodman said: "CORE isn't my tenant."

WIN PACT WITH D.C. REALTOR

Washington, D. C., May 13, 1965--An open occupancy agreement which, according to Mordecai Johnson, Chairman of Washington CORE's Housing Committee, marks "the first time that a D. C. realtor has taken a stand to break the 'white noose' around the nation's capitol," has been reached between Washington CORE and the William Calomiris Investment Corporation.

"This also marks the first time a real estate company has made a committment to a civil rights organization to sit down and go over a list of its white property in order to achieve true opn occupancy in housing," Johnson said.

Apartments in predominantly white buildings will be advertised in the Negro press as well as in the major dailies.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE AND ACLU URGE ACTION ON NEW ORLEANS RACIAL BOMBINGS

New Orleans, La., May 13, 1965--Pointing out that six racial bombings occurred here during March and April, CORE and the Louisiana branch of the American Civil Liberties Union joined in asking Mayor Victor Schiro "To not wait until New Orleans resembles Birmingham before taking a public position."

Specifically, CORE Southern Director Richard Haley and Louisiana ACLU President Steven Tubin, urged the Mayor to "Make a forceful public statement denouncing the bombings, announce his intention to apprehend and prosecute those responsible and propose an ordinance to the city council with the stiffest possible penalties for bombings."

The bombings occurred on March 9 at the Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, two days after an interracial meeting had been held there; on March 13 at the home of a minister involved in the civil rights movement; on March 21 at a store owned by the local chairman of the Anti-Defamation League; on April 12 at the home of parents of a Newcomb College student active in civil rights; on April 29 at the home of the first Negro family to move into the St. Thomas housing project and on April 20 at the residence of a Negro woman.

The St. Thomas housing project became integrated as a consequence of a non-discriminatory policy adopted by the New Orleans Housing Authority following CORE protests.

# # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM RIDERS RETURN TO SELMA

Syracuse, N.Y., May 20, 1965--After two weeks of nonviolent action in Syracuse CORE's campaign for a fair employment policy at the Niagara Mohawk Power Co., 21 civil rights workers from Selma, Alabama, boarded their bus on May 18 for the return trip.

Thus ended the first Freedom Ride North, sponsored jointly by CORE and SNCC "to dramatize northern hypocrisy on the race issue." The day before departure, two of the Selma contingent, Mary Ann Rutledge and Leon Russell, along with two members of Syracuse CORE, were arrested for a sitdown on the steps of the home of Gus Waters, Vice-President of Niagara Mohawk. On May 12, seven sit-inners, including two of the Selma riders, were arrested at Niagara Mohawk's "Powerama" display in the Syracuse War Memorial.

During their two-week stay in Syracuse, the Selma rights workers picketed the Niagara Mohawk plant, engaged in several street rallies and canvassed the Negro community. Niagara Mohawk, biggest upstate New York utility, employs only nine Negroes out of a total work force of 1500.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE SHIFTED FROM BIASED CLUB

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 20, 1965--Following a protest from Pittsburgh CORE that the Pittsburgh Athletic Associate refuses to admit Negroes or Jews, the Macmillan Co., New York publisher, shifted the site of its educational conference from the Association's headquarters to the Webster Hall Hotel.

Purpose of the conference was to promote a new line of elementary school reading primers with illustrations showing both Negroes and whites.

CLOSE MINSTREL GAME AT STUDENT CARNIVAL

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 20, 1965--A ring-toss game using minstrels was shut down after twelve CORE members joined hands and blocked entrance to the booth of the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity at Carnegie Institue of Technology's student carnical.

After Thelma Jackson, Vice-Chairman of the CORE group registered an initial protest over the blackfaced figures, members of the fraternity painted them white. Subsequently, someone painted one of the figures black again. The CORE demonstration followed. The fraternity members then closed the booth, reopened it a few minutes later and then closed it permanently when the CORE demonstrators reappeared.

JOIN HAMMERMILL DEMONSTRATION

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 20, 1965--Pittsburgh CORE participated in the May 12 mass picketing and sitdown demonstration sponsored by SNCC and SCLC at the Erie plant of Hammermill Paper Co. The demonstration won an agreement from the company to take a positive stand on civil rights in Selma, Alabama, site of its new plant.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ARMED WHITES ATTACK GROUP DESEGREGATING PARK

Bogalusa, La., May 20, 1965--Armed with brass knuckles, clubs and guns, a gang of whites attacked Negroes who came to Cassidy Park on May 19 after Mayor Jesse Cutrer, Jr., had promised that the parks in the Klan-ridden town would be desgregated.

"There were 75 city and state policemen and deputy sheriffs on hand, but they made no attempt to protect our rights," reports CORE Southern Director Richard Haley. "They finally loosed police dogs on the crowd and one of them bit Robert Hicks, Jr., son of a local civil rights leader. The Mayor's statement that young Hicks provoked the dog by attempting to kick it is without foundation."

The boy was taken to a hospital, as was Mrs. Mary Williams, who was whipped over the head by one of the whites. The only person arrested was a Negro, Samuel Barnes.

The onslaught stated when the leader of the whites removed his belt and hit a seven-year-old girl with it. "They charged the women and children, beating them with clubs," reported Rita Marsh of the San Francisco Committee of Concern for Bogalusa. "Two whites hit me with clubs and a fat man threw his club at me as I ran." The Committee of Concern is based in San Francisco, site of the national office of Crown Zellerbach Corp., which is the largest industry in Bogalusa.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WEAVER REJECTS URBAN RENEWAL PLAN OPPOSED BY CORE

Englewood, N.J., May 20, 1965--Robert Weaver, administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, has refused to approve the city's urban renewal plan which Bergen County CORE has opposed.

Suppressed by City Hall for a month, Weaver's letter to the Mayor was made public after news of it had leaked to the local newspaper.

Upholding the CORE group's contentions, Weaver wrote: "The fact that the proposed sites are within a predominantly Negro section of the city and the fact that the public housing units would constitute a major relocation resource for Negro families displaced by the urban renewal program, lead us to conclude that the current proposals would substantially contribute to minority group segregation in the public housing unit. Our concern regarding this issue has been heightened by the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Bergen County CORE had charged, in addition, that the number of units proposed was inadequate, that they were too high priced and that the plan contained no provisions for improving blighted areas. After canvassing individuals and neighborhood groups in the Negro area, CORE drafted its own urban renewal plan, which was forwarded to the federal agencies involved. Federal officials arranged a meeting between the CORE plan's spokesmen and city officials, butthe latter remained adamant. Federal funds for the city's plan have been withheld since last June when CORE initiated its campaign for an urban renewal plan which meets community needs.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FIRST CORE DEMONSTRATION IN BIRCHITE STRONGHOLD

Santa Ana, Calif., May 27, 1965--A newly organized CORE group recently conducted its first demonstration in this seat of Orange county, southern California's stronghold of ultra-rightist organizations. The town has made headlines recently because of its police chief's unsuccessful attempts to break the John Birch Society's control over the police force.

The demonstration, involving 35 pickets, took place in front of the local branch of Thriftimart Supermarkets, a chain which for more then a year has been a target of Los Angeles CORE and the United Civil Rights Committee as a consequence of its discriminatory employment policy.

"Although we were legally picketing on the sidewalk, we were threatened with arrest," reports CORE Field Secretary Louis Smith. "Marine military police arrived with two paddy wagons to carry us away. The arrest attempt was called off only after I told management and police that we would bring suit if our picketing rights were impaired.

"Next, management encouraged teenagers to ride through our lines on skateboards and to block it with bicycles. Then, employees blocked the sidewalk with shopping carts, forcing us into the street. A white minister among the pickets was insuslted continuously by the youths. As the pickets concluded the demonstration with some freedom singing, they were attacked by supervisory employees. Credit should be given to members of this new CORE chapter for averting injury and preventing major violence."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE COMPLAINT BRINGS WITHHOLDING OF U. S. AID TO COUNTY'S SCHOOLS

Riverdale, Maryland, May 27, 1965--As a consequence of a complaint filed by Suburban Washington CORE, the U. S. Office of Education has withheld federal aid to the schools of Prince George's County, Maryland, for the 1965 fiscal year. This was disclosed by OE officials at a meeting with a committee headed by Michael Tabor, chairman of the CORE group.

"The county enforces a strict neighborhood school system on white residents, but not on Negro residents," the CORE complaint charged. Negro students are bussed from all over the county to a small number of Negro schools such as Fairmount Heights Senior High School and Douglass Senior High School and Douglass Senior High School.

"In illustration of the bad faith displayed by the school board and of its intention to continue this discriminatory practice, it should be noted that when questioned about this policy of bussing, County School Superintendent Schmidt said the bussing 'does not cost the county an extra cent.' This is obviously not true. The county is using tax funds to finance a policy of segregation in open violation of the law."

ARREST STAND-INNERS IN FRONT OF SCHOOL BUS

Milawukee, Wisc., May 27, 1965--Nine demonstrators, including State Assemblyman Lloyd Barbee, chairman of the United School Integration Committee, were arrested May 24 as they linked arms and stood in front of a bus transferring Negro students from the overcrowded Brown Street school to another school where they remain segregated. Two others were arrested for sitting down in front of the bus.

The demonstration was part of a campaign to change the school board's policy of segregating students in the schools to which they are transferred. Starting May 5, Milwaukee CORE sponsored sit-ins in the office of School Superintendent Harold Vincent. and demonstrations at meetings of the school board.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BOGALUSA'S MAYOR ANNOUNCES NEW POLICY, FARMER HAILS IT

Bogalusa, La., May 27, 1965--On May 23, Mayor Jesse Cutrer, Jr., in a radio address, announced a new policy on community desegregation and CORE National Director James Farmer, speaking an hour later to an overflow rally at Ebenezer Baptist Church, said: "You are on the threshold of the greatest breakthrough in any southern city in the past five years."

"The mayor had fine words and we must applaud them. But now we must see to it that the deeds follow the words. The fight is not ended--the most difficult part is ahead. You must hold your movement together."

Shortly after midnight on the previous day, two whites were arrested for attempting to set afire the church where Farmer spoke.

The mayor's new policy was an outcome of a negotiations session May 16 with representatives of the Bogalusa Civic & Voters League and CORE. It has the full support of the community affairs committee, which includes 24 business, labor and professional leaders.

In his radio talk, the mayor promised that all city ordinances requiring segregation would be repealed, that Negro policemen would be hired and that the city council will act on Negro demands for sewage and water mains in their area. He also pledged that "anyone, white or Negro, who attempts to violate the rights of another or cause bodily harm will be promptly arrested, charged and prosecuted." He asserted: "Everyone must recognize the fact that federal laws supersede city and state laws in the field of civil rights for all citizens."

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CLERICS JOIN CORE DEMONSTRATION ON URBAN RENEWAL

Chester, Pa., June 3, 1965--Thirteen Episcopal clergyment joined in mass picketing at the Chester Redevelopment Authority over an urban renewal plan which, according to Chester CORE Chairman Donald Jackson, would force over 4,000 displaced Negroes to leave the city. The demonstration was the first by a newly-formed CORE group here.

Following a meeting with John Fitzgerald, director of the Chester Redevelopment Authority, Rev. Layton Zimmer, leader of the clergymen's contingent, siad: "We are not picketing against him perosnally. Rather, we are supporting the CORE chapter in its demand for more specific plans for the relocation of the poverty-stricken."

Under the urban renewal plan, known as the waterfront industrial project, an entire Negro slum area would be razed and replaced by new homes which will be beyond the price range of the present Negro residents.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ADOPT CORE PLAN ON JOB STORE COUNT

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 3, 1965--A plan drafted by Cincinnati CORE for a store-by-store count of minority group employment, ended a deadlock in negotiations with downtown department stores. The negotiations had been in progress forrtwo years.

The plan calls upon the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission to establish an ad hoc committee including representatives of CORE and of management in addtion to members of the Commission.

"The ad hoc committee will gather racial statistics on all hiring and firing since January 1965 and will update its reports each month," explained Rev. Stanley Holt, the CORE group's public relations director. "The committee also will collect racial data on upgrading off employees and salary increases. We feel that the plan's adoption is a major step forward."

The issue of a store-by-store count has been a major one in San Francisco where several department stores were picketed by CORE and where an agreement was negotiated.

# # #

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FREEDOM MARCH THROUGH RANKIN COUNTY

Brandon, Miss., June 3, 1965--Rural Rankin County, which set Mississippi's county record for the number of Negro churches burned within the past year (five), was the scene of a Freedom March May 28-29 by some 300 Negroes and whites.

Aimed at protesting the seating of Mississippi's five congressmen and the voter discrimination which made this possible, the march was sponsored jointly by CORE and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. One of the demonstration's leaders was CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond.

"We want to let them know we're not afraid," commented Rube Lee Myers, a marcher from Haynes Chapel. But on this particular occasion there was little grounds for fear since state and county officials apparently were anxious to avert the kind of terrorism which has prevailed in this Klan stronghold. State and county police accompanied the marcher for the entire 15 miles from Fannin to Brandon, the county seat.

When the marchers arrived at the courthouse, Mayor C. J. Harvey promptly met with their leaders. About 50 of the marchers were guided to the registar's office to take registration tests and the remainder were escorted to an upstairs courtroom where they sang freedom songs until the start of the rally in;front of the courthouse.

The main speaker at the rally was CORE National Director James Farmer, who predicted that as an outcome of the new voting bill, from one to two million southern Negroes will be registered to vote within six months.

At present only 94 of Rankin County's 6,944 Negroes of voting age are registered in contrast to over 12,000 of its 13,264 whites.

# # #

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
June 9, 1966

MANIFESTO OF THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH

SIGNED: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., MR. FLOYD MCKISSICK, MR. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, MR. CHARLES EVERS, MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY, DELTA MINISTRY and THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT.

This march will be a massive public indictment and protest of the failure of American society, the Government of the United States and the state of Mississippi to "Fulfill These Rights." We are all aware that Mississippi is symbolic of every evil that American Negroes have long endured. James Meredith returned to Mississippi to confront the problems of fear and political disenfranchisement that have plagued black Americans of this State. Mississippi's reply to Meredith's witness was a blast from a 16 guage shotgun. Decent Americans will not allow this march for freedom and justice to end here.

We are determined that James Meredith's pilgrimage and wounds will not have been in vain. Hence, we dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of these rights: We call upon the President of the United States to:

1. Send voting examiners into all 600 Deep South counties to register disenfranchised Negroes. Only thus will ballots instead of buckshot become the voice of the South. The responsibility of the President does not end there. We further declare it to be incumbent upon him to establish machinery to make certain that the ballots are counted honestly in order to eliminate fraud. It is further necessary that registrars be mobile in order to reach citizens on the plantations often unable to register.

2. The President must order the Department of Justice, the FBI and U. S. Marshals to actively enforce existing federal law to protect the rights of all Americans.

3. The President must strengthen the Civil Rights Bill of 1966, press for its enactment and thorough enforcement. It should be amended to provide for automatic application of its jury provisiions in the state courts of the South and to place Negroes on juries in proportion to their number. Moreover, Negroes who are illiterate because they have been denied an education in most Southern communities must not be further deprived of their right to serve on juries. The Bill must be amended to extend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to state and local governments so that Negro policemen and state patrolmen be employed to protect all Americans instead of standing by while a sniper strikes down James Meredith.

4. An adequate budget must be proposed by the President and enacted by Congress in order to bring black people of the Northern city ghettoes and Southern rural districts into the making of their own destinies.

But, most improtant of all--the President of the United States who is charged with the duty of enforcing the laws of the United States, must enforce those laws justly and impartially for all men.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/10/66)

Led by CORE National Director, Floyd McKissick, 300 protestors from all over the country left the small Mississippi town of Como this morning to continue their march from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi.

Continuing their trek down the route laid out by James Meredith before he was brutally shot down Monday, they are encountering difficulties from the State Highway Patrol. Their antipathy toward the marchers blatantly obvious, the police are obstructing more than protecting the Civil Rights protestors.

Exhibiting great discourtesy and general nastiness the patrolmen are increasing their harassment by not permitting cars, even those carrying food and water, to go near the march. Representatives of the press are also being pushed and shoved around and not allowed to get a full coverage of the events.

Jo Freeman

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6-10-66)

MEMORIAL FOR PHIPPS

Today the Freedom Marchers paused in their trek to Jackson to hold a Memorial Service in honor of Armistead Phipps, who died yesterday from the walk, the hot sun, and fifty-five years of a segregated Mississippi life. The two hundred fifty marchers, who come from as near as Mississippi and Alabama and as far as California and Canada, turned off the highway to the grounds of the North Panola High School, which Floyd McKissick of CORE called an apt symbol of what the march was aimed against. He added that all Phipps wanted was to march one day for his freedom and that one was his last day on earch.

Reverend Abernathy of SCLC, calling Mississippi "This scared segregated ground," said that Mr. Phipps died for America as much as the boys dying in Viet-Nam and that he deserved burial in the Arlington National Cemetery as much as they did.

Earlier the marchers had left Como, Mississippi, to march five miles to Sardis, where they stopped at 12:15 for lunch at St. Mathew's Missionary Baptist Church. Mr. McKissick complained to Charles Snodgrass, administrative assistant of the State Highway Patrol, that the State Police were verbally abusing the marchers. Snodgrass said that there would be no further cursing so long as the marchers remained non-violent. He was given an assurance by Mr. McKissick that the behavior of the marchers has been and will continue to be non-violent.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/10/66):

Participation by local people from towns along the line of the Meredith Freedom March to Jackson, Mississippi, is of vital importance in helping free the Negro from fear, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy declared tonight, June 10, in Batesville, county seat of Panola County, Mississippi.

Rev. Abernathy made the statement on the grounds of St. Paul's Church where the 300 marchers from all parts of the country will spend the night.

He congradulated the marchers for their calmness under provocation--once in the morning shortly after leaving Como, Mississippi, where they suffered verbal abuse from State Troopers as they sought to get in and out of cars which were to take them to rest rooms and a second time in the afternoon when they paused for five minutes for water in a peach orchard and were ordered off the private property.

Later in an interview with a BBC correspondent, Rev. Abernathy said another purpose of the March was "to arouse the conscience of the whole nation."

He said participation by white persons was of continuing vital importance in the civil rights movement but that the Negro had finally to free himself from fear.

"An America built on Black Supremacy," Rev. Abernathy declared, "would be as sick as an America built on White supremacy. America should be built on the fundamental principle of one nation under God with freedom and justice for all."

Floyd McKissick, national leader of Core, said the March would proceed to Jackson and that if the marchers waited for all the money, the endorsements, the food, and the tents necessary the movement would never have gotten off the ground.

"If we wait for everything," Mr. McKissick said, "we'll never get to Jackson."

The March, from Como to Batesville, a distance of 15 miles, began at 9:12 a.m. and ended at 5:40 in unusually cool weather.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/10/66)

At 8:00 a. m., June 11, 1966, 500 Americans will leave Batesville, Mississippi continuing their march in protest of the shooting of James Meredith and the continued degradation of the American Negroes. At 7:00 a. m., June 11, 1966, the Ku Klux Klan will begin a march from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, protesting the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. The Klan will parade down Route 40, arriving in Baltimore, Maryland, at 3:30 p. m. They will be marching down Baltimore's Pennsylvania Avenue in the heart of that city's largest Negro ghetto. An unconfirmed report has it that they will continue on to Washingto and the White House, there to picket to show their disapproval of the American Negro's struggle for his freedom. The old song asks "Which side are you on?" Sponsors of the Mississippi March strongly urge that their fellow Americans clearly demonstrate their answer by joining the Mississippi March or, if this is not possible, by further supporting them and the cause of freedom. Certainly the lines are clearly drawn.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9303
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/11/66)

Fifteen Negroes of both sexes were registered -- one 106 years of age -- and 48 more were lined up outside the Panola County Registrar's Office when the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March left Batesville, Miss. early this afternoon.

L. Lee Fondren, 106, born on a plantation and now living with his children and grandchildren outside Batesville, was lifted up above the crowd of 250 marchers after he stepped out into the square. He was resoundingly cheered.

Mr. Fondren was registered by Ike Shankle, Registrar and Circuit Clerk, who had earlier recorded Sam Flower, 78, Batesville, the first to register.

Dr. Robert Greene, Director, Citizenship Education Program, SCLC, stated: "If they remove Negroes from their jobs or plantations because they registered to vote, we will turn this march around and come back."

# #

PRESS BRIEF

1. Today, June 11, at 6:30 a.m. , marchers left their beds to regroup in Batesville, Mississippi, where the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March halted last night.

2. At 8:00 a.m. the long March will begin toward Jackson, led by Dr. Robert Green of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. Herbert Callender of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Mr. George Raymond of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

3. Today will be the first day's operation of the Spectacular Task Force, a group of workers from SCLC, CORE, SNCC, and the MFDP, who will be attempting a radically new technique of organization. As the March progresses, the Task Force will move ahead of the line of march to organize Negroes in the local communities in an effort to implement a part of the demands made by the March. Specifically, they will attempt first to mobilize the people into a united whole, then to register them to vote, and, finally, to persuade them to join the marchers in their witness for freedom.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Penetration in depth of off-the -highway Mississippi communities as well as towns along the line of march will be carried out today (June 11) by the Spectacular Task Force, a group of workers from SCLC, CORE, SNCC, and the MFDP.

The main body of the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March, which broke camp in Batesville, Miss., this morning, is now in its sixth day with volunteers and organization members arriving in increasing numbers from all parts of the U.S. .... twenty-five states, Washington, D.C., and Toronto, Canada were represented yesterday.

The selected group of workers, fanning out in automobiles, will encourage rural residents to exercise their right to register to vote and then to join the line of march as a witness to themselves and to the nation of their emancipation from pressure and fear.

Today's march will concentrate on Batesville itself, county seat of Panola county, in an effort to implement voter registration now. The march will then proceed towards Jackson.

Dr. Robert Greene of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Herbert Callender of the Congress of Racial Equality, and George Raymond of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are today's leaders of the Freedom March.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/11/66)

At 4:00 p. m. , Sunday, June 12, 1966, a mass meeting will be held at the Pentacostal Temple of the Church of God at 229 So. Wellington in Memphis , Tennessee to demonstrate support for the purposes of the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. The featured speakers will be Glouster Kern, the Legal Secretary of the NAACP from Washington D. C. , and Cecil Moore, the President of the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP, perhaps the most militant, the most activist chapter in America.

Mr. Kern and Mr. Moore hope this meeting will effectively stir the local community to even further support the marchers in their attempt to bear witness for freedom in America. They feel that the shooting of James Meredith proved that America, despite the Movement's long struggle, is not yet free. They further feel that the presence of 500 marchers in Mississippi proves that the cause of freedom cannot be stopped by a shotgun blast.

# # # #

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/14/66)

This morning, June 14, 1966, some 350 marchers are moving through Yalobusha county with hopes of reaching Grenada, Miss., 9 miles to the south, by this afternoon. Yalobusha county is perhaps the most threatening in Mississippi. It has long been noted as a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activity. Some of them must have been quite busy with their paint brushes, for artistic touches defaced the scenery everywhere. "KKK" was scrawled in broad white letters on the tops of roadside table, trashcans, cement bridges, and even store fronts.

The march is presently being led by Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who will be joined by his family today.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI MARCH

878 Mississippi Boulevard
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

June 15, 1966

The Meredith Mississippi March today issued a call for volunteers to take part in the walk to Jackson, Mississippi. Despite the high enthusiasm of the March, there was an understandable lack of preparatory planning. The spontaneous nature of the effort has created a need for professional assistance in certain areas.

Stenographers, Public Relations people and Writers are greatly needed. A **procedure** has been developed whereby these individuals can March and also function in their professional capacities.

The dynamics of this march is different from other marches. Meredith started it alone, hence, organization must develop as it progresses. The Headquarters is at the Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee. Here people come to register, grab a napsack and drive out to the starting point of the day's trek.

Every one is invited and the procedure for participating is a very simple one. Come to the Church, register, agree to conform to the basic philosophy of non-violence of the March, and one is ready to participate. Those who are not able to join the March may send their contributions to Meredith Mississippi March, Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

For Immediate Release (6/15/66) VICTORY IN GRENADA!

The Meredith Mississippi Freedom March is radically different from previous civil rights marches in this country. Yesterday that difference pa paid off. A dynamic and creative combination of mass demonstrations, mass meetings, and intensive grass-roots community organizing produced a change in the lives of Grenada, Mississippi citizens.

As the March approached this small Southern town of 12,000 scores, of local Negro people, walking across the fields, from the dusty country lanes, and from the streets of town, rushed to join the march. By the time the exuberant crowd reached the center of town, it had tripled in size. This impressive turnout was largely due to the effectiveness of the organizing teams that had been working the area ahead of the March. The police guard also tripled in size, as the crowd gathered in the central plaza for an afternoon rally. A spectacular group of speakers, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Floyd McKissick, Dr. Robert Green, Bishop Tucker, and Mr. George Raymond addressed the crowd. The content of the speeches was a series of demands, including a call for Negro voter registrars, night registration, neighborhood and county-wide registration centers, and early evening and Saturday registration times. As King left the rally to begin negotiations with county officials, large numbers of local Negro citizens surged forward to shake his hand. John Doar and an unidentified Negro lawyer, both from the Justice Department, also attended the negotiations. As the meeting ended, a feeling of elation filled the air. Before the sun set in this small Mississippi county seat, every demand had been met. Furthermore, over 175 people had registered to vote, with many more still waiting in line.

But this history-making day produced no ephemeral victories. Rather it marked a new beginning. From the fruits of this activity will come local, permanent community organizations that will go on to produce even greater gains in this struggle for freedom and representation.

CONT.

Later in the evening, a mass Freedom rally was held at the Bellflower Baptist Church. Dr. King and Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference addressed the crowd. Following the meeting, they met with other March leaders and planned the remainder of the route to Jackson. The Marchers are expected to arrive in the capital on June 26, when there will be a large rally. Other non-violent activities are being planned for the following day. After the stragedy session, both Dr. King and Mr. McKissick remained in Grenada, staying in the homes of local Negro citizens.

From the excitement of the events throughout the day, one felt that the burden of oppression--centuries long--was lifting. However, this time of triumph was not without its contrasts. The cold, silent glares of Grenada's white citizenry were felt by everyone. Every business in town was closed for the duration of the marchers stay. Police harassment increased, with one lady suffering a bruised arm as a patrolman reached in her car, grabbed her, and told her to move on. Also, during the evening rally, a group of 70 people from Chicago, waiting for buses that had been delayed, were isolated in the First New Hope Missionary Church. The power lines to the church had been cut off, and the people sat in darkness while unidentified cars circled outside. A task force was quickly sent from the other church, and transported the 70 relieved Chicagoans to safety. But despite the intimidation of white Mississippi, this small, dusty town has had its Confederate foundations soundly shaken. Grenade County will see no return to the fear-imposed serenity of the past.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATT: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REGISTRATION DAY NETS BIGGEST TOTAL IN SOUTH CAROLINA COUNTY

Kingstree, S. C., June 10, 1965--CORE's Registration Day in Williamsburg County, June 7, netted according to the registration board's chairman, "the biggest single day's figure for Negroes being added to the registration books."

A total of 118 Negroes were registered and 91 were rejected, reports James McCain, director of CORE's statewide voter registration drive.

"Of the 550 persons who converged on Kingstree for Registration Day, over half already had registered. But they brought other who had not. After an hour and a half of instruction at Bethel AME Church, those who had not previously registered went to the courthouse.

"To our surprise, there were six registrars there to process applications. Previously, there never had been more than three. Also, the registrars were more courteous than usual and the processing of applications went faster.

"We feel the Registration Day in Kingstree was a great success in terms of the willingness of so many to absent themselves from their farms at this time of year and to mobilize for this occasion."

During the first month of CORE's statewide campaign, 1,460 Negroes have been registered in the first, second and sixth Congressional Districts.

# # #

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ATT: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FARMER ATTENDS FUNERAL OF SLAIN NEGRO DEPUTY

Varnado, La., June 10, 1965--CORE National Director James Farmer flew here on June 9 to attend the funeral of O'Neal Moore, the Negro deputy sheriff who was murdered while on patrol duty a week ago. While Farmer was on the speakers platform, he did not participate in the program since Mrs. Moore had requested that there be no civil rights activity at the funeral.

The day after the slaying, Farmer issued a public statement: "Let there be no mistake; this is a racial killing in response to our demands for an increased Negro police force in Bogalusa (about seven miles south of Varnado.) Once again the racist had made his bloody reply.

"CORE will not be intimidated and stands ready with all its resources to back the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League in its drive for dignity and civic freedom in Louisiana. We extend our deepest sympathy to the family of martyr O'Neal Moore and our prayers for the successful recovery of Mr. Creed Rogers."

Roger, Washington Parish's only other Negro deputy sheriff, was shot in the shoulder at the same time Moore was killed. The two Negro men had been hired a year ago despite protests by the Klan, which is strong in Washington parish. Ernest McElveen, a white employee of Crown Zellerbach Corporation, was arrested an hour after the shooting.

# # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATT: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE PICKETS MARYLAND UNIVERSITY GRADUATION EXERCISES

College Park, Maryland, June 10, 1965--Suburban Washington CORE picketed the graduation exercises on June 5 at the University of Maryland "because we feel that the university epitomizes a state system of education which is unequal and discriminatory." So stated Michael Tabor, chairman of the group in an open letter to Wilson Elkins, president of the college. A postscript made clear that the picketing was not directedagainst Vice President Humphrey, chief speaker at the ceremony.

Specific accusations against the university, as summarized in the letter to Elkins are: "there are no full time Negro teachers among the College Park faculty of 3,000; there are no Negroes occupying full-time, white collar positions on administrative, clerical and professional levels; fraternities, many of which occupy houses built and paid for by federal and state funds have no Negro members and potential Negro graduate students, thinking of coming to the university, only have to inquire about availability of off-campus housing before they reject the university as a possibility."

The letter suggests "that the university start an exchange program with its sister, primarily Negro state universities, so that Negro faculty can teach at College Park."

# # #

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(212) CO 7-6270
ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ARREST 526 IN WEEK OF SCHOOL DEMONSTRATIONS

Chicago, Ill., June 17, 1965--A total of 526 demonstrators, includin CORE National Director James Farmer, Dick Gregory and a number of ministers, were arrested during a week of protest action over the reappointment for a four-year term of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis. Locally, as well as nationally, Willis has become a symbol for de facto school segregation.

"The time may soon come when we'll have to organize a Freedom Ride from Selma, Alabama to Chicago, Illinois," Farmer said at a rally on June 11 just prior to his arrest. Most of the arrests occurred at the corner of State and Madison, where demonstrators sat down over refusal of police to let them complete their marches to City Hall in the street rather than on the sidewalk. The demonstrations were sponsored by a joint committee including Chicago CORE.

ARREST 12 CORE SIT-INNERS IN SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE

Springfield, Mass., June 17, 1965--Twelve members of Springfield CORE, including its chairman, Oscar Bright and its vice-chairman, Benjamin Swan, who were sitting-in at the office of School Superintendent Joseph McCook were carried out of the building and arreste

Following the arrests, Bright said that the protest action was "only the first of several" planned to protest de facto school segregation in this western Massachusetts community.

# # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equalit
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 1003
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTN: Val Coleman or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

UTILITY'S HIRING POLICY CHANGE ENDS CORE CAMPAIGN

Syracuse, N.Y., June 17, 1965--Niagara Mohawk Power Co., chief target of the recent CORE-SNCC Freedom Ride North, from Selma to Syracuse, has adopted a new hiring policy and Syracuse CORE has ended its intensive two-month action campaign which was marked by sit-ins, a stall-in and a jail-in.

"After two years of refusing to acknowledge that it had a problem in employment practices, Niagara Mohawk Power Co. has in the past eight weeks tripled the Negro representation in its work force," said a statement issued by Syracuse CORE following a series of negotiating sessions. "Niagara Mohawk further has agreed to make a report to the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights in six months on the success of its new hiring practices toward achieving, in the words of the Mayor's Commission's report, 'racial balance in the company approximate to that in the population of theSyracuse area.'

"CORE hopes that Niagara Mohawk's progress in achieving this 'racial balance' will be evident sufficiently at the end of the six month period to preclude the need of renewed direct action at that time."

A leaflet headed "CORE's Victory and What it Means to You," which was distributed throughout the Negro community, points out that "if all the businesses and industries in Syracuse had the same percentage of Negro employees (as Niagara Mohawk promises to have within six months), there would be no shortage of good jobs for Negroes here in Syracuse. This is our goal: that all businesses in Syracuse follow suit."

# # #

CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) CC 7-6270
ATT: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

250 CORE SUMMER TRAINEES IN THREE SOUTHERN STATES

Waveland, Miss., June 17, 1965--Following a four-day training session here, some 250 CORE volunteers set out for their summer assignments in Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. Most of them will be in Louisiana, working in 21 parishes in the 4th, 5th and 6th congressional districts on voter registration, participation in farmers elections and implementation of the civil rights and anti-poverty laws.

"The program in each city and parish will be shped by the needs and wishes of the people who live in them," Explained Ronnie Moore, director of the Louisiana project. The volunteers in South Carolina and northwest Florida will be working primarily on voter registratio

CORE WORKER ARRESTED IN ATTEMPT TO TEST RESTAURANT

Morton, Miss., June 17, 1965--CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond, a leader of the recent Freedom March in Rankin County, was arrested on June 16 as he led some 30 high school students to test a local restaurant. A local policeman, with gun drawn, knocked down five of the students and dispersed the group. An arrest warrant was issued for Charles Currier, CORE photographer who took pictures of the incident.

FARMER PROTESTS U.S. MARSHALS' PARTICIPATION IN JACKSON ARRESTS

Jackson, Miss., June 17, 1965--The participation of four U.S. marshals, headed by Jack Stuart, in the mass arrests of freedom marchers on June 15 drew a strong protest from CORE National Directo James Farmer.

"This action by federal officials is all the more shocking in that the march was directed against the Mississippi legislature's contrived effort to subvert the pending federal voting rights bill," Farmer said in a wire to President Johnson.

A total of 727 marchers, including numerous CORE members, were arrested as they attempted to march on the State Capitol June 14, 15 and 16. Sponsoring the marches is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

# # #

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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE FIELD SECRETARY FASTS FOR A WEEK ON PICKET LINE

Los Angeles, Calif., June 24, 1965 -- Louis Smith, western CORE field secretary, recently concluded a one-week fast on a picket line in front of the newest and largest Thriftimart supermarket on West Centinela Boulevard.

His fast was supported with round-the-clock picketing by members and friends of Los Angeles CORE. The store is open twenty-four hours a day and Smith left the picket line only for periodic rest periods and overnight sleep.

In mid-May, Smith led a picket line at the Thriftimart supermarket in Santa Ana, the first civil rights demonstration in that stronghold of ultra-rightist organizations.

"Our only aim at this time is to bring about face-to-face discussions with Thriftimart executives with a view toward ending the company's discriminatory employment policy against Negroes and Mexican Americans," said the CORE group's chairman, Don Smith (no relation to Louis). He said the next step would be an attempt to get a city ruling against spending of welfare money in stores with biased hiring policy. The campaign by Los Angeles CORE and the United Civil Rights Committee against Thriftimart Supermarkets started over a year ago.

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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MOTORCADE, MARCH COMMEMORATE TRIPLE MURDER

Philadelphia, Miss., June 24, 1965 -- A motorcade from Meridian on June 20 and a 12-mile march to the ruins of Mount Zion Baptist Church the following day commemorated the nocturnal murder a year ago of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner.

It was on a journey to investigate the church burning that the three civil rights workers were arrested on a traffic charge and released late at night for capture by the assassins. The man who made the arrest a year ago, Deputy Cecil Price, policed both the motorcade and the march.

Speaking at the church ruins at the conclusion of the motorcade, CORE National Director James Farmer urged: "register to vote, back the Freedom Democratic Party and don't get weary." Both Chaney and Schwerner had been CORE Task Force workers; Goodman, a student volunteer.

The following day, as some 50 marchers passed the Neshoba county courthouse, where there were some 100 onlookers, "the silence was so pronounced that the clicking of newsmen's camera shutters could clearly be heard," according to one newspaper report. At the church ruins, Rev. Clint Collier, a CORE member and a leader of the march pointed out that two-thirds of the marchers were "men, women and children from Neshoba county and this shows that people here are awakening to the need for action to get their civil rights."

Slain Men's Parents Accept Gandhi Award

New York, N.Y., June 24 -- Mrs. Fannie Chaney, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goodman, and Nathan Schwerner, on behalf of their dead sons, accepted CORE's 1964 Gandhi Award at a memorial meeting here on June 21.

MORE

In presenting the award, CORE National Director James Farmer voiced confidence that ultimately, the three men would not have died in vain but he expressed dismay at the pace of progress in the year following the murder. The Gandhi Award is presented annually to "those individuals who do the most to improve race relations through direct, nonviolent methods."

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CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WEEK'S SUSPENSION OF COP HIGHLIGHTS DRIVE FOR CIVILIAN BOARD

Newark, N.J., June 24 -- A one-week suspension of Patrolman Henry Martinez over the fatal shooting of Lester Long,Jr., a Negro, highlighted CORE's campaign here and in other cities for a civilian review board.

The suspension was effected June 17 by Mayor Hugh Addonizio after Newark-Essex CORE had announced a mass protest march on City Hall. In rescinding the suspension a week later following picketing of City Hall by policemen supporting Martinez, the mayor explained: "The suspension of Patrolman Martinez was prompted by community tensions and the clear threat of riot and bloodshed which arose out of allegations that Long was shot because he was a Negro."

Prompting the statement, apparently, was the recollection that last summer's New York riots were set off largely by the city's failure to suspend Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan pending an investigation of the fatal shooting of James Powell, a Negro youth. Demonstrations for a civilian review board in New York are continuing.

In Newark, following the reinstatement of Martinez, the CORE group is pressing its campaign for a civilian review board with nightly street rallies to be climaxed by a march on City Hall.

Pickets Protest Mild Penalty for Guilty Cops

Washington, D.C., June 24 -- Washington CORE picketed the first precinct here protesting a police trial board's "trivial" penalty for two policemen in the false arrest of two Negro brothers, Marshall and Lewis Mills.

The two policemen - Donald Griffin and Walter Franek - were each fined $100.

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Corrected Copy

June 29, 1965

New York Amsterdam News
Classified Advertisement Department.
2340 8th Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We have enclosed three classified ads totaling 34 lines which we wish inserted in your issue of July 10th. Please send us an invoice together with "tear sheets" as soon as the ads appear. According to the rates quoted us, 70¢ per line, the total cost will be $23.80.

(23.80)

~~[illegible]~~

Very truly yours,

Clora Coleman
Administrative Assistant

CC/ap

59 wds or
12 lines

Fund Raising Associate and trainee: **Leading civil rights organization.** Plan and implement various fund raising projects under direction of department head. Ability to meet and work with public, coordinate fund raising projects, represent director when necessary. Reliability and honesty essential.

Salary $4400 - $9000 depending upon experience.

Send Resume: Box 51, Peck Slip Post Office
New York, New York 10038

55 wds or
11 lines

Fund Raising Director: Direct fund raising for leading civil rights organization. Must have thorough knowledge of solicitation 17 through direct mail, Special projects, foundations, unions and similar sources. Ability to develop an on-going fund raising program. Administrative skills essential.

Salary $7500 - $10,500

Send Resume - Box 51, Peck Slip Post Office
New York, New York 10038

54 wds. or
11 lines

__Public Relation Director:__ Leading Civil Rights Organization. Ability to develop and implement all phases of National Public Relations program and interpret the organization in person and in writing. Administrative skills necessary. Experience with all phases of communication media.

Salary $7500 - $10,500

Send Resume - Box 51, Peck Slip Post Office
New York, New York 10038

NATIONAL CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

May 20, 1965

JOB DESCRIPTION: PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

The essential nature of the job is to project through all forms of public media an accurate and affirmative image of CORE, both at the national and local level.

In order to do this, it is essential that the Public Relations Director have a thorough knowledge and a complete commitment to CORE. Included must be an understanding of CORE's changing nature and its role in the civil rights movement. For example, the communications media must be seen as an arm of a direct action program, and can serve to magnify and increase the power of CORE action programs. Because of this role of the communications media in CORE program, it is important that the Public Relations Director be capable of participating in the planning and development program.

The person must have a knowledge of CORE both at the national and local level of other civil rights groups and communications media.

Specifically, the person must be able to work with the various communications media in order to gain accurate, comprehensive, on-going, and favorable coverage Further, the person must be able to maintain contact with the major media, write background statements for the media, prepare press releases and fact sheets, arrange for press conferences and press coverage. In addition, the person must be able to service and advise various CORE officers, officials and projects as to the public relations program and news coverage and must also be capable of preparing speeches, statements, and papers for CORE officers and officials.

The person must be able to prepare and assist in preparing of pamphlets, and/or supervise the preparation of pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, throw-aways, etc. In order to do this, the person must know and understand CORE in its program and its policy. In addition, he must have technical skills relating to preparation of materials, layout design, writing, and editing.

The person must be able to interpret CORE in writing and in person, in public and in private, to organizations and to individuals within the movement and without.

The person must have administrative skills in order to operate effectively the department which he heads. The Public Relations Department currently consists of a public relations assistant and the CORElator Editor. The former services radio, TV and major newspapers and prepares material for Farmer's weekly column and news conferences. The latter edits the CORElator, prepares the weekly news releases and assists in the preparation of pamphlets and brochures.

The person must be able both to develop and implement a national public relations program, as well as to assist chapter and regional organization in developing and implementing public relations program. Further, the person must have the ability and experience to contribute to development and implementation of national program and to work in effective coordination with other departments and officers of CORE.

The salary range will be $7,500 - $10,500, depending upon training and experience.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
May 26, 1965

Associate Director, Department of Organization

The Associate Director of the Organizaton Department will be responsible for fulfilling the duties of the Director of the Department during his absence. This will include the general supervision of all field operations conducted by National CORE. He will have an important role in the development and implementation of CORE's program both North and South. He would direct a staff of about 20 field secretaries, 50 task force workers, and numerous volunteers, plus the staff of the Organization Department in the National Office. He will be responsible for assigning staff to various CORE regions maintaining files and reports on chapter and project programs. He must maintain budgetary control over field operations . Additionally, he will be responsible for the organization and development of CORE chapters throughout the country. This includes receiving and making decisions on the organizing of new chapters and the maintenance, servicing, affiliation and/or disaffiliation of chapters. He will, in the absence of the Department Director, be the staff officer and make final recommendations to the National Director, Associate National Director, or the National Action Council on program, acquisition of personnel and the functioning of chapters.

Salary Range: $5,500 to $9,000

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.
May 26, 1965

Assistant Director for Program and Training, Department of Organization

The Assistant Director for Program and Training will have the responsibility of preparing programmatic materials for chapters. He will be expected to develop specific programs which can be adapted to chapters throughout the country. These programs should be geared toward the major areas of emphasis within CORE, such as housing, education, employment, etc.

The Assistant for Program and Training will be responsible for setting up training programs in each CORE region. These training programs should reflect not only the direction of CORE as seen from the National Office, but should reflect the actual needs of the chapters. Training should involve staff members as well as chapter members, and should draw on persons knowledgeable in the various fields of interest in which CORE is involved. The Assistant for Program and Training will be under the direct supervision of the Director or Acting Director of the Organization Department.
Salary range: $5,500 - $8,000

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
May 26, 1965

FIELD SECRETARY

The duties and responsibilities of CORE Field Secretaries will vary somewhat depending upon their assignment. In general they must have a knowledge of community organization, the operation of political power structures in local communities, a knowledge of CORE - its program and its policies, a commitment to the Movement and to the principles of non-violent direct action. A list of some of the basic duties and responsibilities of Field Secretaries follows:

1. Advise affiliated and unaffiliated chapters.
2. Coordinate activities among the achpters.
3. Help chapters develop sound programs, organization and leadership.
4. Interpret National policies to the chapter and the community.
5. Represent National CORE's views in the area of his jurisdiction.
6. Help to organize and conduct training conferences and workshops.
7. Help chapters develop broader bases, particularly in Negro ghettoe
8. Help chapters develop sound, democratic internal structure.
9. Submit regular field and expense reports to the Regional Director of National Office.

Salary Range: $4,300 to $6,700.

FUND RAISING ASSOCIATE and TRAINEE

1. THE JOB

The position is in the Fund Raising Department of CORE and will deal primarily with fund-raising for National CRE and fund raising projects with CORE Chapters and friends under the supervision of the Department's Director. Both directly for National CORE and in cooperation with chapters and friends, the fund-raiser will have to prepare, plan, develop and implement various types of enefits - viz., concerts, theatre parties, dances, art shows, dinners, house parties, etc. While most of the work will be in direct fund raising, special benefits and direct solicitations, some work will be in the related areas of mail appeals, public relations and servicing of CORE chapters in regard to fund raising.

2. UALIFICATIONS

While it would be desirable that the fund raiser have both knowledge of and experience with CORE at the chapter and/or national level, as well as demonstrated competence and experience in fund raising of the type(s) described above, we recognize that the humber of such persons is few and their availability rare. Therefore we will evaluate each candidate in light of the degree to which he or she meets the above standard. Relevant to the assessment of a candidate's qualifications will be: Knowledge of and experience with CORE nationally and/or locally; competence and experience in fund raising; potential for increasing his or her fund raising capabilities; ability to work with relatively little supervision; reliability and honesty in the handling and the accounting of money; ability to meet and work with people and to present an accurate and affirmative picture of CORE. As part of the candidate's qualifications in fund raising, previous work with such groups as the press, volunteer groups, sponsors committees, city officials, business supplier, etc., would be desirable.

3. STATUS

The salary and status - fund raising trainee or fund raising associate - will depend upon the candidate's experience and demonstrated competence, as well as CORE's needs. The salary ranges are between $4,400 and $9,000 per year.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
May 26, 1965

FUND RAISING DEPARTMENT HEAD

The essential job of the fund raising department, and thus of its director , is to raise, on an on-going basis, the necessary funds to operate CORE.

CORE has principally raised its funds from four sources: from direct mail solicitations, from special fund raising, from within the CORE organization, and from foundations, unions and similar sources. The person should have in-depth knowledge and experience in at least one of these areas, as well as acquaintance with the other areas. Due to the peculiar and particular nature of CORE and its fund raising problems, the person should have general experience in working with non-tax-exempt organizations, more particularly experience working with civil rights groups, and specifically (if possible) knowledge of and experience with CORE.

Direct mail solicitation involves the selection and/or development of appropriate lists; writing of and/or having copy written for the appeal letter, the reply envelope and the mailing envelope; selection and securing of an appropriate and effective signatory; supervision of the logistics of coordination of the production and procurement of the various parts of this tightly-knit and demanding process. Direct mail solicitation has also included handling of holiday cards.

Special fund raising involves a variety of projects (in New York City and outside) including running of benefit programs - theatre parties, cocktail parties, art shows, special benefit performances, etc. In order to do this, the specific event must be selected, the people to participate in it engaged, the people to assist in "selling" it solicited and coordinated, the event suitably publicized and sold, and adequate supervision and coordination of these activities, and, if necessary, staff assistance offered for their implementation.

Money within the CORE organization is raised from the regular 10% chapter payment to national CORE, as well as by various special projects: viz., Associate Membership drives, joint special fund raising projects, special fund raising projects for national CORE or one of its projects. The fund raising department must offer assistance and advice to the chapters in order to aid them in increasing their general income, both for the sake of their own program and as a means to increase national CORE's share. This source of increased financial support is of utmost importance and must be developed further in the immediate future. The department head should be able to supervise these activities, as well as participate in the development and implementation of such a fund raising program.

Fund raising from foundations and unions has been a part of CORE's general efforts for some time, but needs now to be considerably increased. The department head must be able to prepare and/or direct the preparation of grant requests, seek out new and additional sources of such funds, work with foundations and unions in acquiring such funds. This, as well as other forms of fund raising, requires the ability to make effective personal and written presentations.

The person must have administrative skills in order to effectively supervise, direct, and coordinate these various activities, and the sizable departmental staff including the stencil department.

The person must be able to so develop and plan a fund-raising program so as to provide as even as possible a flow of money throughout the year to effectively utilize staff time and volunteer services. Also, the person must be able to secure those additional funds necessary in times of emergency or crisis.

The person must be able to deal with the various state and municipal agencies which are concerned with and supervise fund raising activities.

The person should be able to work with the communications media in order to secure public service time and other services in connection with fund appeals, as well as work in close cooperation with the Public Relations Department of CORE.

The person must be able both to develop and implement a national fund raising program as well as assisting the chapters in the development and implementation of such a program.

As an increasing area of fund raising attention for CORE, the person must be able to develop and implement a major fund raising program to operate within the Negro community.

Further, the person must have the ability and experience to contribute to the development and implementation of the national program of CORE and to work in effective coordination with other departments and officers of CORE.

The salary range will be $7,500 - $10,500, depending upon training and experience.

The following is an edited version of CORE's Louisiana WATS (Wide Area Telephone Service) Report, June 28 - July 4, 1965. At least twice each day, CORE workers throughout Louisiana are contacted by the state project office in Baton Rouge. In editing these reports, the only attempt made was to eliminate repetition, while trying to give to the reader some sense of the day to day life of CORE's program.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FARMER TAKES THE STAND TO DISCUSS "DEACONS"

New York, N.Y., July 15, 1965---James Farmer, National Director of CORE, spoke out this week in defense of the Louisiana-based "Deacons for Defense and Justice" organization---a group of Negroes in the South who have armed themselves to defend their homes against racist violence. Speaking in his weekly column, which appears in New York's Negro weekly, THE AMSTERDAM NEWS, Farmer said, in part:

"Let's get two things straight regarding the Deacons for Defense and Justice down in Louisiana. Yes, they tote guns and no, they don't shoot first. A good deal of nonsense has been talked about the Deacons, most of it coming from the Southern press - in an effort to discredit CORE, the Deacons, and even to justify violent reprisals and assaults from the Klan.

First, a little history - the Deacons were originally formed in Jonesboro, Louisiana as a strict and disciplined defense organization. They did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed to defend itself from the homicidal frenzy of the Klan and others in that state.

Some uninformed people like to compare the Deacons with the Klan and that's stupid. The Deacons don't lynch, burn, or assault. The Deacons don't ride shotgun in the enemy camp.

Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement - there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen.

In fact, there is considerable amount of police complicity with the Klan assaults - enough so, that alarmed Negroes, fearful for the lives of their families armed, organized and walked a beat.

MORE

And I can't blame them. I can't find fault with a man for exercising his constitutional right to protect his home, with weapons if necessary. Period.

I firmly believe that in the search for political, social and human rights, non-violence is the only practical mechanism at this moment in history. But I believe that when threatened, any man has the right to protect his life....retaining of course, the non-violent injunction inside a non-violent demonstration.

CORE is in the rights business and the Deacons are in the protecting business. I don't believe in electric chairs, because that is the society retaliating violently, but I do believe in the personal right to self-defense and can only work and hope that that right is rigidly disciplined through organizations such as the Deacons."

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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVES NORTH

New York, N.Y., July 15, 1965---Efforts to form a Northern version of the infamous Southern White Citizens Council were made here in New York City last week as 27 white zealots met in a German Beer Hall in Brooklyn. Unknown to the racists, CORE members and newspaper reporters had infiltrated the group. The meeting, which had the usual ludicrous group of florid-faced, beer mug-banging bigots, spent a good deal of time specifically denouncing CORE and named the "abolition of CORE" as one of its primary goals.

"Every time CORE sticks up its black head," said group leader John Sullivan, "a man wearing a William Buckeley for Mayor button should appear."

Shouts of "John Lindsay (Republican-Liberal candidate for N.Y. Mayor) is a CORE lover," and "CORE jerks" spiced the meeting. The meeting was held in the Bay Ridge area of Brooklyn, historic center of the pre World War II German-American Bund.

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ATTN: Jim Peck or Val Coleman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA PROTEST ESCALATES

Bogalusa, Louisiana, July 15, 1965---Nine days of dramatic marches and increasing racial tension mark this small southeastern Louisiana city. CORE, through its partner local organization, the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League, has brought the focus of the civil rights movement to bear in Bogalusa, which has a record of unfulfilled promises and outright Ku Klux Klan terrorism.

The BVL-CORE demands, which cover a wide range of civic grievances by the Negro community, have been currently rejected out-of-hand by both the city and state administrations, despite the fact that substantive agreement was reached on virtually all issues less than two months ago.

Immediately following the conciliation agreements reached in May, Klan terrorism and infiltration of civic government reached its peak with the killing of Negro Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore---a homicide directly attributable to the agreement reached by BVL-CORE and Mayor Jesse Cutrer to hire Negro Policemen. Other agreements, now in the wastebasket, included the closing of open sewage ditches, the installation of adequate street lighting, improved postal services, etc.

James Farmer, CORE National Director, has applauded the BVL rejection of Governor McKeithen's "30 day cooling off period" as an effort to "take from the Negroes of Bogalusa their only weapon---protest---without granting or even establishing machinery to grant, a single Negro grievance." Mr. Farmer said the protests will continue and added that efforts are being made to involve President Lyndon Johnson and the federal government in this critical confrontation.

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And I can't blame them. I can't find fault with a man for exercising his constitutional right to protect his home, with weapons if necessary. Period.

I firmly believe that in the search for political, social and human rights, non-violence is the only practical mechanism at this moment in history. But I believe that when threatened, any man has the right to protect his life...retaining of course, the non-violent injunction inside a non-violent demonstration.

CORE is in the rights business and the Deacons are in the protecting business. I don't believe in electric chairs, because that is the society retaliating violently, but I do believe in the personal right to self-defense and can only work and hope that that right is rigidly disciplined through organizations such as the Deacons."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BIGGEST DEMONSTRATION FOR CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD

Neward, N.J., July 22, 1965---Newark's biggest demonstration for a police civilian review board took place on July 21 when some 3,000 persons marched through the downtown area to a rally at Military Park where CORE National Director James Farmer was chief speaker.

Farmer was under close police protection, since two days before the demonstration, an anonymous phone call to the Newark-Essex CORE office threatened that if he came to Newark "the trip would be his last one."

CORE's local campaign for a civilian review board was sparked by the fatal shooting on June 16 of Lester Long, Jr., a Negro, by Patrolman Henry Martinez. He was suspended for a week and then reinstated.

Marchers Protest Fatal Shooting in Brooklyn

Brooklyn, N.Y., July 22, 1965---In sweltering heat, 150 persons marched eight miles on July 17 to protest the fatal shooting of Nelson Erby, a Negro, by Sheldon Liebowitz, a rookie policeman. Sponsored by Brooklyn CORE, the march ended with picketing of New York police headquarters in Manhattan.

Brooklyn CORE, which made its own investigation, claims that Erby was known in the area as an eccentric and was kneeling in the street praying for rain when he was accosted by the policeman. Liebowitz shot himself accidentally and then shot Erby. The police version is that Erby attacked Liebowitz. A grand jury investigation is being conducted.

Vigil for Civilian Board

Pittsburgh, Pa., July 22, 1965---Daily silent vigils have been conducted at City Hall by Pittsburgh CORE since the fatal shooting of Leroy Scott, a Negro and the beating of his mother by two off-duty policemen. Chief aim of the vigils is appointment of a police civilian review board.

MORE

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. ACTION AGAINST POLICE AND KLAN FOLLOWS ASSAULTS ON PICKETS

Bogalusa, La., July 22, 1965---Following two days of attacks by whites against pickets at the Pine Tree Shopping Center while state and city police stood by inertly, the U.S. initiated broad legal action against local police officials and the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Specifically, Police Chief Claxton Knight and Public Safety Commissioner Arnold Spiers were accused of civil and criminal contempt of a federal injunction calling upon them to protect civil rights demonstrators. Deputy Sheriff Walter Adams of Washington parish was charged with beating and intimidating Negroes. An injunction was sought to restrain the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 20 of its members and 15 other whites from "assaulting, harassing, threatening and intimidating" either civil rights workers or business men complying with desegregation orders.

On July 16, segregationists attacked the shopping center pickets six times, with onlooking state troopers only 50 yards away. Charles Bellows and John Hamilton, both CORE volunteers, were twice beaten before being taken to a doctor. CORE Community Relations Director Alan Gartner was struck repeatedly in the face and his glasses were shattered. Later, city police arrested seven of the pickets for "trespassing," but none of the attackers. Since January, 30 segregationists have been arrested for assaulting civil rights workers, but none have been prosecuted.

On July 17, pickets at the shopping center were drenched with hoses. "You still smell a little bit like a nigger to me," said Ray Risen, a local barber and city fireman, as he finished dousing Henry Park, a white CORE volunteer. Later in the day, civil rights marchers were pelted with rocks and fruit. Again, police arrested none of the attackers, but took three marchers into "protective custody."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DENVER COLUMNIST PUBLICIZES CORE'S SUMMER SLUM CAMPAIGN

Denver, Colo., July 22, 1965---Denver CORE's summer campaign against slum housing has been publicized locally in the Denver Post by Columnist Charles Roos.

"The targets this summer will be what CORE calls the slumlords, the absentee owners of rundown apartments." Roos writes, "CORE says block work last year disclosed many unsafe and unsanitary conditions - bad wiring, loose boards, poor heating, inadequate plumbing, stuck windows and doors, permanent population of rats, mice and roaches.

"CORE charges that some owners never see their properties, leaving management and rent collections to managers. CORE charges that some owners allow slum conditions to exist so taxes stay low and profits high.

"The local housing chairman, Eugene Jackson Jr., says the organization 'is not concerned solely with substandard housing for Negroes, but substandard housing wherever it exists, regardless of who owns it.

"'At present,' he said, 'property owned by three prominent Negroes is under investigation, and it is certain that complaints will be filed with the Department of Health and Hospitals.'"

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE CHAPTERS PROTEST POLICE ACTIONS

New York, N.Y., July 29, 1965 --- From coast to coast, CORE chapters are protes[illegible]eatment of Negroes. In Springfield, Massach[illegible]mbers protested police brutality last Saturday night at [illegible] Octagon Lounge, where eighteen persons were arrested. In Seattle, Washington, CORE joined with other groups to form a Freedom Patrol to investigate and review police practices.

Following the CORE protest in Springfield, Mayor Charles Ryan, Jr., agreed to a complete investigation of the seven policemen involved in the incident. The CORE demonstrators had spent nearly twenty-four hours on City Hall steps awaiting a commitment from the Mayor.

These CORE activities follow in the wake of increased concern of CORE chapters throughout the country with police practices. In New York City, CORE chapters have been in the forefront of the demand for a citizen review board, to provide an independent review of citizen complaints against the police. Only last week, the sixteen New York City chapters called for a citizen review board to investigate the shooting of a mentally retarded Negro man, Nelson Erby, by a white policeman in Brooklyn.

Within the past month, CORE chapters in Newark, New Jersey, Tucson, Arizona, Arlington, Virginia, Cincinnati, Ohio, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and St. Louis, Missouri, have protested against police malpractices. Throughout the country, CORE groups are demanding better qualified police officers, improved training procedures, and the establishment of independent citizen review boards.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE OFFICE BOMBED

New Orleans, La., July 29, 1965 --- CORE's southern office was bombed last Tuesday night. Witnesses report that three white youths, driving past the Dryades Street office, threw a bomb at the CORE office. The bomb fell short of the CORE office, damaging two CORE cars. One of the cars belonged to the late Mickey Schwerner, CORE field secretary murdered last summer in Mississippi.

Earlier last week, Louisiana Governor McKeithen, in announcing the formation of a 40 man bi-racial committee, said that the purpose of the committee was "to destroy CORE in Louisiana." CORE National Director, James Farmer responded to the Governor's statement, saying "The meaning of the biracial committee appointed by Governor McKeithen will be shown by two factors. First, what is to be its composition? Will it include true representatives of the community, such as the Bogalusa Voters League, or will it be the same old tired names? Second, will its purpose be to end racism and bigotry, violence and hatred? Wherever discrimination and segregation continue to exist, there CORE will be." Later, Governor McKeithen said he had been misunderstood.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE WORKERS TESTIFY ON POLICE FAILURE TO ACT

Bogalusa, La., July 29, 1965 --- CORE workers testified in Federal Court in New Orleans on the refusal of Louisiana State troopers and Bogalusa city police to protect them against segregationist attacks. Appearing before federal court judge Herbert W. Christenberry, CORE volunteers John Hamilton, 19, of Los Angeles, California, and Charles Bellows, 21, of Southampton, New York, testified that while they were attacked by segregationists the police looked on. Hamilton and Bellows testified that following their being attacked, the police arrested them for disturbing the peace.

Judge Christenberry is hearing evidence on a contempt of court procedure against Bogalusa's two top police officials -- Public Safety Commissioner Arnold Spiers and Police Chief Claxton Knight -- brought by the CORE lawyers and the Justice Department.

In Bogalusa, daily demonstrations continue. Testing of city restaurants has met with mixed success -- teams of Negroes and whites have been served in about half of the places visited.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE ACCELERATES NORTHERN LOUISIANA DRIVE

Minden, La., Monday, August 9, 1965 --- The Congress of Racial Equality has this week accelerated its drive for "full citizenship' for Northern Louisiana Negroes. James Farmer, National Director of CORE came to this city on Friday to speak and lead a mass march on Minden's City Hall Saturday. The march, which went without incident, was the culmination of a drive by CORE workers and the local civic and Voters League for an across-the-board redress of grievances in the Negro community. To date, the city administration has refused to reply to a long series of demands effecting all areas in the life of Minden Negro citizens. Key demands include enclosed sewage systems, massive registration of voters, and an end to public school segregation and equal employment demands.

The Saturday march was Farmer's first appearance in the Klan-infested area of northwest Louisiana in some time. CORE workers have been working in some fifteen parishes in the area, and plans for a continued acceleration in northern Louisiana are being implemented immediately.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE POINTS OUT SERIOUS WEAKNESSES IN VOTING RIGHTS BILL

New Orleans, La., August 9, 1965 --- The Research Department of the CORE Southern Regional Office here has issued an emergency analysis of counties and parishes in two southern states that are not granted the protection of federal registrars under the new Voting Rights Law. Pointing out that many parishes and counties may seek to circumvent full registration of Negroes by meeting the minimal demands of the bill and then refusing to register any further Negro citizens, the report names 23 parishes in Louisiana and 9 counties in South Carolina granted exemption from federal registrars. Special efforts will be made and pressure brought to bear on these areas by CORE workers to insure that county and civic officials live up to both the spirit and the letter of the new law.

A list of the so-called "exempt" counties and parishes follows:

Louisiana

Acadia
Allen
Ascension
Assumption
Calcasieu
Cameron
Evangeline
Iberia
Jefferson
Jefferson Davis
Lafayette
LaFourche
Livingston
Sabine
St. Bernard
St. Charles
St. James
St. John
St. Landry
St. Martin
St. Tammany
Vermilion
Vernon

South Carolina

Anderson
Berkeley
Chester
Darlington
Georgetown
Laurens
Lexington
Oconees
Pickens

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE BRINGS SUIT TO STOP SEGREGATED SCHOOL BONDS

Shreveport, Louisiana, August 9, 1965 --- The Congress of Racial Equality brought suit in Shreveport, La. this week to restrain the sale of $6,000,000 worth of school bonds for the city of Monroe, Louisiana on the grounds that the money will be use to sustain a segregated and unconstitutional school system. This is the third suit of its kind brought by CORE. The first two, in St. Tammany's Parish and Jackson Parish, Louisiana. resulted in sweeping CORE victories in which parish officials were forced to submit desegregation plans to the court before being allowed to sell their bonds.

The tactic, which has caused serious rumblings on Wall Street, will be used by CORE, according to General Counsel Carl Rachlin, "Every time a southern school district attempts to raise bond money without desegregating their schools."

The Monroe Case was filed with Justice Benjamin C. Dawkins in the Federal Court in Shreveport. The bonds are scheduled for sale in New York on Tuesday, August 10th.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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The following statement was issued today (Tuesday, August 17th) by James Farmer, National Director of CORE.

"I unqualifiedly condemn the suicide of rioting. This is not the bridge to freedom. But once again, violence has gutted an American Negro community. And once again the scars of poverty and racial hatred have become open wounds.

"We must remember that the outrage of unemployment and hopelessness that pervades the ghetto remains a prelude to the outrage of the rifle and the gasoline bomb. When will this country learn the lesson written on the streets of Los Angeles ?

"Los Angeles, California, mecca of the "Good Life," is an American disaster area -- its Negro citizens bearing the impossible burden of increasing unemployment, suffering the indignities of hostile police, and frustrated by the promises of legislation against the reality of life. Even the proposed and insufficient poverty program has been eclipsed by the politics and insensitivity of the Los Angeles administration.

"I say to everyone of good will -- learn the lesson of Los Angeles: Our freedom is not written only into the language of a voting rights bill, it is also written on a fair pay check, and on the blackboard of a sanitary school room."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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Attn: Alan Gartner or Val Coleman

Tipton Co., Tennessee: A school boycott, protesting the lack of a desegregation plan and the split-session system to allow time for cotton picking, is being led by CORE field secretary Rev. James Edward Smith, in this area of rural Tennessee.

The protest has been marked by demonstrations and a march of over one thousand persons to the Board of Education office in Covington, led by Rev. Smith and CORE chapter chairman, Bennie Topp.

Tipton County is in the center of an area in which college students from Cornell University in New York and the University of Wisconsin are working under the West Tennessee Voters' Project. Also in the area of the Projects work are Fayette, Haywood, and Hardeman Counties.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE - Congress Of Racial Equality
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The following story is excerpted from the WALL STREET JOURNAL of August 10, 1965

TALLULAH, La.

Harold Ickes, son of the late Secretary of the Interior in Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet, is head of the Congress of Racial Equality's summer project in Tallulah. He is also one of a new breed of civil rights activists who are less interested in staging headline-grabbing mass marches and sit-ins than in helping Negroes to help themselves in comparatively mundane matters: Sprucing up homes and neighborhoods, getting better jobs, reducing school "dropout" rates and the like.

Mr. Ickes in Tallulah will leave town soon to continue his studies at Columbia University's law school in New York. But his influence will be felt for a long time in this segregationist bastion. He'll leave behind two local Negroes to carry on CORE's work there - Artis Ray Dawson, a student in social work attending a nearby college, and James Henry Williams, a construction worker. Through the summer, they have worked closely with him and other CORE staffers. Negro townspeople also can look for a measure of leadership to such men as barber Zelma Wyche, head of the Negro Steering Committee set up to work with CORE, and farmers of the area to the Rev. T. I. Isreal, a part-time preacher who farms cotton near here. Mr. Ickes encourages him to run for an ASC post.

CORE's self-help efforts in Tallulah indicate that the progress of such programs in the rural South will probably be far slower than in large urban centers. Before any such ambitious programs as job training can be effective, local Negroes long conditioned to attitudes of abject subservience must be given confidence. This, in effect, is the major thrust of Mr. Ickes' work in Tallulah.

UNION WORK

One week recently, Mr. Ickes boned up on Robert's Rules of Order and then instructed a group of Negro members of a local of the International Woodworkers of America in how to run a union meeting. The local represents 450 employes at a local factory, 80% of them Negroes, but its leadership has always been dominated by the white minority. "The Negro members have been told they were incompetent so long that they believed it," says Mr. Ickes.

Now the Negro members are stirring themselves to act, prodded by Mr. Ickes. They are planning to "reorganize" the local, possibly choosing Negroes to replace white officers. This move, they believe, will give Negro workers a bigger selection of higher-paying jobs in the plant, as well as a controlling voice in the local.

Just recently, the Negro members spoke up for the first time at a meeting of the local, asking the president pointed questions about the union's affairs. Infuriated, he left the meeting. A Negro committee also sought to talk to the plant superintendent, who avoided seeing them. One Negro then took the unprecedented step of calling the supervisor at home. This seems a small thing, but in a town where most Negroes still automatically call all white men "sir," Mr. Ickes reckons it considerable progress.

There are other signs of change, too. On the advice of CORE, Negro employes of a grocery store went to their employer and complained about their 50-cent hourly wage. He doubled their pay. A supermarket which has hired no Negroes employed two after CORE came in. Some Negro parents are considering requesting transfer of their children to white schools. Many more Negroes now get door-to-door mail delivery, and Negro committees are being formed to corner city and parish authorities on other problems.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

50 CINCINNATI CORE MEMBERS ARRESTED IN MAJOR DRIVE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN CONSTRUCTION TRADES

Over 50 members of the Cincinnati chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality have been jailed in the past two weeks in an all-out effort by CORE to integrate the lily-white construction trades industry. The arrests began at two school construction sites where CORE members halted construction activity with sit-ins and lie-ins protesting the systematic rejection of Negroes for construction jobs. Arrests also took place at the office of the Allied Construction Industries where 16 CORE members were hauled away. The fourth arrest site was at the city-wide office of the AFL-CIO, where CORE members protested the union's hiring policy which in effect excludes Negroes.

CORE National Director James Farmer, will be in Cincinnati Thursday, August 26th. Earlier this month, Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley led a protest march on City Hall.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK ENDING DISCRIMINATORY HIRING POLICIES

CORE AND NAACP CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS WHILE ASKING FOR NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN APPLICANTS

Following intensive negotiations lasting four months, CORE and the NAACP announced today that the Federal Reserve Bank of New York has begun to hire large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the New York Federal Reserve Bank. Talks were begun four months ago as a result of complaints of discrimination received by CORE and NAACP. An investigation revealed a discriminatory pattern of employment. Since the start of negotiations, Federal Reserve hiring policy has improved, the civil rights groups reported.

Because of the large number of Federal Reserve employees and a quick turnover, the bank hires many new employees in the course of the year. The bank now extensively advertises openings in the Negro press.

CORE and NAACP specifically request that applicants inform the organizations as to the status of their applications by calling either: Irving Queen (NAACP), Tel. 654-1595, or Stephen M. Nagler (CORE), Tel. PL 2-8060, so that a follow-up check can be effected.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE REPORTS UPSURGE SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

Intensive registration drives in several southern states conducted by CORE volunteers and staff personnel have yielded thousands of new Negro registrants since the passage of the Federal Voting Rights Bill. Scattered reports from South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Northern Florida where CORE has focused its voter drive activity throughout the summer show dramatic increases in registration, especially in those counties and parishes where federal registrars have been assigned.

In York County alone, 1006 new Negro registrants were placed on the books in August, a figure which represents one-third of the county's registered Negro voters. York County's county seat, Rock Hill, will be remembered as one of the earliest sites of the public accomodations battle instituted by CORE in 1960 in South Carolina.

In the four Louisiana parishes equipped with federal registrars, 4702 Negroes have been placed on the roles through CORE voter drives since the Bill was passed. In East Feliciana Parish, where Negroes comprise 58% of the total population, there were only 182 registered Negro voters and 2726 registered white voters. A "shuttle service" to the registrar's office run by CORE workers netted 152 additional Negroes registered in one day.

In Mississippi, three rural and "hard-line" segregationist counties are reported to have registered 6199 new Negro voters in the month of August.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE MOUNTS MULTI-CITY DRIVE AGAINST ALL FORMS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION

In a major drive, both North and South, the Congress of Racial Equality is moving to end all forms of school segregation in this country. San Francisco, Dallas, Chicago, and Monroe, Louisiana are currently on the firing line.

In San Francisco, efforts at school board and administration negotiations have failed and the San Francisco chapter of CORE has announced a direct-action program for the fall. In Dallas, picketing of the school committee was threatened by counter-picketing, uniformed members of the American Nazi Party. The issue in Dallas is the slow pace of desegregation in the school system which was required to integrate by the 1954 Supreme Court decision. In Chicago, massive demonstrations have continued throughout the month of August in an effort to depose Superintendant Benjamin Willis, protagonist of northern de-facto school segregation.

A new departure in the school fight has been highlighted in Monroe, Louisiana where CORE attorneys have brought suit to injoin Monroe from issuing school bonds for new construction on the basis that the funds will be used to sustain a segregated system. Similar suits in Jonesboro, Louisiana and in St. Tammany's Parish, Louisiana resulted in important CORE victories where the defendants were ordered to integrate their schools before selling bonds on the national market.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SPRINGFIELD MASSACHUSETTS, SCENE OF MAJOR CORE CONFRONTATION ON POLICE BEHAVIOR

Springfield, Mass., August 23, 1965...This industrial Massachusetts city has become the site of a major civil rights struggle in the past month. The Congress of Racial Equality yesterday mounted a mass demonstration involving over 5000 Springfield Negroes in a march and city hall rally protesting police brutality in the Negro districts. CORE Associate National Director, George Wiley, in speaking at the city hall rally, called Springfield a "touchstone" of the northern civil rights movement which will be "longer and tougher than the battle in the South." CORE members from the entire Northeastern region came to Springfield to join the march.

The issue in Springfield began some four weeks ago when seventeen Negroes were brutalized and arrested at the Octagon Lounge in the Springfield Negro ghetto. Subsequent demonstrations ultimately resulted in a negotiation session with Governor Volpe of Mass., Springfield Mayor Ryan, and officials from CORE and the NAACP. The seven hour negotiations, which took place on Thursday, August 19th, resulted in a six-point agreement. Civil rights groups then agreed to cancel a planned Sunday demonstration. Subsequently, Mayor Ryan, in a series of public statements, in effect, repudiated the agreement, which led the civil rights groups to yesterday's successful march. CORE Springfield chairman, Oscar Bright announced that "we will continue to march and demonstrate until the agreements we reached are honored."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE REGISTERS OVER 4,000 VOTERS

Canton, Mississippi, August 30, 1965 -- In a county where official figures show that registered white voters amount to more than the number of voting age whites, CORE workers have helped to register over 4,000 Negroes in the past three weeks. Madison County has 5,622 voting age whites and 6,256 registered white voters. Until this past month, the number of Negro registered voters was below 300 out of a total Negro voting age population of over 10,000.

Other developments in Madison County include the desegregation of the county's school system, whereby over 100 Negro youngsters will attend previously all white schools for grades 1, 2, 3, and 12. During the summer, over 400 Negro youngsters participated in the Operation Headstart program, the largest such program in Mississippi.

During the past three weeks, six downtown stores have been picketted protesting their failure to treat Negroes courteously, and their refusal to hire Negroes in any other than menial positions. Negro men and women in Madison County have joined together to form the Madison County Sewing Co-operative to produce men's shirts and thus provide a supplementary income for Negro families.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE ENDORSES NEW YORK CITY PRIMARY CANDIDATES

New York, N.Y., August 30, 1965 -- For the first time in its history, CORE chapters in the New York City area endorsed candidates in the city's primary elections. CORE National Director James Farmer, speaking on behalf of the sixteen New York City CORE chapters, announced that CORE endorsed Congressman William F. Ryan in the Democratic Primary for Mayor, as well as the rest of his city-wide slate, Mrs. Anna Hedgeman for City Council President, and Mr. Melvin Dubin for Comptroller.

In describing Congressman Ryan, a leader in the drive to unseat the five Mississippi Congressmen, Farmer said that he considers Ryan "a very courageous man whose actions are not calculated to win votes, but to do the right thing." Mr. Farmer pointed out that Mrs. Hedgeman, who has been long active in city and national affairs, is the first Negro woman to run for city-wide office.

In a Brooklyn City Council fight, the CORE chapters endorsed Brooklyn CORE chairman Major Owens. Major Owens is the head of a new and highly significant political development, the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement. Also endorsed were Rudolph Jones, for State Senator in the Democratic Primary, and Gilberto Huerena Valentin for Councilman-at-Large in Manhattan.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE CHALLENGES GRAND JURY FINDING

New York, N.Y., August 30, 1965 -- The finding of the Grand Jury investigation into the death of Nelson Erby, shot by Patrolman Sheldon Liebowitz, was challenged by CORE in an amicus curiae brief filed before the state Supreme Court, (Kings County . CORE counsel George Schiffer contended that since Erby did not commit disorderly conduct, Patrolman Liebowitz's actions were unjustified. Further, that as the arrest for disorderly conduct was unlawful, Erby had by law a right to resist it with reasonable force, and that even if Erby had been guilty of disorderly conduct, Liebowitz was not justified in the killing.

Because of its belief that the Grand Jury's report was not supported by the weight of the evidence, CORE has urged the court not to accept the report. CORE counsel Schiffer has requested that the Court either return the matter to the Grand Jury for further investigation, or have the report sealed and not be granted the dignity and status of a public record.

Rather than supporting the exoneration of Liebowitz, the CORE brief states that the evidence presented before the Grand Jury warranted an indictment of Liebowitz.

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ATTN: Alan Gartner

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, N.Y. September 9, 1965 - - The trial of sixteen defendants arrested last March in a demonstration at the Chase-Manhattan Bank resumes on Monday, September 13th, at The Criminal Court, 100 Centre Street, Manhattan, at 9:30 a.m. Among the defendents is CORE's Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley.

The demonstration, March 13, 1965 -- the Fifth Anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville, Union of South Africa, was to protest Chase-Manhattan's loan of $40 million to the government of South Africa.

At the trial, adjourned after a week of hearing prosecution evidence last June, the demonstrators face charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Counsel for the sixteen are challenging the concept that a demonstrator is guilty of "resisting arrest" when he refuses to cooperate in his own arrest. Demonstrators, who did not struggle or otherwise impede the arresting officers, did refuse to walk to the police wagons, and claim that it is not an act of "resisting arrest" to refuse to cooperate in the arrest.

Also being challenged is the charge of "disorderly conduct" for sitting on the public sidewalk in front of the Liberty Street entrance to the bank. Testimony has been presented showing that patrons of the bank were able and did in fact use that entrance as well as other entrances to the bank and the pedestrian traffic on Liberty Street was not blocked. Defense lawyers will argue that just as the courts have upheld the right to peacefully picket and to hold stationary vigils, so too the court ought now to uphold the right to protest on the public way by sitting down.

Counsel for the defendants are Marvin Karpatkin of the American Jewish Congress, Burt Hall of the Workers' Defense League and Arthur Funn.

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FARMER CHALLENGES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO "FOLLOW THE LAW."

New York, N.Y. September 10, 1965 - In a press conference today, CORE's National Director, James Farmer challenged the House of Representatives to "follow the law." Speaking of the effort of the House Administration Committee to dismiss the challenge to the seating of the five Mississippi Congressmen without holding hearings on the substance of the charges against the congressmen, Farmer said, "The people of Mississippi who have brought the challenge are following the law, but the House of Representative's Administration Committee is not."

The challenge to the seating of the five Mississippi Congressmen has been brought by Mississippi Negroes who have protested that the five Congressmen were elected illegally because Negroes were denied the right to vote. At the time of the November, 1964 election, less than 7% of the state's Negroes were permitted to register to vote.

The challenge, initially presented last January has met with roadblocks and stalling ever since. In January, 150 Congressmen led by New York Congressman William F. Ryan --whom CORE endorsed last week in New York's Democratic Primary for Mayor - voted to withhold seating of the five Mississippi Congressmen. The next step in the "challenge" was the gathering of depositions to document the exclusion of Negroes. Over 600 depositions were collected, and then the House Clerk, Mr. Roberts, sought to stall the "challenge" by refusing to print the record. When this tactic failed, the five Congressmen filed their motion with the House Administration Committee, chaired by Omar Burleson, Democratic of Texas, to dismiss the challenge on the grounds that it was not filed by defeated contestants in the election. Congressman Burleson, while he announced that his committee will hold hearings next Monday on the petition, has already publicly stated that his committee will make a favorable report on the Mississippi Congressmen's petition. Mr. Farmer attacked the committee hearing as "fixed and phony".

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CORE VOTE DRIVE NETS OVER 15,000 IN LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge, La., September 13, 1964 - A special voter registration drive in fifteen of Louisiana Parishes has netted over 15,000 newly registered Negroes. CORE's Louisiana State Director Rev. Ronnie Moore reported that while considerable progress has been made in those parishes where federal registrars have been sent, progress in the other parishes is still slow.

In East Feliciana Parish, where registered Negroes amounted to only 182 before the CORE drive, an additional 1,972 Negroes were registered by CORE, raising the percent of Negroes registered from 3% to 35.4%.

In Ouachita Parish, 4,573 Negcres were registered, thus tripling the number of registered Negroes there.

CORE voter registration drives also are being conducted in the Fourth Congressional District of Mississippi, throughout the state of South Carolina, and in northern Florida. In South Carolina alone, there have been over 10,000 newly registered Negroes.

In those parishes of Louisiana without federal registrars, local registrars still seek to block Negro registration. For example, in West Feliciana Parish, where only 1.9% of the eligible Negroes are registered, the local registrar has refused to accept more than 22 applicants per day despite the fact that from 50 to 150 Negro potential voters have been on line daily.

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SCHOOL SUIT WON BY CORE

New Orleans, La., September 13, 1965 - A CORE sponsored law suit has brought rapid desegregation to West Feliciana parish schools. When Federal District Court Judge E. Gordon West, known for his opposition to civil rights, issued a weak order in response to a CORE petition to desegregate West Feliciana's schools, CORE lawyers appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. As a result of the Appeals Court's intervention, West Feliciana schools will be desegregated at the rate of two grades this year, and five grades in each of the following two years.

This victory marks the continuation of CORE's many-sided attack on segregated schools. Last month in St. Tammany and Jackson Parishes, a new CORE technique produced results. A CORE-brought injunction blocked the distribution of the parish's school bonds until agreement was reached on rapid desegregation - four grades this month in Jackson Parish, a similar suit, involving school bonds in the city of Monroe, La., is pending before U.S. District Court Judge Ben Dawkins.

Planned for the immediate future is a statewide suit against the Governor and the State School Board of Mississippi to force statewide school desegregation. Also planned are several suits challenging the concept of so-called _de facto_ school segregation in the north.

Counsel in the Louisiana cases were CORE's General Counsel Carl Rachlin, the New Orleans firm of Collins, Douglas, and Elie, and Murphy Bell of Baton Rouge, La.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE SCHOOL PROTESTS SPAN THE NATION

New York City, September 20, 1965 - The opening of the school year has brought CORE-sponsored activity all across the country. School board decisions to build new schools on sites which will mean that they will be predominantly Negro are being protested in Kansas City, Kansas, and Arlington, Virginia. East St. Louis CORE has decided to oppose the city's new school bond issure because the school board has failed to seek Office of Education approval of the school sites as not being contributory to further school segregation.

School busing is the issue in many communities. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it is the CORE group which is upholding the school board's decision to bus children from over-crowded schools to under-used ones, and white defenders of the so-called "neighborhood school" who threaten to picket the school board. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, CORE is protesting the school board's policy of "intact busing" which keeps in segregated classrooms the Negro students bused to white schools to relieve over-crowding. In Suffolk County, New York, parents and CORE are protesting a decision which has meant that school bus service is now being denied to a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

The fight against *de facto* school segregation is speading into the boarder states, with a protest march by Lexington, Kentucky CORE. In San Francisco, the failure of the school board to eliminate *de facto* segregation has led a unity group, including CORE, to begin a protest campaign. And in Boston, Massachusetts, the fight continues against a school board which refuses to admit even the existance of *de facto* segregation. A federal investigation, initiated as a result of Boston CORE complaints to the Office of Education, is going forth in Boston now.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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RIGHTS WORK GOES FORWARD IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI

Philadelphia, Mississippi, September 20, 1965 - This city, the scene in 1964 of the murder of CORE workers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, and student volunteer Andrew Goodman, has been a center of civil rights activities again this past summer.

Led by the sister of the late James Chaney, Mrs. Barbara Chaney Moss, volunteer workers are working on many fronts. A voter registration drive is going on with an appeal made for federal registrars. The twelve Negro students who have been admitted to the previously all-white schools are receiving tutoring assistance from the five CORE project workers.

A self-help quilting project has been begun, to offer employment alternatives to women other than work as domestics. A legal suit is pending to rid the courthouse of segregated facilities, as well as to reopen the city pool which was drained after an attempt was made to integrate it.

Neshoba County residents are cooperating with other Mississippians in the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, a new state-wide organization of workers who are working for higher wages for farmers and laborers. Also, the Philadelphia quilting cooperative is in contact with a group of similar organisations brought together through the Poor Peoples Corporation, with a central sales distribution point in Jackson.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BALTIMORE THE FOCUS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION

Baltimore, Maryland, September 20, 1965 - A broad scale attack on housing discrimination has been launched by Baltimore CORE. Following efforts to seek voluntary open housing policies which were rebuffed by the city's real estate industry, CORE members have taken up direct action against discriminatroy real estate men.

A sit-in -- lasting twenty-five hours -- was held at the offices of a housing development where Negroes were told no vacancies were available while whites were informed of several apartments. CORE Housing Chairman Walter Carter was arrested along with two others for the "sit-in."

The offices of three other real estate firms who refused to rent or sell to Negroes were picketed -- with picket lines ranging from twenty to seventy-five marchers.

An urban renewal project in the nearby community of Fels was attacked by the CORE chapter. The project proposes to displace a large Negro community and to build new housing out of the financial range of most of those to be displaced.

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September 23, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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FARMER SPEAKS FOR EDUCATIONAL PARK

The need for "new and imaginative steps" to break through the increasing pattern of segregated schools was the main point of testimony presented today by James Farmer, National Director of CORE. Farmer, speaking before a hearing of New York City's Board of Estimate, urged the Board to use the Flatlands section of Brooklyn as an educational park.

Calling for the reevaluation of a decision made in the 1950's to earmark the area for an industrial park, Farmer said that the Board must act in "light of the needs of 1965" and went on to note that the Board's decisions "will affect not just 1965 but will continue in their effect into the next century."

Farmer pointed out that the Flatlands section, which is situated between predominantly Negro Brownsville and predominantly white Canarsie, was an ideal section to "become a bridge between these two segregated communities." Characterizing New York as a city "crisscrossed with walls of segregation," Farmer told the board of Estimate that they "had the opportunity to bring down some of those walls" by acting "to make the Flatlands section an educational park."

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For Immediate Release

CORE AND UNION JOIN IN VICTORY

New York City, September 28, 1965 - A joint CORE and Laundry Workers Union campaign has won a new contract in Houston, Texas for laundry workers at the Martin Linen Company. When the Martin Linen Company, which is owned by two New York City based laundries, replaced union strikers -- 90% of whom are Negroes -- with imported Mexican scabs and harassed the pickets with privately hired policemen with police dogs, Russell Crowell, International President of the AFL:CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning Union, came to CORE's National Director James Farmer.

CORE immediately contacted the New York owners of the Houston laundry and they met withCORE staff represenatives. The owners expressed their concern but wanted to wait several days before holding serious discussions. CORE National Chairman, Durham attorney Floyd B. McKissik told the owners that the CORE chapters in the New York City area were alerted for public demonstrations against the plants of the New York owners unless immediate progress was made. Negotiation sessions lasted all day Sunday and Monday (September 24th and 25th) and produced a satisfactory contract: wage increases ranging from 14¢ to 65¢ per hour, reclassification of several job categories, additional paid vacations, paid holidays, union security clauses, and a two year contract.

Upon conclusion of the contract, CORE National Director James Farmer said that "This was the kind of civil rights-union co-operation that made sense -- working on down-to-earth issues that directly affect the daily lives of Negroes."

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For Immediate Release

SEPTEMBER SOUTH CAROLINA DRIVE TOPS YET

Charleston, South Carolina; September 30, 1965 - The biggest month on record has been chalked up in CORE's South Carolina voter registration drive. Over 6,200 Negroes were registered in the state with the assistance of CORE workers in September. This following the over eight thousand registered earlier this summer, means an additional 15,000 Negroes added to the voter roles.

The biggest gains were made in Williamsburg County where Negroes comprise over 66% of the voting age population. However, registered whites already exceed the number of voting age whites in the county. (7,560 voting age whites and 8,067 registered whites), while only 18.3% of the county's 10,535 eligible Negroes were registered at the first of this year. Since January, nearly 1,400 Negroes have been registered in Williamsburg County, thereby increasing the percentage of Negroes registered to over 30% of those eligible.

In Dorchester, Claredon and Sumter Counties, state registrars sought to hinder Negro voter registration by "slow-down" tactics. When the registration books closed at the end of the one day on which they were open for the month, there were over one thousand Negroes waiting to register in these three counties alone. CORE South Carolina state directorJames McCain has filed protests with the Justice Department and has threatened to call for federal registrars unless the state officials end their stalling tactics.

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CORE URGES REVOKE POLICE REGULATION

New York City, September 30th - The shooting of each other by two off-duty New York City policemen once again calls for a total re-examination of the Police Department's rule that police officers must carry their service revolvers at all times, a CORE spokesmen said today.

Over a year ago -- prior to the shooting of young James Powell by off-duty officer Gilligan -- CORE called for a restudy of the order in a letter to then Police Commissioner Murphy. Again, this summer when police officers picketed at City Hll, CORE National Director, James Farmer called for a waiving of the rule during the time of the picketing and a restudy of the rule in general.

The exchange of eleven shots between the two officers in a West Side tavern not only endangered and did in fact harm themselves, but also threatened the life and safety of the patrons and neighbors. Other than vague allegations about policemen "always being on duty" there has been no indication from the police officials as to the actual merits -- weighed against the increasingly obvious risks -- of off-duty policemen carrying and using their revolvers against each other as well as against citizens.

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CORE SCORES ALABAMA MOCKERY of JUSTICE

New York City, September 30th - James Farmer, National Director of CORE, issued the following statement:

"We completely and unalterably condemn the mockery of law which passes for justice in the state of Alabama. The failure of a Marion Grand Jury to indict an Alabama state trooper for the February 18th killing of Jimmie Lee Jackson is followed by a "not guilty" finding of a Hayneville jury in the manslaughter charge against Tom Coleman for the killing of Jonathan Daniels . The refusal of judge Thaggard to accede to Alabama Attorney General Flowers' appeal for a delay, so that Rev. Morrisoe, gravely wounded by Mr. Coleman, could testify in person, was only the first indication that what passes for a system of law in the state of Alabama has no intention of offering justice to Negroes or those who assist in the cause of civil rights."

"America is in danger of becoming a country where high sounding laws are passed, but where there is a refusal to enforce them against southern segregationists. I repeat CORE's earlier plea that the national administration enforce the present federal laws which make acts such as committed by Mr. Coleman a federal offense, and further that these laws be strengthened so that those who take the life of a person working to secure his own or assisting to secure another's civil rights be punished by life imprisonment.

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For Immediate Release

NEW MINIMUM WAGE A WEAPON AGAINST POVERTY

New York City, N.Y., September 30- A massive push for new minimum wage legislation has been called for by CORE Associate National Director Dr. George A. Wiley . In a bulletin to CORE's one hundred and fifty chapters, Dr. Wiley noted that the majority of Negroes in America live in poverty and that the majority of poor people have jobs. The problem, Dr. Wiley stated, was that these jobs simply do not pay enough to live on. He called upon CORE chapters to support additions to the minimum wage laws which would raise the minimum wage to $1.75 per hour and cover an additional 7.9 million workers.

Many of the job categories where substantial numbers of Negroes now work ---such as hospitals, laundries and dry cleaning establishments, resturants and hotels, and agricultural work -- are not now covered by the minimum wage laws. The new bill, H.R. 10518, would cover an additional 7.9. million workers in these and other industries, and gradually raise the minimum wage to $1.75 -- by 1968 for those workers already covered by the law and by 1970 for those newly to be covered.

CORE chapters were called upon to take the lead in their communities in seeking support for this minimum wage bill by contacting their Congressmen, organizing people who would be aided by the bill to work to gain its passage, recruiting people to go to Washington to lobby for the bill, seeking support from sympathetic labor and civic groups, and making the entire community aware of this crucial weapon in the "war on poverty."

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CORE AID TO BETSY VICTIMS

New Orleans, La., October 4th - The Southern Office of CORE reported that it has received numerous phone calls asking if the organization did anything to assist hurricane Betsy victims. "In response to those calls," said Southern Director Richard Haley, "we would like to make a public record of what we did." "CORE doesn't have many staff persons in New Orleans and we are certainly not a wealthy organization, but we are doing what we can to help," he added.

Immediately after the hurricane, some 15 CORE workers distributed 2½ tons of clothing to stricken families in the 9th ward. The clothes had been sent down by CORE chapters in the north. Another group of workers, headed by CORE field secretary Isaac Reynolds, helped at the Red Cross center at the St. Philip School, unloading and distributing truckloads of food.

On Saturday, September 18, CORE workers distributed 36,000 pounds of ice to both whites and Negroes in the area east of the Industrial Canal. The ice was shipped from Houston, a donation from the World Christian Brotherhood Service arranged by CORE field secretary Jerome Smith.

This past weekend CORE field secretary Dave Dennis organized about 20 high school and college students to assist individual families living on Lamanche St. in cleaning up, a program he plans to extend to other areas on future Saturdays and Sundays.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE AIDE CHARGES DEMOCRATS

Washington,D.C., October 4, 1965 - Dr. George Wiley, Associate National Director of CORE, charged the Democratic Party, "nationally and locally," with the "major responsibility" for exclusion of Negroes from the entire political process. Speaking before a special committee of the Democratic National Committee, assigned to investigate instances of exclusion of Negroes from Democratic Party activities, Dr. Wiley stated that "The single most important factor in the exclusion of Negroes from participation in the activities of the Democratic Party has been the exclusion of Negroes from the entire political process." Dr. Wiley then went on to point out that in every state where Negroes are being blocked from registering to vote, a Democrat sits in the State House and the Democratic Party controls the state legislature.

Dr. Wiley, while giving credit to the national Democratic Administration for its leadership role in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, noted that it is the same Democratic Administration which has refused "to extend Federal protection to Negroes attempting to exercise their civil rights in the South," and which has provided "only toke implementation of the Voting Rights Bill by sending Federal registrars only to a small fraction of the counties eligible to receive them." And also that it was "a national Democratic Administration which refused even to give a public hearing to the challenge brought by black people from Mississippi to the seating of the racist Mississippi Congressional delegation.

Dr. Wiley called for the Democratic Party to bar "from the rewards of Party membership -- patronage and seniority," those Democrats" who continue to deny justice to Negroes." He called upon the Democratic Party to "honor the pledge" which they gave at the Democratic National Convention of 1964 that the Democratic Party would be open to all regardless of race or color.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE VOTE DRIVE CONTINUES

Sumter, South Carolina, October 11, 1965 - "The best month except for the summer," were the words of CORE's South Carolina voter registration project director James McCain. McCain reported that 5,028 newly registered Negroes in October were more than have been registered in any month except for two summer months when the drives were aided by northern volunteers.

McCain attributed the October results to the intensive community organization work CORE workers have done, working to assist local Negroes in running the voter registration drives themselves. In fourteen of the twenty-nine counties where CORE worked, the October figures were better than September which had been until then the best month in CORE's two year voter registration drive in South Carolina.

Among the counties where major gains were made were three counties - - Clarendon, Lee and Williamsburg - - where Negro voter potential exceeds 65% of the electorate. Compared to November 1, 1965, when registered Negroes in these three counties ranged from 6% to 21%, Negro voter registration now ranges from 18% to 34% - - marking an increase of 6,889 newly registered Negro voters.

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CORE GROUP SHAKES DORCHESTER COUNTY

St. George, South Carolina, October 18, 1965 - A new militant CORE group is sparking a voter registration and school desegregation drive here in Dorchester County. A year ago, Negro registration was less than one-third of the eligible population and is now nearly 50 percent. County registrars have sought to block Negro registration by slowdowns and evasive tactics, so that over 600 people have been left on the registration lines in September and October on the one day in each of these months when the voting books were opened. White registrations exceeds the number of voting age whites -- 7,864 registered whites and only 7,121 whites of voting age.

Twelve Negroes are now attending the formerly all-white schools of St. George. School officials have been unable or unwilling to protect them from beatings and other forms of harassment from their white schoolmates. Particular targets have been the two sons of CORE chairman Mrs. Geneva Tracey, who, along with her husband, has been fired from her job for civil fights activities.

In a recent speech before Brooklyn College, N.Y. students, Mrs. Tracey and CORE vice-chairman Mrs. Victoria DeLee described the conditions in Dorchester County and called upon the students to help them. CORE Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley is expected to go to St. George for the November 1st voter registration day.

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LOUISIANA FAIR INTEGRATED

Bogalusa, La., October 18: For the first time in its 52 year history, the Washington Parish (La.) Free Fair was integrated last week. The breakthrough came on the heels of action threatened by the Bogalusa Civic and Voter League, a local community group which works in cooperation with CORE.

Until this year, Negroes had been admitted only on the last day of the Fair. Mr. Robert Hicks, vice-president of the League, annouced also that Negro public school students had refused to participate in segregated events at the fair, such as chorus, band, and dramatic performance. However, school officials continued the practice of releasing Negro and white pupils on different days for attendance at the fair.

Bogalusa has been the scene of major civil rights activities since the beginning of the year. Following marches led by CORE National Director James Farmer, most public accomodations in this mill city have been opened to Negroes. Also, a CORE-brought suit, later joined by the Justice Department, ordered local law enforcement officials to end harassment of civil rights demonstrators and to offer equal protection to the city's Negroes. Actions continue as the Civic and Voters League seek jobs in downtown stores for Negroes, and the appointment of Negroes to municipal governing boards.

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CORE SCHOOL ACTION: BOSTON TO BALTIMORE

New York City, October 18, 1965 - Five eastern cities are the scene of CORE school activities. From Boston to Baltimore CORE chapters are fighting for better quality schools.

In Boston, the CORE chapter has brought a federal investigation of school segregation, with officials of the Office of Education scheduled to make their report in early November. Also, "Project Exodus," where Negro parents are busing their children from over-crowded ghetto schools to under-used schools in white neighborhoods is receiving CORE assistance.

In Buffalo, N.Y. and Newark, N.J. protests were mounted against inadequate school facilities. A CORE spokesman charged that Newark's schools were inadequate and urged new thinking including the building of "educational parks and complexes." In a separate action, parents and CORE members "sat-in" at the Madison School to protest the part-time sessions for first, second, and third grades.

In Baltimore, Md., having supported the passage of the full school budget, CORE is now seeking additional funds for special programs for culturally deprived children. And in Arlington, Va., the CORE chapter having once blocked and allowed to be released federal funds, now seeks to once again block federal funds, to the Arlington Public Schools because of the continuation of school segregation in the elementary and junior high schools of that Washington, D.C. suburb.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"UNPRINCIPLED EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR"

New York City, October 19 -- "The sanctity of contracts should not cloak the unprincipled exploitation of the poor." So concludes a comprehensive CORE Legal Department study released today attacking the default judgment procedure in New York City, charging that this system is "an instrument of oppression" used by creditors to harass and intimidate the poor. The report is based on a study of the 200,530 complaints filed in the New York City Civil Court in 1964.

The report shows that over half (53.3%) of the complaints filed resulted in a "default Judgment", that is the complaint of the creditor was rubber-stamped by the court. In a special examination of twelve companies, which brought a total of over 30,000 complaints in 1964, 92% resulted in default judgments, and of these 90% were entered within thirty days of the filing of the complaint. In other words, for these twelve companies, the report notes, including such giants as First National City Bank, Consolidated Edison, and R.H. Macy, the courts act as little more than a "revolving door" automatically speedily accepting the companies allegations.

The report, based on the work of CORE Assistant General Counsel, George Schiffer, Columbia Law student Michael R. Goldenberg and Stephen Steinglass, Michigan Law School student Edward Levy and New York University Law student Michael Saphier, concludes with a number of proposals for:

1) A criminal investigation to see whether those litigants who secure default judgments in over 90% of their cases are in fact committing crimes in their use of the court procedures. New York Attorney General Lefkowitz has been asked to act in this area.

2) An investigation of the conduct of the lawyers involved with regard to the contingent fees charged (The Grievance Commission of the New York City

Bar Association has been called upon to act here) to the utilization of the courts.

3) Legislation to establish an entirely new procedure in debt collection cases. Such a procedure should revise the present erratic system of process serving, provide for hearings before a master and a review of the underlying documents, efforts to assure full participation by the debtor, and an end to multiple repossissions and phony auction sales.

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LOUISIANA PROTESTS MOUNT

Tallulah, La., October 26: Two thousand persons marched on the Madison Parish (County) Fair to protest the continued segregation of Fair visiting days. Protests against similar Fair segregation successfully integrated the Washington Parish Fair and a CORE-sought court order desegregated the St. Tammany Parish Fair earlier in October.

Another march on the Board of Education protesting the closing of the Negro schools for the "black days" at the Fair, resulted in the arrest of CORE worker Candy Davis, and two local leaders Rev. Whyte and Mr. Williams, by Parish Sherrif R.R. Mitchell. The civil rights workers were charged with "inciting to riot" and they in turn charged a local white couple with "assault with a deadly weapon" and "assault with intent to kill" as a result of the white couple's attempt to drive their car through a group of the demonstrators.

On the night following the arrests, over one thousnad perosns marched on the parish jail to protest the arrests, and having bailed out the three persons the group held an impromptu Freedom Rally in front of the jail.

In addition to protesting the segregation at the county fair, CORE workers in Tallulah are seeking equal employment opportunities at local stores, and are picketting the A&P for its failure to hire Negroes.

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October 26, 1965

CORE DEMANDS FEDERAL PROTECTION

New York, October 26: CORE's National Director James Farmer issued the following statement after the decision of the Hayneville, Alabama jury in the trial of Collie LeRoy Wilkins for the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo.

Statement of James Farmer, National Director, CORE, 23 October 1965

Once again the jury system of the State of Alabama has shown itself incapable and unwilling to render justice. The "not guilty" verdict handed down in the trial of Collie LeRoy Wilkins follows the same verdict in the trial of Tom Coleman -- decisions despite the palpable evidence that both men committed the murder with which they were charged.

We have previously demanded that the federal government provide the protection which it is empowered to do under present laws, as well as to propose additional legislation. We will present to the next session of Congress additional proposals for legislation which will require greater federal protection for those seeking to exercise their civil rights as well as for civil rights workers. Further, we will make proposals to prevent the bigoted southern jury system from comtinuing to deprive Negroes and whites of justice.

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October 26, 1965

NEW CORE PROGRAM IN WATTS

Los Angeles, Cal., October 26: CORE action in the Watts area of Los Angeles is now directed along two lines. CORE field secretary Louis Smith has helped to organize "Operation Bootstrap," an organization designed to train and seek employment for Negro youths. Training programs in automobile body and fender work, automobile mechanic, IBM key-punch operator, and telegraph operator are in operation. In addition to the training program, all trainees will take a course in Negro History.

In a related line of activity, Los Angeles CORE chairman Don Smith has become the co-ordinator of a new anti-poverty program which will seek to have its program funded by the federal government independent of the city's formally designated anti-poverty agency. The city's anti-poverty agency has been criticized by many officials, including Office of Economic Opportunity Chief Sargent Shriver, for failing to include represenatives of the poor.

On a recent visit to Los Angeles, CORE National Director James Farmer called for the resignation of the city's police chief William Parker, charging that "Parker had lost the community's confidence" and that his words "were a flagrant insult to Negroes." Farmer also called upon the city administration to take immediate steps to deal with the problems of slum housing, inadequate schools, police brutality, and most important jobs for Negro men.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038
CO 7-6270
Attn: Alan Gartner
October 26, 1965

BALTIMORE MARCH MARKS NEW DRIVE

Baltimore, Maryland, October 26: A mass march and rally led by CORE's Director James Farmer will mark the launching of a new national drive for freedom of choice in housing, Meeting in New York City, CORE's National Action Council designated Baltimore as the first stage of National CORE's drive to have all new housing covered by federal law.

Baltimore was selected as the launching point for this national drive because it typifies the problems faced by Negroes in seeking housing. Baltimore CORE has been carrying on an intensive direct action drive against Baltimore realtors who discriminate against Negroes. Picketting and sit-ins have taken place every week-end since August, and 18 persons have been arrested in that period.

In the summer of 1962, Baltimore was the center of CORE's "Freedom Highways" project which desegregated chain restaurants all along the eastern seaboard, and durning the July 4th weekend of 1963 Baltimore was the scene of several hundred arrests including Presbyterian leader Eugene Carson Blake in a successful campaign to intergrate The Gwyn Oaks Amusement Park .

The march and rally, endosed by a broad range of civic, church, labor, and civil rights groups will be held on November 6th at 12 noon, from the Prince Hall Grand Lodge in Baltimore.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY - CORE
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Attn: Alan Gartner

FARMER TO SPEAK AT LINDSAY RALLY

New York, N.Y. October 28, 1965 - James Farmer, National Director of CORE, will be the featured speaker at a rally for John Lindsay, at the Hotel Theresa (125th Street and 7th Avenue), Friday, October 29th at 8:30 p.m.

This will be the first public appearance Mr. Farmer has made with Mr. Lindsay since he indicated his personal support for the Liberal Republican Party candidate for Mayor.last week.

Also on the program will be the Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, an aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Entertainment will be provide by Lionel Hampton and others.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Congress Of Racial Equality - CORE
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Attn: Alan Gartner

BISHOP ENDORSES CORE MASS MARCH

New York, N.Y. October 29, 1965 - Bishop T. Austin Murphy of Baltimore has endorsed CORE's November 6th mass march and rally for freedom of choice in housing. The march, to be led by CORE National Director, James Farmer, is scheduled for 12 noon, leaving from Prince Hall Grand Lodge, 1307 Eutaw Place.

The endorsement of the march and rally by Bishop Austin means that priests and seminarians in the Baltimore diocese may participate in the march and demonstration. CORE housing committeeman Chairman Walter Carter reports that priests and seminarians have participated in the planning of the march and rally and he predicts that scores of priests, nuns, and seminarians will participate in the events of November 6th.

The mass march and rally are part of National CORE's new campaign to extend freedom of choice in housing throughout America.

Participants in the march will include CORE members from all along the eastern seaboard, members of Baltimore's Federation of Civil Rights Organizations, the AFL-CIO, the city's Council of Churches, representatives of Morgan State College, Goucher College, and Johns Hopkins University.

Baltimore's last major demonstration was at the Gwyn Oaks Amusement Park when Presbyterian Bishop Eugene Carson Blake led several thousand persons, over 200 of whom (including Dr. Blake) were arrested, on the July 4th weekend of 1963

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELAEASE

PROTEST BAR FOUGHT BY CORE

St. George, South Carolina, November 2, 1965 - Dorchester County efforts to block CORE protest activities were attacked by court actions. CORE lawyers challenged as unconstitutional a St. George picket control law which prohibits leaders from being closer than 300 feet from store picketing.

In a related legal action, CORE lawyers have sought to have removed to federal court cases pending against leaders of Dorchester County CORE, claiming that they cannot receive a fair trial in the county courts.

Dorchester County was selected by Attorney General Katzenbach as one of twelve new counties where the Justice Department is sending federal voting registrars. The appointment of the federal registrars follows protests made by Dorchester CORE to John Doar, Justice Department official, about the evasive and slow-down tactics of the local officials. Over 600 people were left on the registration lines in September and October on the one day in each of these months when the voting books were opened.

Despite the tactics of the local officials, Negro registration is now nearly 50% of the eligible population, in a county where white registration exceeds the number of voting age whites -- 7,864 registered whites and only 7,121 whites of voting age.

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CORE SUPPORTS FARM WORKERS STRIKE

Los Angeles, California, November 2nd: CORE workers have joined in support of a grape pickers strike in central California. With Filipino-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Negro workers joining together, more than 1,000 workers are on strike.

While employer representatives wonder "What is the Problem" a local leader Cesar Chavez points out that average family income for the farm workers is below $2,000. per year. Joining in support of the strike is the California Migrant Ministry, an arm of the Council of Churches.

The growers' association has refused even to negotiate with representatives of the strikers, who are demanding a wage increase to $1.40.per hour and recognition of the union by the growers,

Similar efforts to organize farm workers have been supported by CORE in Mississippi in cooperation with the Mississippi Free Labor Union and in New York where Long Island CORE has worked with migrant farm workers.

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BOGALUSA, LA., POLICE "RUN WILD"; BEAT, JAIL NEGROES IN "NIGHT OF TERROR"

Bogalusa, La., November 2nd. Police in Bogalusa, La., had already arrested 75 persons on Wednesday, October 20th; that night they charged into the Negro section of town after a protest meeting and beat, clubbed, and kicked any Negro who happened to be in the area, arresting 20 additional persons. This was the charge leveled by CORE Southern Director Richard Haley at Bogalusa and Washington Parish (county) law officers following what he called a "night of terror in typical Bogalusa style".

"They just ran wild", said Haley, who reported that police dogs were let off their leashes, that officers pulled Negroes from cars that were simply passing through the neighborhood, that in several cases officers beat Negroes inside places of business, and that one officer fired shots at a fleeing Negro youth.

Mr. Haley's charges are especially serious in view of a federal court order issued in July, and still in effect, ordering police and sheriff's deputies to protect Negroes and civil rights workers, to allow them full exercise of their rights and to refrain from using any form of brutality. "There is no doubt in our mind that the officers violated the court order," Haley stated and added, "our lawyers have collected a stack of signed statements to prove our charges". The U.S. Justice Department has dispatched several of its attorneys to Bogalusa and is reported to be considering filing contempt of court proceedings.

The night beatings climaxed a long day of demonstrations and arrests. Early Wednesday morning six adult leaders of the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League were arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. The League was supporting a Negro school boycott by 1400 students, 70% of total enrollment, out of school. Later in the morning 47 students and CORE worker John Hamilton from Los Angeles were arrested for allegedly disturbing the peace when they attempted a protest march. Twenty-one more students were arrested during an afternoon march to the Board of Education and to the city jail.

The school boycott was aimed at getting more books and supplies as well as more science and shop equipment. The students demanded more and better-qualified teachers and also that an additional foreign language be taught at the Negro High school. Further, the students asked that a full-time doctor or nurse be assigned to each school and the physical education equipment be made as good as that of the white schools.

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CORE SCORES LONG ISLAND HOUSING AUTHORITIES

Long Island, N.Y., November 2nd: Charges of discrimination and mistreatment marked CORE complaints against local government housing officials. In North Hempstead CORE complained of unscheduled inspections of public housing tenants' apartments and arbitrary fines, while in Rockville Centre the village's Urban Renewal Authority was charged with manipulating a proposed urban renewal project so as to drive Negroes out of the village.

CORE charged that the homes of tenants in the Laurel Homes public housing project were inspected at all hours of the day and night in what Long Island CORE chairman Lincoln Lynch characterized as "an invasion of privacy". Tenants also complained that the housing authority fined them $1.00 or $2.00 for such"offenses" as "children walking on the grass". Lynch noted that the authority had recently voted its members a $1,200. a year salary and wondered whether the fines imposed on "these poor, indigent tenants are being used to finance the activities of the housing authority members".

In a complaint to the Nassau County Commission on Human Rights, Long Island CORE claimed that Rockville Centre's Village Board and Mayor had been unwilling to talk with local community groups about discrimination practiced in the relocation of tenants from urban renewal construction sites and in the processing of applications for the new urban renewal facilities.

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FOR IMMEDIATE DELEASE

O'DWYER APPEALS MISSISSIPPI CASE

New York, N.Y. November 3rd, 1965 - New York City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer argues today an appeal growing out of a protest march following the 1963 murder of Medgar Evers.

Lois Chaffe, a CORE worker in Mississippi testified at her own trial for "breach of the peace" stated that she saw the police beat Negro marchers after the Medgar Evers slaying. Judge Russel D. Moore, III then Hinds County (Miss.) judge, ordered the county district attorney to indict Miss Chaffe for "perjury" for testimony regarding police beatings of the demonstrators and on-lookers. This despite news reports and photographs of the beatings.

The present case, before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals (Montgomery, Ala.), is an appeal from the late Federal District Court Judge Mize's refusal to enjoin the perjury trial.

CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin, who is co-counsel on this case with Councilman O'Dwyer, states that the "sole reason for the indictment against Miss Chaffe was to intimidate civil rights workers and to harass those working for equal rights."

The CORE complaint also argues that Miss Chaffe would be denied a fair trial on the perjury indictment because of the exclusion of Negroes and in ineligibility by statute of women to serve on juries in Mississippi. This case raises novel questions with respect to the power of the federal courts to enjoin unfounded and maliciously motivated state prosecutions.

Councilman O'Dwyer is serving as volunteer counsel for Miss Chaffe, at the request of CORE and the CORE Scholarship Education, and Defense Fund.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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CORE PROTECTION PROGRAM PRESENTED

Washington, D.C. November 3, 1965 - A broadside program for the protection of Negroes and civil rights workers was presented by CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin today to a meeting of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Among other proposals, is one for a Federal Jury Selection Law (see 8 below).

The CORE program calls for new steps to be taken by each of the three branches of the federal government.

1) The President is urged to end the system of appointing to the federal courts men who are the handmaidens of the very state systems in the South which intimidate Negroes and deny them their rights.

2) The Justice Department is called upon to bring suits under the 1875 statute against jury discrimination, a statute, the CORE spokesmen noted, which has never been used in this century.

3) Further, the CORE paper demanded that the Justice Department use its present powers under Title 18, Sections 241, 242, and 243 of the United States Code, to protect persons in the exercise of their civil rights.

4) And Finally, the CORE statement insisted that the F.B.I. use its powers to make on-the-spot arrests and offer protection to all Americans everywhere.

5) The federal courts are urged to end the lily-white system of the administration of federal justice in the south where all 28 court clerks and all 109 jury commissioners are white appointees of the 65 white district judges.

6) Also, the CORE paper proposed that the senior judges of the federal courts develop and implement a jury selection system which will assure that federal court juries are a completely representative cross-section of the entire judicial district.

CORE PROTECTION PROGRAM PRESENTED (page two)

Such a system would provide for the random selection of juror's names from the total adult population, and would abolish all subjective standards and would prevent the use of arbitrary judgement by a jury commissioner or other party.

7) Congress will be urged to pass a federal protection statute to protect Negroes and those aiding them in the exercise of their civil rights. The statute should contain penalties no less serious than the state penalties for similar acts, only excluding the death penalty.

8) To assure that local juries do not subvert justive (as was true in the trials of the murders of Medgar Evers, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, and Johathan Daniels), CORE proposed that a Federal Jury Selection law be passed. This law, analagous to the 1965 Voting Rights Bill, would automatically apply where there has been a history of exclusion of Negroes from jury panels. In such political sub-divisions, a Federal Registrar of Jury Veniremen would be appointed to establish a jury panel which would provide jury panels representative of the entire judicial district.

9) To assure fair trails for Negores and civil rights workers, CORE proposed that the United States Code Title 28 be amended so as to permit defendants who can show that they cannot receive a fair trail before the jury panel in the local federal districts to seek removal of the case to the federal district court in Washington, D.C.

10) Finally, CORE proposed that the present reforms of the bail system and proposals for the provision of defense counsel for all regardless of their financial resources be further developed. CORE counsel Rachlin stated that the present bail system is nothing less than discrimination against the poor and favoritism for the rich, while any system of justice which relies upon the ignorance of the defendant

in order to gain information from him when he lacks a counsel is indeed no system of justice.

CORE urged the Leadership Conference to take action promptly so that a complete program may be presented by the first of the new year.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE HEADQUARTERS IN TALLULAH BURNED TO GROUND DAY AFTER A&P BOYCOTT BEGINS

Tallulah, Louisiana, Nov. 3rd, 1965 - The CORE headquarters in Tallulah, Louisiana was burned to the ground at approximately 10 p.m. Saturday night, CORE worker Irene Davis reported. Just the day before, the Madison Parish Voters League and CORE had begun picketing and boycotting the A&P food store for equal employment opportunities.

The completely destroyed building which CORE used as headquarters was Mose Tire Shop, 601 West Green St., owned by Mr. Mose Williams. Local police and the FBI are investigating the cause of the blaze but the only evidence reported so far is a cigarette lighter found in the back section of the building site.

Picketing of the A&P began last Friday when the store failed to hire a Negro cashier by the Thursday deadline set by the Voters League. Representatives of the League had met with store officials on several occasions to negotiate the issue of equal job opportunities but when progress was not forthcoming they set a deadline and then bagan picketing. By Monday the boycott was reported more than 90% effective among Tallulah Negroes.

Commenting on the destruction of his organization's Tallulah base, CORE southern director Richard Haley said, "Governor McKeithen constantly praises the state for its fine attemps in race relations, but we must note that the fire which killed Frank Morris in Ferriday, as well as the church burnings in Jonesboro and Slidell are still unsolved, the police continue to brutalize Negroes in Bogalusa and the Governor's bi-racial commission is a distinguished non-entity." "In brief," Haley concluded, "the facts of everyday life for Negroes in Louisiana bear no relation to the Governor's trumpetings of equality and fair play."

Mr. Aelma C. Wyche, President of the Madison Parish Voters League, said that in addition to a cashier, the League was also demanding the hiring by A&P of a Negro in the meat market, a Negro stock clerk and a part or full time Negro package boy.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. JUDGE SETS HEARING FOR CONTEMPT CHARGES BROUGHT BY CORE AGAINST BOGALUSA POLICE

New Orleans, Louisiana, Nov. 3, 1965 - On monday, November 1, United States District Judge Herbert W. Christenberry ordered four Bogalusa and Washington Parish law enforcement officers to appear in his court on November 10th to show cause why they should not be held in civil contempt of court for violating a July 10th federal injunction.

The four ordered to appear are Bogalusa Public Safety Commissioner Arnold D. Spiers, Chief of Police Claxton Knight, and deputy sheriffs Vertrees Adams and Buddy Lyons. Spiers and Knight are further ordered to show cause why each of them should not be punished for violating the terms of Judge Christenberry's civil contempt judgement against them on July 30th. Plaintiffs in the case are Robert Hicks, et al. and the United States of America, Plaintiff-Intervenor.

Judge Christenberry's order resulted from a petition filed in the court by CORE attorneys on Monday. In the petition CORE charges that on and since October 20th Spiers and Knight knew that the Bogalusa police, whom they direct and supervise, "unlawfully arrested, assaulted, threatened, cursed and abused" Negroes. The petition further alleges that on October 16th and 20th Adams and Lyons subjected the plaintiffs to "assults, unlawful arrests, threats, abusive language, harassment, intimidation and punishment.

At the heart of the comtempt issue is the injunction Judge Christenberry ordered on July 10th. It ordered officials and police of Bogalusa and the Sheriff's Department of Washington Parish not to deprive Negroes of any rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States by such means to protect Negroes from acts of violence, by failing to use all reasonable means to protect Negroes from assaults, and by using curses, insults, threats, unlawful arrests, etc. against Negroes.

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NOVEMBER 6: KLAN RALLY, CORE MARCH

New York, N.Y., November 3, 1965 Klu Klux Klan Grand Dragon Robert Shelton has announced a Klan rally for November 6th, the same day National CORE's mass march and rally for freedom of choice in housing in Baltimore Maryland. The Klan rally, to be attended by Grand Dragons from Maryland, Delaware, and Pennyslvania, is to be held in Rising Sun, Maryland.

The CORE rally and march, to be led by CORE, National Director James Farmer, is the launching of a National CORE campaign to extend fair housing coverage throughout America. The CORE demonstration, earlier endorsed by Baltimore Bishop T. Austin Murphy, will begin at 12 noon, Prince Hall Grand Lodge, 1307 Eutaw Street, Baltimore.

The march marks the further development of Baltimore CORE's campaign for fair housing which has already resulted in over 20 arrests in sit-ins and picketing of apartment houses and housing developments which refuse to rent or sell to Negroes.

In addition to Bishop Austin's endorsement, the march and rally have received the endorsement of the city's labor organizations; the Council of Churches, Baltimore's Federation of Civil Rights Organizations, and teachers from local colleges and universities.

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STATEMENT OF JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CORE, ON THE NOVEMBER 2nd ELECTIONS

New York City, November 5, 1965 - "The Negro community flexed its political muscles on Tuesday. For those who thought we were tied to one political party's tail the 43% of Negroes who voted for John Lindsay in New York, the 85,230 persons who voted for Independent Assemblyman Carl Stokes in Cleveland, and the 52% of the Negro vote which meant the election of liberal Republican Kenneth Schmied as Mayor of Louisville showed that to be false."

It is now crystal clear for all to see that the Negro will use the vote as a weapon -- the captive of no party, the shaper of his own destiny, demanding that his needs be served."

"To receive the Negroes support at the voting booth action must be taken on the local and national level to merit it. As a first step in this direction, the federal government can and must 1) enforce the present laws and support new legislation to protect the lives and persons of Negroes, 2) make discrimination in housing illegal, 3) act to end unemployment among Negroes which is now nearly 10% and 4) block the expenditure of federal funds in school districts north and south where discrimination continues to exist -- and the place to start is in Boston, Massachusetts where despite a massive Negro vote, five old-guard Democrats pledged to maintaining a segregated school system there were elected to the School Committee."

"To bring together those who have participated in this weeks' impressive display of voter independence and to share their experiences and to plan for the future, I am calling for a national conference of independent voters to be held in New York early this winter."

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CORE WORKER RUN OVER AT FLORIDA TROOPER'S ORDER

Tallahasse, Florida, November 8: CORE Field Secretary Spiver Gordon was seriously injured as a result of the order of a Florida State Trooper. Gordon was seeking to block the passage of a float in Florida State University's annual fraternity parade when the state trooper ordered the wagon driver to run over him. After having dragged Gordon more than twenty feet, the crowd intervened and stopped the wagon and Gordon was taken to a local hospital where he was treated and then later released.

Gordon's protest began with wires to Florida State University officials and to the Governor. All assured him that there would be no floats in the parade which would be derogatory toward [illegible] Negroes. However the parade included a float which carried a girl in "black face" begin beaten by a white man with a whip. Gordon first sought to block the passage of the float by standing in front of the horse drawing the wagon, but when the driver started to go around him, Gordon placed himself under the wagon's wheels. It was at this point that the state trooper instructed the wagon's driver to run over Gordon.

CORE attorney John Due is bringing suit on behalf of Gordon again against both the wagon's driver and the state trooper.
Gordon has been a CORE Field Secretary for more than three years, and is the leader of CORE's intensive voter registration drive in northern Florida. ######################

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POVERTY PROGRAM CUTBACK ASSAILED BY CORE OFFICIAL

New York, November 8: CORE's Associate National Director Dr. George Wiley attacked the reports from Washington stating that the anti-poverty program's inclusion of the poor in decision making will be seriously curtailed.

Stating that the very heart of the anti-poverty program was contained in the requirement for the "maximum feasible participation" of the affected groups in the development, planning, and execution of the anti-poverty program, Dr. Wiley said "If they exclude the poor from a policy role, the anti-poverty program will be little more than old inadequate and discredited welfare programs." Noting that pressure had been mounted by Mayors in several cities to remove the poor from policy positions and to maintain City Hall control, Wiley promised intensive CORE counter-attack against what he called the "City Hall power-grab from the poor."

Dr. Wiley pointed out that in such cities as San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cleveland, CORE chapters had worked to achieve significant representation of the poor in policy-making roles. In these and other cities, CORE and their allies among the poor, Dr. Wiley said, will fight against any reduction of their policy-making role. "Only by including people in the making of the decisions which shape their lives can democracy succeed. The inclusion of the poor in the policy structure of the anti-poverty program must be extended to other areas so as to include representatives of each affected group on every governmental policy-making body".

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3500 IN CORE MARCH FOR FAIR HOUSING

Baltimore, Md., November 8: Over 3,500 strong, Baltimore residents marched for fair housing. Led by CORE National Director James Farmer, the march was the kick-off of CORE's national drive for making housing discrimination illegal throughout America.

Farmer addressed the crowd at a rally at Prince Hall Grand Lodge, and hailed the turnout as a demonstration that the administration in Washington, D.C. must go beyond President Kennedy's "stroke of the pen" in 1962 and now must bring all housing under the coverage of either a further presidential executive order or through a national fair housing law.

The march was endorsed by Baltimore Bishop T. Austin Murphy, as well as civic, labor, religious, and civil rights groups. Baltimore was selected as the site for the march because, located between the north and the south, it typifies the problems faced by Negroes in both.

Baltimore CORE leader James Griffin and Housing Chairman Walter Carter -- both arrested in previous Baltimore CORE drives for fair housing -- have pledged that Saturday's march will be only the beginning of increasing pressure for freedon of choice in housing not only in Baltimore but throughout the nation. Farmer pledged CORE's national support to ending racial discrimination in housing everywhere in America.

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CORE's FARMER TALK WITH LINDSAY

New York City, November 8th, 1965 - James Farmer, National Director of CORE, will be meeting with Mayor-elect John Lindsay today at 2 p.m. at the Hotel Roosevelt. The meeting, requested by Mr. Farmer, follows Mr. Farmer's analysis of the Negro vote as the "decisive swing vote" in the election of Mr. Lindsay, with 43% of the Negro vote cast in favor of Mr. Lindsay. Mr. Farmer made concrete proposals in such areas as Schools, Housing, Employment, Anti-Poverty, Hospitals, Welfare and Appointments.

I. Mr. Farmer urged the extension of the concept of citizen participation in all areas of city life. Not only should the poor play the dominant role in the policy-making for the anti-poverty program but there should be representatives of those served by the city hospitals, the city's welfare programs in policy-making positions for those and other programs. There should be "No service without representation."

II. On Schools Mr. Farmer proposed (a) that the Mayor-elect act to end the shocking discrepancy in fully licensed teachers between Negro and white schools. The CORE leader proposed that this discrepancy be cut in half by September, 1966 and eliminated by September, 1967. (b) He also urged the establishment of at least 125 all-day neighborhood elementary schools, and year-round programs at all grade levels. (c) Further, Mr. Farmer proposed that a commitment be made to all children that they will attend full sessions by the fall of 1966.

(d) School integration must be accelerated by the use of educational parks with a "freeze" placed on all new school construction of permit accumulation of capital funds to build large numbers of educational parks. (e) In the interim, a proposal was made whereby each school district would consist of six (or multiples of six) schools, each serving a single grade for the entire district and when the year ends, all of the pupils would remain in the same school with it now serving the next higher grade.

III (a) On Housing, Mr. Farmer insisted that there be no displacement of families by public programs without at least an equivalent amount of new low-income housing constructed. (b) In order to accomplish the necessary rehabilitation of the city's present housing stock, increased housing inspectors are necessary and the (c) Municipal Court judges must come to treat violators of the housing code as the criminals they are. (d) The rights of tenants in public housing must be respected by the housing authority which means an end to all-hours inspections and arbitrary regulations. (e) To enhance integration of public housing, all applicants should be placed on a single central list with no individual project preferences respected unless it favors integration. Further, Mr. Lindsay was urged to take the lead in seeking adequate funding of the rent subsidy program now mired in Congress without an appropriation.

IV In employment, (a) the city must work to generate new jobs both in the public and the private sector. (b) Further development is necessary in the area of non-professional jobs, (c) while Mr. Farmer urged that city contracts be signed only with companies and unions who can show both no present racial discrimination and the taking of affirmative steps to increase minority-group employment. (d) On all city contracts, expecially new construction, a stated precentage of all jobs should be reserved for the unemployed and the underemployed. (e) To assure a decent wage for all who work, Mr. Lindsay was urged to work for a national minimum wage of $2.00 for all employers of four or more persons, and pending that to seek such a program in New York City and New York State.

V An entirely civilian police review board was (a) called for as an essential step in developing police-community confidence. (b) Also, there must be increased recruitment of minority-group members for police work and extended human relations training for all policemen. (c) The present rule requiring off-duty officers to carry their service revolvers should be revoked as a danger to policemen and civilians alike.

VI The anti-poverty program must be vitalized by the (a) heavy infusion of citizen participation. (b) The head of the city's anti-poverty program should be other than a city official. Further, (c) all anti-poverty programs as well as the city's central program should include a dominant role for the poor in policy-making. (d) The anti-poverty program must emphasize job generation with training built into the job, and the increased use of non-professionals with the opportunity for career development as a result of a combination of job experience and formal schooling.

VII The city's hospitals (a) must serve their poor patients no less well than the best private hospitals, (b) and the hospitals clientele should play a role in setting its policies.

VIII The Welfare program must serve to rehabilitate its clients not seek to catch them as "cheaters" nor to maintain them on "the dole." Again the principle of citizen participation should be extended so as to give the welfare client a major role in shaping the welfare programs.

IX Making no individaul recommendations for appointments, Mr. Farmer did point out (a) the critical importance to the Negro community of such postitions as members of the Board of Education, Commissioner of Housing, Police Commissioner, head of the city's anti-poverty program, Commissioner of Hospitals, and Commissioner of Welfare. (b) Mr. Farmer also noted the dominantly minority-group polulation served by these agencies and suggested that in the selection of department heads and senior officials cognizance be taken of the importance of a Negro appointee.

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CORE CHARGES WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

New York, N.Y. November 16, 1965 - The Congress of Racial Equality made a charge to the White House Conference on Civil Rights. CORE asked the conference to identify root-causes of racial problems, to develop specific objectives and time-tables for federal action, and to mobilize a national consensus around programs for racial justice.

CORE characterized the past progress of federal programs as "advanced tokenism." In a paper distributed to the participants in the November 17-18th planning conference, CORE cited as evidence of "tokenism" the attorney general's refusal to dispatch federal voting registrars to more than 32 of the 400 eligible counties; failure of the Office of Education's "guidelines for integration" to integrate more than 7% of Negro school children, and the failure of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to file any orders against discriminating employers or unions.

The most immediate need, says the CORE statement, is for jobs -- full-time, decent-paying jobs with a future. They proposed the goal of cutting Negro unemployment in half by 1968 and to no higher than 4% by 1970. CORE suggested that this goal might be achieved by a public works program of $25 billion per year, with guarantees that employment will be available to those presently unemployed and under-employed and with the provision of on-the-job training where necessary. CORE also proposed the increased use of non-professionals, men as well as woman, with one and a half million such jobs to be provided by 1967.

Of equal importance, states CORE, is a federal protection program for Negroes and civil rights workers. CORE proposed a new Jury Registrar Law which would provide federally appointed jury registrars in each county where Negroes have been excluded from jury panels and who would be charged with placing on jury panels every adult in the district. Also, a uniform federal court jury panel procedure to assure that jury panels represent a complete cross-section of the entire adult population of the jury district. The Justice Department is called upon to use its presently existing powers to enforce the laws against police officers and citizens who injure those exercising their constitutional rights, and to instruct the F.B.I. to make on-the-spot arrests of persons violating another's civil rights. A federal protection law is proposed which would make it a federal crime to injure another in the exercise of his civil rights, punishable with no less serious penalties than in equivalent state crimes.

The CORE program places heavy emphasis on the need for citizen participation in all areas. Instead of the Budget Bureau's proposed cut-back on "citizen participation" in the anti-poverty program, CORE proposed that the principle of "maximum feasible participation" be applied not only in the anti-poverty program but to such areas as welfare, housing, and hospitals.

The 19 page CORE paper also makes proposals in such areas as Housing, Schools, Voting Rights, as well as additional proposals in the area of jobs and citizen participation.

Attending the White House Conference for CORE are its National Chairman, Durham Attorney Floyd B. McKissick, National Director James Farmer, Associate National Director Dr. George Wiley, Southern Program Director David Dennis.

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
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Attn: Alan Gartner

1473 REGISTERED IN WEEK

St. George, S.C., November 16: The first week of federal registras in two South Carolina counties produced 1473 newly registered Negroes. Following CORE pressure, the Justice Department sent three registrars each to Clarendon and Dorchester counties.

In Clarendon County, where Negroes comprise 68.3% of the elegible voters, 1,071 Negroes were registered. Despite the fact that the county was one of the original plaintiffs in the 1954 school desegregation decision, but five Negroes attend schools with whites.

Dorchester County, where 402 Negroes were registered, has been the scene of protest activities against school segregation and employment discrimination. At present the Dorchester Voter League, CORE's local affiliate, is seeking to have the county's picket control law declared void as a deprivation of citizens' rights to protest.

James McCain, director of CORE's South Carolina project, has predicted that by the 1966 election Negroes can be elected to local and state offices in several South Carolina counties, and that before the decade is over Negroes will have serious impact on statewide elections.

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Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
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NEW CORE PROTECTION PROGRAM

Washington, D.C., November 16: A ten-point program to protect southern Negroes has been presented by CORE. Coming on the heels of southern jurys' failures to convict those who have killed Negroes and civil rights workers, the program focuses on the enforcement of present laws and the working of the jury system.

The key function of the program is a provision for the appointment of Federal Jury Registrars to be automatically sent to counties where there has been a pattern of exclusion of Negroes from local jury panels. For the federal court system, the CORE program calls for the establishment of jury selection procedures which would guarantee that jury panels are a completely representative cross-section of the entire judicial system.

The CORE program calls upon the Justice Department to use its present powers under Title 18, Section 241,242, and 243 to protect individual rights. The F.B.I. CORE insists, must use its power to make on-the-spot arrests where citizen's rights have been violated.

In addition Congress is urged to pass a federal protection statute which will make it a federal crime to interfere with or injure a person exercising his civil rights, or aiding others to do so. The penalties should be no less serious then the equivalent state penalties for similar crimes of assault.

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE NOT EARLIER THAN
12 NOON, E.S.T., FRIDAY, DEC. 17, 1965.

FARMER ASKS A.E.C. GUARANTEE OF 30% NEGRO EMPLOYMENT IN LOUISIANA

James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), wants advance guarantees of Negro employment at a proposed Atomic Energy Commission plant near Bogalusa, Louisiana. In a letter to A.E.C. Chairman Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Mr. Farmer proposed that approximately thirty percent of all construction jobs, in all categories, be filled by Negro workers. The thirty percent figure is based upon the average Negro population of the Bogalusa and Covington areas.

Noting that federal laws and regulations require non-discrimination in hiring, Mr. Farmer said that Bogalusa's recent history "demands that steps be taken beforehand to assure and guarantee that Negroes have a full share of all jobs involved in the construction and operation of this facility." Racial tension in Bogalusa has escalated throughout the year, and a federal court injunction is in effect against Ku Klux Klan harassment of Negroes.

Mr. Farmer also sided with Louisiana Governor John McKeithan that a major A.E.C. facility built near Bogalusa "would put the stamp of federal approval on Louisiana's treatment of its Negro citizens."

Earlier this week, Mr. Farmer urged that Federal Housing Administrator Dr. Robert Weaver cut-off funds to the Bogalusa Housing Authority, after Mayor Jesse Cutrer reappointed Devon Varnado, indentified as an active member of the Ku Klux Klan, to a five year term as a Housing Commissioner.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY - CORE
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THANKSGIVING FRIENDSHIP JOURNEY

New York, New York, November 23, 1965 - Thirty members of St. Alban's Grace Methodist Church will be spending their Thanksgiving away from home this year. In response to an invitation from the CORE chapter in Dorchester County, South Carolina, the church group led by Rev. Finley Schaef will return an October visit to Grace Church by leaders of the South Carolina CORE chapter.

Dorchester County is one of the two counties in South Carolina where federal registrars have been sent as a result of CORE pressure on the Justice Department. In the past two weeks 709 Negroes have been added to the voting lists, making a total this year of 1,651 registered Negro voters.

Dorchester County's voter rolls are unique in that registered whites exceed the number of voting age whites in the county (7,121 voting age whites and 7,864 Registered whites -U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Registration and Voting Statistics," March 19, 1965).

The racially mixed church group will attend a CORE rally on Friday night in St. George, the county seat. They will live with Negro families in and around St. George and will live participate with them in community activities.

The group will leave on the more than 700 mile trip at 6 a.m., Thanksgiving Day (Thursday, November 25th) from Grace Methodist Church, 200th Street and Murdock Avenue, St. Albans, Queens, New York.

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FREEDOM RALLY MARKS 1,794 REGISTERED

Manning, South Carolina, November 23, 1965 - A CORE Freedom Rally climaxed the second week of voter registration with federal registrars in Clarendon County, South Carolina. 1,794 newly registered Negroes have been added to the voting lists in the past two weeks.

Addressing the rally were Associate National Director of CORE, Dr. George A. Wiley and Michigan Congressman John Conyers. More than 1,000 persons attended the rally which marked the increase in registered Negroes from 523 one year ago to the present total of 3,536. In a county where Negroes comprise 68.3% of the voting age population, Clarendon County may well be the first county in South Carolina history which has more registered Negroes than whites.

CORE Field Secretaries Frank Robinson and Emerson Brown, along with CORE's South Carolina Project Director James McCain have been concentrating their attention upon Clarendon and Dorchester counties, since both have received federal registrars earlier this month. In the two week period 2,503 additional Negroes have neen registered in the two counties.

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CO 7-6270
Attn: Alan Gartner

HIS HOME BOMBED, NEGRO ARRESTED

Ferriday, La. Nov. 23:

A Negro's home was bombed last night and the police arrested the victim when he later appeared in his yard with a shotgun, a civil rights worker reported today.

The bombing of Negro property was the fifth reported here in six months. A Negro was burned to death less than a year ago.

David Whatley, a field worker for the Congress of Racial Equality, said that what appeared to be a gasoline bomb exploded at the home of Robert Lewis Jr., president of the Ferriday Freedom Movement, about 9:30 P.M. He said Mr. Lewis, his wife and their five children were in the house but all escaped injury. He said fire damaged the front of the house and the explosion broke several windows.

"The police claim that he put the gun on them" Mr. Whatley said, "but there are witnesses, including me, who say he didn't. I think they arrested him because he's with the movement. Anyone who participated in anyway at all gets the worst from them. When we demonstrate, they take pictures of the people, and if you've got a job, they show the picture to the man you work for and when you go to work the next day you've out of a job."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK CITY NEWSMAN NAMED CORE PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

New York, New York, November 29th, 1965 - Greg Harris has been appointed Director of Public Relations of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), it was announced by James Farmer, CORE's National Director.

Mr. Harris, 40, was the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's Latin American Correspondent during the Dominican civil war. His journalism background also includes service with LIFE and Newsweek magazines, the Associated Press, United Press International, radio station WINS, and the Chicago Daily Defender newspaper. Mr. Harris is also a photo-journalist; his work has appeared in LIFE, TIME, U.S. News and other national magazines. He is a member of the American Society of Magazine Photographers and the American Newspaper Guild.

From 1947 to 1957, Mr. Harris was advertising director of Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Company. For two years (1955-1957), he was a member of the employment committee of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. In 1954 and 1955 he was a consultant and lecturer at the National Urban League's Career Conferences, Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville, Tennessee.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY - CORE
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Contact: Greg Harris, Director of Public Affairs

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

C.O.R.E. BEFORE U.S. SUPREME COURT IN LOUISIANA LIBRARY ARREST CASE

An important case concerning the use of "disorderly conduct" laws to circumvent the 1964 Civil Rights Act is being considered by the U.S. Supreme Court. The case (Brown,et al v State of Louisiana), was argued before the Court on December 6th by CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin.

Five Negro petitioners were arrested on March 7, 1964, after entering the all-white Audubon Regional Library in Clinton, La. There is no evidence that any of the Negroes did or said anything of a disorderly nature. However, the white Regional Librarian testified that she was "disturbed" by their presence. The Negroes were ordered to leave by a local police officer but they refused to do so. They were arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced for "disturbing the peace."

The primary question in the case is whether a refusal to obey an order by a police officer without a showing that the accused "breached the peace" may properly be the basis of a "disorderly conduct" conviction. A 1932 New York Court of Appeals decision upheld such a conviction because the defendant was unable to prove the police officer's order was arbitrary.

An essential element of Counsel Rachlin's argument was that the arrests were made in order to maintain the Library as a segregated public facility, an objective which became illegal on July 2, 1964, under Title 111(Public Accomodations) the civil rights act.Counsel Rachlin pointed out that the Negro petitioners were convicted without any evidence to support the "disorderly conduct" charge, a violation of the 14th Amendment's Due Process Clause.

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE NOT SOONER THAN
THAN 12 NOON, E.S.T., DECEMBER 15, 1965

BOGALUSA KLANSMAN APPOINTMENT SPARKS NEW CORE DEMAND TO WASHINGTON

New York, N.Y., Dec. 15 - The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today asked for a cut-off of federal funds to the Bogalusa (Louisiana) Housing Authority. The demand was made by telegram and letter from CORE National Director James Farmer to Federal Housing Administrator Dr. Robert Weaver. CORE is particularly angered by the reappointment to the Bogalusa Housing Authority of Devon Varnado, described in federal court proceedings as an active member of the Ku Klux Klan. Bogalusa Mayor Jesse Cutrer recently appointed Varnado for another five year term.

Mr. Farmer pointed out that despite Dr. Weaver's repeated assurances that Bogalusa officials would comply with laws against racial discrimination in federally financed developments, current plans call for half of 100 new units will be built in the Negor section of the city.

In his letter, Mr. Farmer said: "On behalf of the Congress of Racial Equality, we most strongly urge that you forthwith withhold any funds not distributed to the Bogalusa Housing Authority until there is a complete reexamination of the entire matter, until there is adequate representation by local Negroes in decisions made in regard to the houses built with federal money, and until there is firm evidence that the segregated pattern of housing with the support of federal funds will cease. Segregated housing and its concomitant, segregated schools, are intolerable in a modern nation."

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THE FOLLOWING IS EMBARGOED MATERIAL FOR RELEASE NOT EARLIER THAN
6 A.M. E.S.T., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1965, OBSERVE EMBARGO.

The following is the full-text of column appearing in the New York Amsterdam News:

"The Moynihan Report"

By James Farmer
National Director, CORE

As if living in the sewer, learning in the street and working in the pantry weren't enough of a burden for millions of American Negroes, I now learn that we've caught "matriarchy," and "the tangle of Negro pathology" ...a social plague recently diagnose by Daniel Moynihan in his celebrated report on "The Negro Family." After tracing the long history of Negro oppression in this country, Moynihan concludes that our current difficulties are rooted in the effects of that oppression dramatized in the shattered Negro family, stripped of its male and going to Hell in a basket. On the surface, this would seem to be a fairminded exercise in the Life Sciences but in fact the Moynihan Report, which seems to have been given a good deal of currency by the present administration, is another one of those academic efforts to get our eyes off the prize.

By laying the primary blame for present-day inequalities on the pathological condition of the Negro family and community, Moynihan has provided a massive academic cop-out for the white conscience and clearly implied that Negroes in this nation will never secure a substantial measure of freedom until we stop sleeping with our wife's sister and buying Cadillacs instead of bread. This well-enough intentioned analysis provides the fuel for a new racism...it suceeds in taking the real tragedy of black poverty and serving it up as an essentially salacious "discovery" suggesting that Negro mental health should be the first order of business in a civil rights revolution.

Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that there may be something wrong in an "orderly and normal" white family structure that is weaned on race hatred and passes the word "nigger" from generation to generation. Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that the proper answer to a shattered family is an open job market where this "frustrated" male Negro can get an honest day's work. And nowhere does Moynihan suggest that high illegitimacy rates in the black community may be partly explained by the fact that birth control information and covert abortions are by and large the exclusive property of the white man.

I say all this because I'm angry... really angry and I intend to spell out this anger in just one more effort to convince somebody, anybody, down in the places of power that the cocktail hour on the "Negro Question" is over and that we are sick unto death of being analyzed, mesmerized, bought, sold and slobbered over while the same evils that are the ingredients of our oppression go unattended. It has been the fatal error of American society for 300 years to ultimately blame the roots of poverty and violence in the Negro community upon Negroes themselves. I honestly felt that the Civil Rights and Voting laws indicated that we were rid of this kind of straw-man logic, but here it is again, in its most vicious form, handing the racists a respectable new weapon and insulting the intelligence of black men and women everywhere.

I intend to devote a good deal of space to this Moynihan Report for a number of reasons. First and most important, it is fast becoming the scriptural basis for several new brands of bigotry, even without the consent of its authors. Secondly, it has been specifically hailed by the American right wing and is currently being used to "explain away" the Negro Revolution as the hysterical outburst of a mentally unbalanced sub-culture. Third, it provides a documented basis for men in elected authority to divert practical anti-discrimination programs into an open season on "pathological" Negroes. And fourth, the report is especially bad in that it contains a great number of statistical facts, misread, misinterpreted and warped into a series of conclusions that could make Robert Shelton into a holy prophet.

In many ways, this report, when studied carefully, emerges in my mind as the most serious threat to the ultimate freedom of American Negroes to appear in print in recent memory.

I cannot possibly in the course of this article cover even a small part of the report's analyses and conclusions. I will deal with those in subsequent columns. I must say, however, that I am convinced that the author or authors of this document did not consciously intend to write a racist tract...but the fact that it may be used as such makes their innocence inexcusable. They have forgotten that we are bottled into our ghetto and held down not simply by the restraints of our past, but by the clear and present acts of subtle and unsubtle discrimination that continue to destroy our option for self change and make our life a living Hell. And to forget that while focussing on "the tangle of Negro pathology" is very much like curing Yellow Fever by painting the patient white and ignoring the mosquitoes.

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FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, DEC. 21, 1965

CORE TO PICKET SCHENLEY MANHATTAN OFFICES IN SUPPORT OF GRAPE STRIKERS.

A three-month old West Coat labor dispute will be the focus of mass picketing today in New York City. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), plan to picket the New York City offices of Schenley industries, 1290 Sixth Avenue (51st Street),, from 3 until 6 pm; James Farmer, CORE's National Director, and Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 "March on Washington" will lead the demonstrators

Today's picketing will be in support of more than 3,000 Delano county California grape pickers who struck Schenley and other growers on September 8th CORE charges that the company has refused to sit down and bargain with representatives of their striking workers. The striking workers are primarily Mexican-American residents, with a smaller number being Filipino migrants There are no Negroes among the strikers. Last Friday, Mr Farmer asked the public not to buy Cresta Blanca and Roma wines, as well as other Shenley products Support of the California strikers is consistent with CORE's policy demand that Congress provide all agricultural workers with the protection of federal minimum wage and collective bargaining rights.

Widespread labor, church and civil rights support has been mobilized for the strikers. The recent AFL-CIO national convention condemned Schenley for refusing to negotiate. AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter Reuther has pledged $5,000 a month to the strikers from his United Auto Workers union Locally, today's picketing has been endorsed by Martin Gerber, director of Region 9 of the U.A.W.

There will be some hefty pickets at the protest, as members of the International Longshoremens' Association join the demonstration

Today's picketing and the entire anti-Schenley campaign has also been endorsed by Socialist leader Norman Thomas: Jose Fuentes Independent Political Movement; Local 1199 RWDSU; and the Negro American Labor Council of New York City; and District Council 37 of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees.

A group of students from Union Seminary are also set to walk the picket line on Schenley's front door today. In addition, there will be pickets representing the U.S. National Students Association, the National Student Christian Federation, Students for a Democratic Society and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

For Further Information Contact

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FOR RELEASE Dec. 31, 1965

CORE HAILS WAGNER VETO OF TAXI BILL

Dr. George A. Wiley, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today hailed Mayor Robert F. Wagner's veto of the Corso-Curtis bill as a "wise and just action." The bill would have outlawed so-called "Gypsy Cabs" that operate in the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem sections of New York City.

Dr. Wiley, who testified against the bill, said: "This is a splendid example of government being responsive to the needs of its citizens. However, the long-term need of the Negro is to be able to get taxi service just as any other New Yoker." The cab service developed into a small industry because white taxi drivers refuse to service the Negro Communities.

On Christmas-eve, Dr. Wiley sent the Mayor a telegram that said in part: "We call upon you during this holiday season to announce your intent to veto this unjust bill as your gift to families of one of the most deprived communities in New York." CORE estimated that more than 5,000 heads of Negro households would have lost their jobs in the Corso-Curtis measure had been approved.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY MR. JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CORE

Gentlemen:

I cannot say it any other way. I was there twenty-three years ago when CORE began and although I am resigning as its National Director...I will never sever my commitment to its thrust - its principles. We are all in the middle of this terrible storm, this continuing tragedy of racial hatred, and poverty and pain... there is no ending in sight....and I have quite simply chosen to seek that ending from another place. A place in which I can help the nation fashion new weapons and bring the weight ofcreative militancy and the weight of conviction to bear upon the whole life span of the American poor.

CORE has new leaders now...they have honored my decision....Let there be no mistake...there will be no pause, or halt, or time for breath. The content of CORE's protest will not change---militancy, demonstrations, the whole arsenal of non-violence will be refreshed...amplified. And it will come increasingly from the heart of the ghetto...where the simple task of living is every year more terrible. CORE will continue to be sword's point of this historic struggle.

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During the weekend, a news story leak indicated that I would resign as National Director of CORE, effective next March. That has been confirmed.

The news of my departure has been, either intentionally or otherwise, misinterpreted. I have expended my entire life in the struggle for human dignity, especially as that struggle concerns the American Negro. Neither my commitment to that struggle or my active involvement in it will be affected by my change in jobs.

The task of the Centerfor Community Action-Education is an extension of, not a diversion from, the struggle that sustains me. Those of us involved in the civil rights movement are not surprised by rumors that the movement is faltering.

Indeed, we recognize such rumors as another manifestation of an extremely sad fact of American life: There are those who would rather see a problem vanish than deal with it. But race-hatred is the open wound of our nation, and the civil rights movement remains its most important surgeon. CORE will always be.

Unfortunately, there are some who equate CORE's entire program and purpose with demonstrations and direct action. If we aren't in the streets, they conclude that CORE is dead. It seems that those people become most uncomfortable when their creation, the "invisible man," momentarily moves from their vision.. Those who hold such a view are, prehaps unwittingly, engaging in a particularly vicious form of racism. For to conclude that the Negro is incapable of adapting his press for freedom to new circumstances is to conclude that the Negro is essentially different from other humans. That has been a characteristic of racism and it will always be so.

Any struggle against long-standing resistance initially aims at a single point, often using a single weapon. That principle of economy of force applies to all struggles. But as the tide begins to turn in favor of the attacker, broader areas are brought under fire by more sophisticated weaponry.

CORE and I began in this struggle as activists. The commitment to direct-action has served us well in the past and we will use it with even greater effect in the future. It remains a key weapon. But now CORE has broadened its operational area.

The political power of Negro Americans is one of our major and long-term goals; CORE will use the methods of its choosing to realize that objective. The black ghetto is awakening, and CORE, in city after city, is organizing for action in that community. Economic power, gained through full-participation in a skill-oriented job market is equally important goal; CORE will address itself to that question, again using the weapons it deems practical. But while the ghetto-trapped and brutalized Negro of the North is fighting to make his place in a complex urban setting, his brothers and sisters in the rural South continue to suffer economic oppression.

Agricultural workers, now largely Negro, are second-class citizens; denied their country's protection of collective bargaining and minimum wage laws. CORE's concern is presently demonstrated by our involvement supporting striking vineyard workers against Schenley and other growers in California.

The vitality of CORE has never been one single individual; it has been the dedication of thousands of Americans, black and white, who accept the fact that their action can improve their country. More than a month ago, our National Action Council began the search for my successor. That process continues with my active participation. Announcement of the selection of a new National Director will be made in the near future, long before my departure next March.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
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Attn.: Alan Gartner
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New York City
10 January 1966
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE SUIT AGAINST CITY SCHOOLS

CORE today filed suit in U.S. District Court against the New York City public schools. The suit charged that Negro students are racially discriminated against by the Board of Education as a result of the school system's practice of unequal distribution of qualified teachers.

In the suit CORE offers evidence to show that in not a single one of the Negro junior high-schools did 65% or more of the teachers have regular licenses while in over half of the white schools they did. And, in only 20% of the Negro elementary schools did 65% of the teachers have regular licenses while in over 70% of the white schools they did.

The CORE complaint demands that the school system be ordered to end its discriminatory assignment of teachers and to implement a teacher assignment plan which provides an equitable distribution of qualified teachers in all schools, regardless of the race of the schools' pupils.

Counsel for the complaints, who are from ghetto schools in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan, are CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin, CORE counsel Steve Nagler, Atty. Paul Chevigny, and Atty. George Schiffer.

The suit is being supported by the CORE Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund, Inc. (CORE SEDF).

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Attn: Alan Gartner

Immediate Release

NEW CORE DIRECTOR TO SPEAK

New York City, January 21,1966- Floyd McKissick, new National Director of CORE, will make his first public appearance in the New York area at the Joint Annual Meetings of the Affiliated Baptist City Societies of Metropolitan New York. The meeting will be held at the St. George Hotel (Hicks & Fulton Streets, Brooklyn), Monday evening, January 24th, 6:30pm.

Mr. McKissick, selected as CORE's National Director earlier this month, is a Deacon of the Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina. He will take office succeeding James Farmer, on March 1st.

Mr. McKissick, a lawyer, was the first Negro student at the University of North Carolina Law School. He participated in the Freedom Rides of 1961 and its predecessor, "The Journey of Reconciliation" in 1947. He represented CORE at the 1963 March on Washington. He has been CORE's National Chairman for the past three years before being elected National Director.

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Attention: Alan Gartner

JAMES FARMER TO BOGALUSA

New York City, January 24, 1966 - James Farmer, CORE's National Director will highlight the Bogalusa (La.) Voters League's First Annversary Commemoration on January 28th. Mr. Farmer will lead a mass march to the Bogalusa Courthouse at 3:30 p.m. and will address a public meeting at Ebenezer Baptist Church at 7:30 p.m. that evening.

This visit makes Mr. Farmer's fifth trip to Bogalusa in the past year. CORE workers began work in Bogalusa last January. Since that time there have been hundreds of arrests, daily marches, picketing and boycotts of downtown stores, and court injunctions against local police and Klan members. As a result of these actions, most of Bogalusa's restaurants have been opened to Negroes, some jobs have been obtained, police harassment has lessened and a militant local organization, The Bogalusa Voters League, developed.

James Farmer and The Bogalusa Voters League will protest against the continued refusal of downtown stores to hire Negroes in any but menial capacities, employment discrimination by the city's largest employer Crown-Zellerbach, unequal and segregated schools, continuing police harassment, and unequal public services in Negro areas of the city.

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SAMMY DAVIS TO "SALUTE" JAMES FARMER

New York City, February 2, 1966 - Sammy Davis, Jr. will headline a "Salute to James Farmer" at Philharmonic Hall, Lincoln Center, on Sunday evening, March 6th, 8:30 p.m. Mr. Farmer has been CORE's National Director since 1961.

Other stars who have already consented to appear in the gala performance are Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Duke Ellington and his band and Pete Seeger.

Mr. Farmer will leave CORE on March 1st to assume the presidency of The Center for Community Action Education, Inc., in Washington, D.C.

Tickets for the "Salute" are available at The Lincoln Center Box Office and at the National CORE office.

, FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT

Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) CO-7-6270 Feb. 14, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) announces that Mr. DON SMITH of Los Angeles, California, has accepted the post as Director of the Department of Public Relations. Mr. Smith was born in the Virgin Islands and did his undergraduate work at the University of Puerto Rico. He attended several Universities in the United States concenstating on Business Administration, Philosophy and Political Science.

Seventeen years a member of CORE, Mr. Smith has worked for many years in Community Relations and as a negotiator for the job development phase of the work of CORE chapters in Southern California. He was Chairman of the Los Angeles Chapter during the Watts Revolt and organized food-distributing plan which was a major effort in alleviating some of the hunger and distress that followed the uprising. Subsequently, Mr. Smith was elected a Western Regional Representative of CORE, thereby becoming a member of the National Action Council, CORE,s policy making body.

Mr. Smith has just liquidated his own Public Relations Business to join the National staff.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT

Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality-CORE
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270
Feb. 16, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that, for the first time since Reconstruction, two Negro candidated, endorsed by CORE, have filed for the City Council of Maning, South ~~North~~ Carolina in the Democratic primary to take place on March 3rd in that city.

The candidates are Mrs. Lavelle J. Samuels, 47, owner of the Samuels Funeral Home, graduate of Johnson L. Smith View College, and mother of two children, a boy 22 and a girl 17, and Mr. Milton M. Walker, a furniture repair man and graduate of Junior College in Sumter, North Carolina. He has two boys, 19 and 16.

There are six members on the City Council -- all white Democrats,

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A dispatch from our Southern Regional Office states that Mr. Nils Douglas, Negro Civil Rights lawyer, has won a plurality in the Democratic primary in New Orleans, Louisiana, on February 12th, in a special election for State Representative. Mr. Douglas, campaign was managed by Mr. Dave Dennis, CORE's Southern Region Program Director. Of the fourteen white candidates who ran, no one received more than 1500 votes with the exception of H. Hessler, who will engage in the run off with Douglas.

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) 267-6270

For Immeidate Release

New York City, February 21, 1966: CORE charged today that a Christmas Eve incident in a Queens Cafe pointed to the inadequacy of present police investigative procedures. Stating that civilian review of police misbehavior would be inadequate if the investigation of the complaint remained in police hands, CORE National Director James Farmer said that the Queens case has been mishandled by the Police Commissioner's office over the past eight weeks.

The incident involved two police officers in an unjustified attack on an employee Elijah Keys, of the 135 Club (135-28 Rossevelt Avenue, Flushing) on December 25, 1965. Witnesses reported that officers Brennan and Driscoll spoke, acted and smelled as if they were drunk. A second employee of the 135 Club, William Goins, who witnesses say was not involved in the altercation was arrested at the 109th Police Precinct where he sought to file a complaint against officers Brennan and Driscoll.

On December 27th, following investigation by CORE counsel and staff, a complaint was sent to Police Commissioner Broderick. Since then there have been numerous conversations between the commissioners office and CORE staff but there has been no action taken by the Police Department.

Unanswered by the Police Commissioner are question such as:

1. Is it Police Department policy to arrest citizens bringing complaints against police officers.
2. Is it Police Department policy to punish with "nuisance" summomses citizens who object to police malpractices.
3. Is it Police Department policy to refuse to test for drunkaness police officers accused of being drunk on duty?

4. Is it not the weakness of the police case against William Goins demonstrated by the fact that the first charge against him wrongly stated the arrest site as Club 135 when in fact he was arrested at the police station and second that he has been charged with simple assault (P.L. 244) when the normal charge for assaulting an officer is second degree assault (P.L. 244)?
5. Why are police officials unwilling to have withdrawn charges by police officers which investigation reveals to be either malicious or lacking in any real factual basis?

Most important, this case offers clear proof of the lack of committment on the part of the Police Department to serious regarding Negro complaints of police misbehavior. These charges demand not only review by an independent civilian review board but investigation by an independent arm of such a board.

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
Attn: Alan Gartner

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE CHARGES POLICE "COVER-UP," D.A.'s "PASS THE BUCK"

New York City, February 23, 1966-CORE today urged Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary to make an immediate investigation into what it called the "cover-up by high police officials all the facts and circumstances surrounding the "alleged confession of George Whitmore (in People v. Whitmore) and the contradictory testimony of police officers in the same case."

In a statement today, CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin reminded the new Police Commissioner that Detective Joseph Deprima and other police officers gave conflicting testimony in the two trials of the alleged killers of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert in 1963. Pointing out that in March, 1965 Detective DePrima swore that he did not know the address of the two slain girls when he questioned Whitmore, the CORE statement noted that in the trial of Richard Robles on November 15, 1965, DePrima admitted that he had known of the girls' address. The CORE statement charged that the failure of police official to undertake departmental disciplinary proceedings against police officers in circumstances such as these "only serves to exacerbate police-community relations."

In a related matter, the CORE statement charged that New York District Attorney Frank Hogan and Kings County District Attorney Aaron Koota were "playing a game of pass the buck" in regard to the conflicting testimony in the two cases-- people v Whitmore(1964) in Kings County and People v. Robles (1965) in New York County.

In November, 1965 CORE wrote both district attorney's urging them to bring the matter of Detective DePrima's conflicting sworn testimony before the Grand Jury and also urging their action regarding the confession extracted from James Whitmore. District Attorney Koota on November 26th replied that he believed "jurisdiction lies in New York County" while District Attorney Hogan's office wrote on December 22nd "The pertinent portions of Detective DePrima's testimony has been forewarded to the Kings County District Attorney's Office...."

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT

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Relations
Congress of Racial Equality-CORE
38 Park Row, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270
February 28, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that New York CORE will picket the 25th Police Precinct at 423 West 126th Street at 7 P.M. this evening.

For many years, CORE has pointed out that New York City has two kinds of law enforcement -- one for the respectable "white majority", another for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and for people that might be called non-conformist or bohemian. A deep smouldering resentment exists between the police and the minority communities, caused in large measure by the actions of a small number of police officers.

The demonstration was called at the request of community residents to give emphasis to this problem and to express anger and resentment of the treatment given Mrs. Gertrude Williams by police officers.

On the evening of February 20th, Mrs. Williams and a female companion was seated in a booth at Joe's Place, 449 West 125th Street, when four police officers entered -- a Captain, Sergeant and two patrolmen. Mrs. Williams and witnesses report that one of the patrolmen walked to the table at which Mrs. Williams and one of her friends were seated, grabbed her by the hand, dragged her into the kitchen of the bar and demanded that she "identify herself as a woman". Mrs. Williams remonstrated with the officer declaring that she was married, a house-wife and mother of two children. Thereupon, according to Mrs. Williams and one of her friends who stood near by, the officer ordered Mrs. Williams to lift her dress and exhibit incontrovertible evidence of her femininity. Embarrassed, frightened, and almost hysterical, Mrs. Williams complied.

The Harlem community and New York CORE are demanding that this entire group of officers be removed from Harlem, that suspensions be applied and that charges be brought against the patrolman who is alleged to have done the cruel act. His removal from the force and strong guarantees that the Department will not tolerate this kind of misconduct in the future are needed to allay the anger of this aroused Community.

Formal complaints have already been filed on behalf of Mrs. Williams by the Legal Department of CORE.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038
(212) 267-6270 MARCH 7, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN IN RESPECT TO THE ARREST OF TEN MEMBERS OF ITS HARLEM CHAPTER, INCLUDING THE CHAPTER CHAIRMAN, ROY INNIS. THESE ARRESTS WERE MADE ON FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 4TH, WHILE THE GROUP WAS PICKETING THE WEST 135TH STREET POLICE STATION. THE DEMONSTRATION WAS CALLED BY NEW YORK CORE AT THE REQUEST OF RESIDENTS OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY TO PROTEST AN INCIDENT INVOLVING SEVERAL POLICE OFFICERS OF THE 26TH PRECINCT; ONE OF WHOM, IT IS REPORTED, HAD FORCED MRS. GERTRUDE WILLIAMS TO PARTIALLY DISROBE IN THE KITCHEN OF A HARLEM BAR IN ORDER TO "IDENTIFY HERSELF AS A WOMAN." HARLEM CORE IS DEMANDING THAT THE OFFICER WHO IS REPORTED TO HAVE PERPETRATED THIS HUMILIATING ACT BE SUSPENDED AND THAT SOLID GUARANTEES BE DEVELOPED TO PREVENT THE RECURRENCE OF SUCH INCIDENTS.

THE TEN ARRESTED FRIDAY NIGHT WERE CHARGED WITH DISORDERLY CONDUCT. THE CHAIRMAN, ROY INNIS, WAS CHARGED ADDITIONALLY WITH POSSESSION OF HYPODERMIC NEEDLES AND WHAT THE POLICE CALLED "BARBITURATES." INNIS, A MEDICAL RESEARCHER, DENIES THAT HE POSSESSED ANY BARBITURATES, NARCOTICS OR AMPHETAMINES AND SAID THAT THE CONTAINER HE CARRIED CONSISTED OF PILLS USED BY HIS WIFE FOR "FEMININE REASONS." SYRINGES, HE STATED, ARE USED IN CONNECTION WITH HIS WORK AS A MEDICAL RESEARCHER.

NATIONAL CORE HAS PLACED THE MATTER IN THE HANDS OF ITS LEGAL DEPARTMENT, AS IS CUSTOMARY IN ALL CIVIL RIGHTS CASES. MOREOVER, CORE WILL URGE ALL ITS METROPOLITAN CHAPTERS TO SUPPORT THE HARLEM GROUP IN ITS PROTESTS AGAINST EVERY FORM OF POLICE DISCRIMINATION AND MALPRACTICE.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relation
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270   March 16, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today expressed deep concern at the disturbance erupting in the Watts community of Los Angeles, California. It brings into sharp focus the failure of the Los Angeles city government and the State of California to come to grips with the basic problems of unemployment, bad housing, de facto segregated schools and the pervasive ghetto pathology that exists in this disadvantaged community.

Despite the constant exhortation of the civil rights groups, the recommendations of the McCone Commission, no innovative efforts or broad programs to alleviate the distress in Watts have been implemented, no large scale job training and placement programs have been developed.

Recognizing the overwhelming necessity, CORE created a self-help program called Operation Bootstrap which has as its base job development and remedial reading for functional illiterates. No city or federal funds have been obtained for this project; community people and a handful of corporations are carrying the entire financial burden.

The people of Watts still feel that they have no stake in this society - they are still a rejected people. Even the weak-kneed McCone Commission stated that a "revoluntionary approach" to the social problems of Watts was imperative or more unrest and greater turmoil would ensue.

CORE contends that the task of ending the syndrome of poverty and hopelessness in Watts is one for the state of California and the federal government. People of good will are urged to write their congressmen and the executive branch of the government to seek from these sources the application of intensive economic power needed to bring about solutions of these problems. Citizens everywhere are urged to give time, money and mind to combat the social ills of Watts which created a disadvantaged people in the midst of an affluent society.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 March 17, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Wilfred Ussery, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced a meeting of its National Action Council on March 18, 19 and 20th at the Harlem YMCA, 180 West 135th Street. The National Action Council is the policy making body of the organization - its Board of Directors - and consists of the National Officers and Representatives from the five regions in which the organization functions.

Discussion will center on the new direction of CORE with emphasis on community organization, consumer education, development of cooperatives, and political action. National projects in the field of voter registration, job development, organizational changes, national boycotts and the international involvement of CORE will also be studied. In addition, the three day meeting will be a forum where the special problems of each region will be examined with a view to find solutions.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 March 18, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Responding to the requests of organizations and residents of the Harlem community, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced plans for a CORE Day in Harlem on May 14, 1966. The reason for the event is to establish greater rapport with the Negro community, to assist this community in ending the syndrome of cultural isolation and to establish more meaningful and dynamic relationships with other communities in this great city.

CORE Day will feature a parade starting at 9:30 a.m. from 151st St. and 7th Avenue to 120th Street and 7th Avenue. Dignitaries and community leaders will review the marchers from a reviewing stand at 125th Street and 7th Avenue. A rally will take place at this location, luncheon at Franks will follow then the guests will be taken on a guided tour of Harlem to culminate in a cocktail reception at 6 p.m. The evening will be spent at the 369th Armory at 5th Avenue at 142nd St. where a grand ball will serve as the occasion for the selection of Miss New York CORE.

Personalities who have been invited to participate include Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, leaders of the major civil rights organizations, leaders of indigenous Harlem organizations and many others. Chairman of CORE Day in Harlem is Bishop A.A. Childs, Mayor of Harlem. Mrs. Germaine G. Smith, Staff Associate of national CORE has been assigned the task of coordinating the project.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270
April 18, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced its opposition to the Marchi-Amann Bill (Senate Introductory 14, Assembly Introductory 3025) which would destroy the present precedure for selecting members of the New York City Board of Education.

In a telegram to Assembly Speaker Travia, CORE strongly urged the defeat of the Bill because "responsibility for appointments to, and elegibility for service on the New York City Board of Education should reside in New York City."

The proposed changes in the selection of Board members would likely result in appointments based on political pressures, rather than on qualifications alone. CORE is strongly opposed to these changes.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270
March 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The National Action Council of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) yesterday announced new plans and projects to implement its drive to achieve total equality. The establishment of a Washington, D.C. office of CORE was approved by the body. It is to be a center for research, a propaganda arm of the organization as well as to develope legislative liaison with Congress, Senate and other government agencies.

Floyd McKissick, National Director of the organization, stated that one of the projects adopted by the National Action Council was the selection of certain cities as target cities for CORE projects. Research teams and task force workers are compiling data and statistics from several areas in order to determine where greatest urgency exists. Plans are being developed to send major forces into a given city and mount an all-out effort to end the discriminatory practices in that city. Upon completion of the research, a target city or target area will be announced.

The National Action Council reaffirmed its opposition to anti-Semitic, andti-Catholic and anti-Negro attitudes and expressions and discussed plans for increased educational efforts to combat this aspect of discrimination. Plans to develope work shops in order to initiate a campaign for a minimum annual imcome were advanced; special emphasis to be placed on welfare recipients and workers receiving sub-standard wages. "Operation Boot Strap", a self-help job development and literacy training program in Los Angeles, was endorsed, and studies initiated to develope such programs on a national scale.

Directives (memo 23 and 24) which were issued to local anti-poverty boards from the office of Theodore M. Berry, head of the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, were condemned by the National Action Council and the position of the Executive Committee Office of Economic Opportunity Council of San Francisco was endorsed. A resolution passed by the San Francisco Council protested memo 23 and 24 as unconsititutional and stated that these memoranda would not be recognized as part of the contact between the Economic Opportunity Council of San Francisco, Inc., and the office of Economic Opportunity. An additional demand was that memo 23 and 24 be rescinded pending review by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The application of the Hatch Act to personnel under the program, in the opinion of the National Action Council, is contrary to constititional guarantees, as well as indicative of an attitude of retrenchment in so far as the involvement of the poor in the policy making and administrative phase of the anti-poverty program is concerned.

__FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT__:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 March 25, 1966

STATEMENT BY: FLOYD B. McKISSICK, OF. THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, REGARDING ANTI-SEMITISM.

The search for happiness and fulfillment occupies the mind and motivates the endeavors of all mankind. Marriages, wars and pilgrimages of all descriptions have been undertaken to achieve a measure of self-esteem to attain a sense of security. "Sometimes" according to Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, "people in search of status and security seek to gain this status and security by denying it to others." Prejudice, racial and religous discrimination have often evoked witch-hunts, torture and genocide.

This condition existed in 1942 when the Congress of Racial Equality was formed. Hitler was screaming anti-Semitic homilectics and the major society of this country was systematically denying the Negro American an opportunity to participate in the economy and culture of his country. Jews were being murdered in Germany, and Negro Americans were experiencing the anguish and distress of second class citizenship in the North as well as in the South.

CORE came into being at this critical stage of history for one purpose; to help man in his search for happiness and security by fighting to abolish all forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

As it was then, so it is today. The National Action Council, CORE's Board of Directors, at its meeting of March 18, reaffirmed its all-out opposition to anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-Negro

(MORE)

attitudes and expressions, and discussed plans for increasing educational efforts to combat this aspect of discrimination.

It is the purpose of this paper to express in the strongest terms our intense opposition to any conduct, statements or attitudes that would in any manner be derogatory to any race or religion or people. The Congress of Racial Equality will continue to use its resources to project to all the world its commitment to the equality of all mankind. James Farmer, past National Director of CORE, joins with me in declaring that philosophically, emotionally and intellectually, we are both committed to a way of life that precludes any element of anti-Smitism of anti-Catholisim or anti-Negrosim. There is no room in CORE for persons with such sentiments. Immediate expulsion from the organization of anyone expressing this evil doctrine will be advocated by us. Personally, by word and by letter, and by association, I will continue to project CORE's abhorence of these negative attitudes and CORE's affirmative action to abolish this obnoxious social evil.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 March 28, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality today announced that Floyd McKissick, National Director of the organization, will lead a mass march to the Bogalusa courthouse at 4:30 Tuesday, March 29, 1966.

The Bogalusa Voters League, with Mr. McKissick and a CORE task force will march to protest discrimination in the employment policies of firms and agencies located in this enclave of racism and segregation. Demands will be presented to the Mayor to end the inequities of unequal and segregated schools, continuing police harrassment, and unequal public services in the Negro areas.

CORE charges that incidents of racists attacks on CORE workers have increased in recent weeks. As late as Friday, March 25, a CORE Task Force worker (white) and a Negro friend were assaulted by two carloads of white youths with brass knuckles. One shot was fired as the CORE Task Force workers fled for their lives.

The Governor of Louisiana, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law enforcement agencies are urged to initiate a full-scale investigation of the continued breakdown of law and order in Bogalusa.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038
(212) 267-6270

April 3, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY ANNOUNCED THAT FLOYD B. McKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, WOULD LEAD A MASS DEMONSTRATION ON MONDAY, APRIL 4, IN LOS ANGELES. THE ACTION IS TO PROTEST THE INEQUITIES AND INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM IN THAT CITY.

THE RECENT DISMISSAL OF OPAL JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD ADULT PARTICIPATION PROGRAM, HAS CREATED RESENTMENT AND ANGER SO INTENSE THAT THIS CITY IS AGAIN ON THE VERGE OF EXPLOSION.

MISS JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE ONLY ADULT COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM OF ANY SCOPE IN LOS ANGELES, WAS DISCHARGED LAST WEEK AFTER DIRECTIVES FROM JOSEPH P. MALDONADO, HEAD OF THE LOS ANGELES ECONOMIC AND YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES AGENCY, SOUGHT TO EMASCULATE THE PROGRAM BY PROHIBITING NAPP AIDES FROM DISCUSSING CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES WITH THE PEOPLE WHEN THEY VISITED IN THE COURSE OF THEIR EMPLOYMENT. IN ADDITION, MR. MALDONADO ARBITRATILY ORDERED THE TRANSFER TO ROUTINE OFFICE FUNCTIONS OF THOSE AIDES WHO HAD DEMONSTRATED GREATEST RAPPORT WITH COMMUNITY RESIDENTS. MISS JONES, A NEGRO, REMONSTRATED, AND WAS SUMMARILY DISMISSED FOR INSUBORDINATION.

THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM IN LOS ANGELES HAS, FROM ITS INCEPTION, BEEN AN ARENA OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE. CHARGES WERE BROUGHT BY CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY THAT THE GOVERNING BOARD OF EYOA CYNICALLY REJECTED THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE IT WAS DESIGNED TO SERVE. A

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RECENT ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POOR TO THIS BOARD BROUGHT A TURN-OUT OF FEWER THAN ONE PERCENT OF THOSE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE. MANY BELIEVED THAT THE POOR SHOWING WAS PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE COMMUNITY RESIDENTS FELT THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THEIR WISHES ON A BOARD ON WHICH THEY WOULD BE OUTNUMBERED MORE THAN THREE TO ONE BY LOCAL POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

CORE URGES SARGENT SHRIVER TO UNDERTAKE IMMEDIATELY A FULL-SCALE INVESTIGATION OF THE ENTIRE LOS ANGELES ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM. FURTHER, CORE URGES THAT NAPP AND OTHER COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN THIS AREA BE FUNDED DIRECTLY FROM WASHINGTON PENDING THE OUTCOME OF THE INVESTIGATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGENCY THAT MANIFESTS ITS CAPABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY FOR THE GOOD OF THE POOR, RATHER THAN BY THE DICTATES OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS ARE EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEMONSTRATION WHICH WILL COMMENCE WITH A MARCH FROM PERSHING SQUARE TO THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 6, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged Nyack Village in Rockland County with racial discrimination with respect to membership in the volunteer fire department of that enclave.

Application for a $40,000 bond to purchase equipment for the fire department was enjoined by CORE on the grounds that the bond was to be used to provide material that would serve to perpetuate racial discrimination.

Despite numerous protests by CORE and other civil rights groups, the volunteer fire departments of many villages and towns in New York State select members on the basis of their social acceptance rather than their fire fighting proclivities. It is reported that a black-ball method of selection is used in many instances.

CORE is demanding that county boards of supervisors stop providing funds to volunteer fire departments that practice racial discrimination. Law suits will follow if immediate cessation of the discriminatory practices is not forthcoming. It is estimated that there are 3,000 volunteer firemen in New York State, almost the entire contingent being white

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 6, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today denounced the plan to establish a separate police force under the Housing Authority. This plan is detailed in a bill just passed by the legislature.

CORE contends that no sound reason exists for placing authority of the public streets in the hands of one agency and public walks within a public project in the hands of another police agency. If greater police protection is needed on the grounds of city housing projects, increased personnel should be hired by the New York City Police Department to provide for this contingency.

Moreover, the Housing Authority is already a complex agency with many barriers and incumbencies to citizens who must deal with it. Present public difficulities would be greatly aggravated if a separate police force is established under its control. Complaints against abuses against the Housing Authority police would have to be filed with the Housing Authority, the landlord of the complainant.

Implementation of this bill would inevitably result in the proliferation of separate police departments. The Transit Authority, The Department of Parks and Recreation and the City Commission of Human Rights would have an equal right to seek its own separate police department.

CORE urges citizens to contact the governor and urge him to veto this proposal that would create a separate Housing Authority Police force.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Public Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 11, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality announced the lifting of the national boycott against Schenley Industries, Inc. This action had been called by CORE in support of the 3,000 Delano, California grape pickers who struck Schenley and other growers in the San Joaquin Valley on September 9, 1965.

A dispatch from the National Farm Workers Association stated that Schenley has signed an agreement with the association recognizing it as the bargaining agent for the workers and specifying that contract negotiations commence within 30 days and be completed within 60 days. This is the first time in the history of the State of California that agricultural workers have been able to gain union recognition.

CORE extends congratulations to those workers for their relentless campaign and supports their continued efforts against the remaining intransigent growers.

Moreover, Schenley Industries deserves credit for its progressive and forthright stance in signing this agreement with its workers to the obvious discomfiture to the other members of the Growers Association.

VIVA HUELGA

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Dan Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 12, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, national director will speak at a rally "For Rental Rights" at the Elmwood School, 339 South Burnett St, East Orange, New Jersey, at 2:30 p.m. on April 17, 1966.

The Drive Against Rental Evasions (DARE) was launched on March 27th by the Orange-Maplewood branch of the NAACP, The Association of Fair Housing Committees, The New York Regional American Friends Service Committee, and The Fair Housing Service Agency of Northern New Jersey.

During the past month, teams of Negro and white volunteers tested numerous apartment buildings in which an apalling number of istances of racial discrimination was revealed. DARE attorneys have already filed 82 affidavits with the Newark office of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights charging that violations of state laws against discrimination in housing were found in every building tested.

McKissick will discuss CORE's involvement in the struggle for fair housing and will describe some of the techniques used by CORE to combat discrimination is this aspect of civil rights.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, **Director** of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 13, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Lincoln O. Lynch, Frist National Vice-chairman, will speak at Hunter College auditorium, 68th Street and Lexington Avenue, on Sunday, April 17th at 1 p.m. under the auspices of the Committee to Commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on the 23rd anniversary of that event.

Lynch will show the philosophical relationship of the heroic resistance of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto to the struggle of the Negro American against oppression and injustice in the United States, and will compare the absolute resistance of these heroes with the rising mood of the Negro who no longer will be satisfied with less than total equality.

The world will long remember how the heroic stand made in the Warsaw Ghetto was the rallying point of the anti-Facist forces in every corner of the world. Lynch will discuss the need for world awareness of the negative forces that hinder the achievement of the happiness and welfare of mankind. He will show that unity of people of good will in a truly affirmative way is necessary to combat the social ills of this society and to generate the creative forces that will ultimately end the blight of second class citizenship.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Public Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270

April 14, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today announced that Baltimore, Maryland has been selected as the target city for CORE's major civil rights activities during the coming year.

The decision was made in response to the urging of numerous organizations in Baltimore, many church groups and the local CORE chapter. A national task force has established headquarters at 832 North Gay Street in East Baltimore to coordinate the projects and to provide technical assistance for their development.

The concept of a target city is new to CORE. Activities will consist of major campaigns by community groups and CORE against unemployment, substandard wages, inadequate housing and poor education. All aspects of discrimination in this city will be under scrutiny, and will be attacked until significant changes take place. National firms that have facilities and continue to use discriminatory methods in their hiring policies will face boycotts on a national scale. If negotiations fail to end the blight of poor employment and bad housing, large-scale demonstrations will be undertaken.

Baltimore has a population of 400,000 Negroes in a total population of 1,900,000 persons. More than 12 percent of Negro males are unemployed, as opposed to 4.8 percent of white males. Of the employed Negroes, 35 percent earn less than $3,000 per year. Five months ago, CORE field staff, with the help of community volunteers and four organizations from Baltimore colleges organized the Maryland Freedom Union in order to achieve fuller employment and a better wage scale for minority people.

- MORE -

April 14, 1966
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Concentration has been on shops vulnerable to consumer boycott.

The housing problem in Baltimore is formidable. Six completed urban renewal projects resulted in a 75% decline in housing units and a net displacement of 1,824 Negro families. Local tenant groups and the local CORE chapter are campaigning for an open occupancy law in Baltimore. An open occupancy ordinance has been defeated three times by the City Council. Secretary of Urban Affairs Robert A. Weaver has received a number of dispatches from the local CORE chapter and other organizations reporting instances of discrimination in housing financed by the federal government. He has been requested to use his office to compel compliance with the non-discriminatory clauses of federal legislation.

Education in this city follows the pattern of ghetto schools throughout the United States. Segregation, understaffed schools and poor facilities are everywhere in evidence in the Negro communities There are three all Negro high schools and numerous elementary schools constructed in 1878. Average pupil-teacher ratio for Negro schools is 1.39; the average pupil-teacher ratio in white schools is 1.25. Average years of college training for Negro teachers is 4.25 years; average for white teachers is 6.33 years. The curriculum for Negro and white schools are on different levels, only 35% of the Negro students being involved in academic programs.

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Briefing On Baltimore

Education:

1. Average pupil-teacher ratio for Negro schools is 1.39;
2. Average pupil-teacher ratio in white schools is 1.25.
3. Average years of college training for Negro teachers is 4.25 years;
4. Average for white teachers is 6.33 years. The curriculum for Negro and white schools are on different levels,
5. Only 35% of the Negro students being involved in academic programs.

Welfare:

Intensive organization of welfare recipients and people eligible to reeive welfare is necessary.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 15,1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced its support of the Travia Bill A.I. 5839 which places the implementation of Medicare in the New York State Department of health. In telegrams to Governor Rockefeller and Assembly Speaker Travia, CORE stated "The provision of effective medical aid is seriously imperiled by placing its administration under the State Department of Social Welfare rather than the State Department of Health where is properly belongs."

In New York State two basic systems have been proposed through which Title 19 of the Medicare Act would be put into effect. One was initiated by Governor Rockefeller and has been passed in the Senate (S.I. 4311.) The other passed in the assembly was initiated by Speaker Travia and is strongly favored by CORE for several reasons:

1. It will be administered by the better qualifed Department of Health instead of the Department of Social Welfare as provided in the Senate Bill.
2. The Assembly Bill allows for higher income levels for eligibility. Therefore increasing the number of those to be served.
3. It provides for identification cards instead of the "paupers oath" required in the Senate Bill.
4. It covers nearly 60% of New York City's children in contrast to the 35% protection in the Senate Bill.

Although CORE believes that neither bill provides sufficientlyfor the medical needy because of the stated reasons CORE recommends the passage of A.I. 5839. All CORE chapters are being asked to take similar action.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER

Governor Rockefeller
Executive Mansion
Albany, New York

CORE strongly urges you to reconsider your support of Senate Bill SI 4311 and join us in urging the passage of Assembly Bill AI 5839. The Provision of effective medical aid under Title 19 of the Medicare Act is seriously imperiled by placing its administration under the Social Welfare Department rather than under the State Department of Health, where it properly belongs. The requirement for reqeated "means tests" is degrading and is designed to discourage use by those of greatest need. The provision to broaden the application of AI5339 to include those in medical need as well as needy persons and to extend the criteria of eligibility is absent from SI 4311.

CORE urges that you remove the aura of welfare from the health needs of New York residents.

TELEGRAM TO:

Assembly Speaker Anthony Travia
New York State Assembly
Albany, New York

National CORE supports the provisions of AI 5839 and opposes the passage of AI 5593. Health care under the Welfare Department attaches a stiga which discourages it use. The State Health Department is a proper place for the administration of Title 19 of the Medicare Act.

We strongly oppose the repeated "means tests" provisions of AI 5593. The intent and purpose of Title 19 would be thwarted by the passage of AI 5593.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 19, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced a symposium to explore "The relationship of Religion, Labor and Government to the Civil Rights Movement." The event will take place on April 21, at 8 p.m. in the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, New York City. Admission will be $1.00.

William Booth, Chairman of New York City Commission on Human Rights will act as moderator. Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of CORE, Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, President of the Protestant Council of New York City, and David Livingston, President of District 65, Retail, Wholesale Department Store Workers Union will participate. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council and Harry Fleishman, Director of Race Relations, American Jewish Committee have also been invited.

A period for questions and answers from the floor has been set aside.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
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Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
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April 20, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced the appointment of Clarence Funnye as a consultant in housing, urban renewal and city planning. Funnye was born in Georgetown, South Carolina. He attended elementary and high school there. His undergraduate work was completed at A & T College at Greensboro, North Carolina. He received his Masters in architectural engineering at this college. At Pratt Institute in New York City, he studied at the School of Architecture where he received his Masters degree in city and regional planning.

He was employed as a resident architectural engineer for the New York City Transit Authority from 1959 to 1963. He is presently Chief of Projects Planning for Army Engineers and in addition holds the position of executive director of Idea Plan Associates, a private consulting group that deals with urban renewal and city planning.

He is married to the former Mary Ensley. The couple has two boys; Clarence, Jr. 5 and Bradley Joel, 19 months and reside in Brooklyn, New York.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270

April 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged in Philadelphia that denial of economic power by the major society to the Negro and the lack of political power are twin evils that impede the fulfillment of his quest for total equality.

Declaring that Phase II of the civil rights movement is the struggle to overcome these inequities, McKissick announced that CORE is in process of organizing disadvantaged communities throughout the United States with the objectives of creating consumer cooperatives, business combines and large pressure unites to seek equity in the labor market. Job development on a national scale, with emphasis on apprentice training, remedial reading and general tutorlage has become a major aspect of the new direction. "Operation Bootstrap," a pilot project initiated in Los Angeles, Calif. after the Watts revolt of August, 1965, exemplifies the new dynamism in job development. Self-help and involvement of grass root people in this program are constantly stressed.

CORE participated in the organization ofthe Delano, Cal'f. farm workers who became the first agricultural workers to win recognition as a union in this country. The Maryland Freedom Union, a group formed by CORE task force workers and community residents in Baltimore, Maryland is devoting its attention to the organization of people not covered by minimum wage laws, marginal workers and the unemployed.

Political activity is gaining momentum on all levels. Voter registration drives have been intensified in the south and in the urban areas of the northern states. CORE is already sponsoring numerous Negro candidates throughout the country and is supporting other candidates that fulfill CORE's concept of political adequacy.

McKissick disclosed that CORE has initiated a new strategy in the fight for Total Equality - THE TARGET CITY! Baltimore has been selected as the first to be so designated. Extensive forces are being sent to Baltimore to organize and assist community residents in carrying on this war against discrimination on every level in that city. Other cities will follow.

The National Director of CORE reiterated that Total Equality can only be achieved by an improved self-image for Negroes and other minorities, the achievement of economic power and the achievement of political power.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 25, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE'S LINCOLN LYNCH ATTENDS CONFERENCE IN PHILADELPHIA

LINCOLN O. LYNCH, ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY VISITED THE LOCAL CHAPTER IN PHILADELPHIA TO CONFER ON THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN RENEWAL, UNEMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION. IN A CONFERENCE IN THE CHAPTER HEADQUARTERS AT 2229 BROAD ST. MR. LYNCH AND CHAPTER CHAIRMAN WILLIAM MATHIS WILL MAP OUT STRATEGY TO COMBAT THESE PROBLEMS AND DISCUSS CORE's NEWLY INITIATED MEMBERSHIP DRIVE.

FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE MSSRS. LYNCH AND MATHIS WILL BE INTERVIEWED ON A LOCAL TELEVISION PROGRAM.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 25, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS VICTORIOUS IN BID FOR UNION RECOGNITION

AFTER A SUCCESSFUL BOYCOTT OF SILVERMAN'S DEPARTMENT STORES IN BALTIMORE, OFFICIALS OF THAT CHAIN NEGOTIATED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) AND THE MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION (MFU) LAST NIGHT AND AGREED TO RECOGNIZE MFU AS THE STORE EMPLOYEES' BARGAINING AGENTS. THE BOYCOTT RESULTED WHEN STANLEY SILVERAMN, STORE OFFICIAL, REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE UNION AS THE ORGANIZATION THE WORKERS EMPOWERED TO ACT IN THEIR BEHALF. OTHER DEMANDS ON A LIST OF SEVEN PRESENTED WERE FOR HIGHTER WAGES AND BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS. CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN STORE OFFICIALS AND MFU, WILL BEGIN MONDAY MAY 1ST.

THE PICKETT LINES SUPPORTING THE BOYCOTT WERE SO EFFECTIVE THAT AS OF NOON YESTERDAY NOT ONE CUSTOMER HAD ENTERED THE STORES' PENNSYLVANIA AVE. OR GAY ST. BRANCHES. THE ACTIVITY IS PART OF A FULL SCALE ASSAULT ON THE PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS IN BALTIMORE, DESIGNATED AS THE TARGET CITY FOR CORE's CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS THIS YEAR.

THE MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION, ORGANIZED BY CORE, IS STAFFED BY VOLUNTEERS FROM THE COMMUNITY AND LOCAL COLLEGES, WHOSE PURPOSE IS TO UNITE THE UNDERPAID, OVERWORKED LABORERS OF BALTIMORE GHETTOS IN A CONCENTRATED DRIVE FOR BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS. WALTER BROOKS, CORE PROJECT DIRECTOR FOR BALTIMORE URGED ALL CIVIC-MINDED CITIZENS TO GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO THE MFU PROGRAM.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 25, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEGRO CANDIDATE BEATEN UP IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI

The Rev. Clint Collier, a Negro candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from Mississippi's 4th congressional district, was beaten up by three white men on Friday, April 15. The southern office of CORE reports that Collier had gone to the Neshoba County Stockyards to sell some cattle on Friday afternoon. He attempted to enter a section of the stockyards traditionally reserved for whites when a white man, not believed to be connected with the yards, stopped him.

The man tried to prevent Collier from entering the "white" section, angry words were exchanged and the white man pushed Collier, Collier returned the shove and as their encounter became more heated two additional white men entered the fray and the three of them beat Collier with their fists and knocked him to the floor.

Collier suffered numerous cuts about the head and it is reported that he may have a small skull fracture. Shortly after the incident Collier was driven to Meridian and treated by a doctor there.

When Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey arrived on the scene, all of Collier's attackers had fled. White bystanders reported that they had noticed only a "disturbance" and would provide no further information. Collier, a native of Neshoba County, is a candidate on the slate of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Active in FDP affairs since it was formed in 1964, Collier kicked off his campaign in Canton in March. Addressing a crowd of several hundred persons, Collier pledged a vigorous campaign. He promised to "blaze the issues across the face of white Mississippi politics."

Collier stated that he has been subjected to harassment and intimidation tactics by both law enforcement officers and local white citizens in Neshoba County since he announced his candidacy. The candidate vowed, however, that the opposition has only strengthened his resolution.........

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 25, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Northeast Regional Conference of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today denounced the failure of the Office of Economic Opportunity to conform to the principle of "Maximum feasible participation of the poor" in its community actions programs, according to its chairman, Robert Curvin.

The conference, held at the Adelphia Hotel in Philadelphia on April 23 and 24, opposed the present administrative set-up and operation of the Camp Kilmer Job Corp facilities. The body adopted a resolution which demanded that the contract of Federal Electric Company to operate the facilities not be renewed in June; that a non-profit organization receive the contract from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Moreover, the body adopted a resolution demanding that O.E.O. interpret "Maximum feasible participation of the poor" to mean that 3/5 of the members of policy making boards be staffed by community people. The Office of Economic Opportunity was criticised for its delay in implementing the anti-poverty project headed by James Farmer which is designed to reach 1,000,000 functional illiterates. A resolution was adopted by the conference urging Sergeant Shriver to act expeditiously in this matter. A permanent anti-poverty committee was selected by the group to develop the Camp Kilmer problem and the Farmer delay as ongoing projects.

(MORE)

Deplorable conditions in Mount Vernon and Baltimore were discussed by the conference and F. B. McKissick, national director. He detailed some aspects of the full scale attack against discrimination in Baltimore - CORE's target city. Methods of community organization and the creation of a political movement were described. McKissick discussed several phases of CORE's philosophy and practice on questions that had arisen on the relations of members to chapters, chapters to the national office and the unchanging ideological base of the organization, stressing the equality and involvement of people of all racial groups. Operation Bootstrap, a self-help job development program in Watts, the Maryland Freedom Union and the efforts to develop consumer cooperatives and business combines were lauded by McKissick as some of the innovative methods being used to achieve economic power.

Voter registration drives, sponsoring or supporting Negro candidates and the need to constantly project CORE's position on current issues received emphasis from McKissick.

In a precedent making move, the conference adopted a resolution condemning the United States' involvement in the war in Vietnam and supporting the efforts of the peace groups to bring this conflict to an end.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
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Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 26, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Walter Brooks, Project Director for Baltimore - CORE's Target City stated in a dispatch that the Maryland Freedom Union (M.F.U.) had declared a consumer boycott of Silverman's Department Stores in an attempt to pressure them into acceptance of their worker's demands. The boycott will be supported by picket lines at two of the chain's stores on Pennsylvania Avenue and Gay Street. The workers at Silverman's, who have chosen MFU as their bargaining agent, presented their employer with a list of 7 demands which include recognition of MFU as their bargaining agent and $1.50 hourly wage.

The demands were presented to Stanley Silverman Friday, April 22. At that time he was asked to reply to MFU by Monday. Mr. Silverman has stated his refusal to recognize MFU. The boycott and picket have thus sprung out of Silverman's refusal to bargain with his workers.

The third store in Silverman's chain is located on 36th Street. Due to the threat of violence in that area, MFU has delayed putting up a picket line in front of the 36th St. store.

MFU was formed three months ago to organize workers in retail stores and service trades. The workers in these areas are generally underpaid and overworked. The majority of them are black and dwell in the ghettoes of Baltimore. MFU is the first union to mount a concentrated drive aimed at organizing these workers. Its office is located in the ghetto of West Baltimore. Its membership is composed mainly of Negroes. The MFU calls on everyone to support its total program and to join in boycotting Silverman's.........

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director Of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 28, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE NEW YORK STATE HOUSING PROGRAM

N. Y. STATE LEGISLATURE 1965

The CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), TODAY ANNOUNCED ITS SUPPORT OF THE FOLLOWING LEGISLATIVE MEASURES,DESIGNED TO AMELIORATE THE PLIGHT OF THE POOR, IN SO FAR AS HOUSING AND RELATED FACILLITIES ARE CONCERNED.

THE FOLLOWING BILLS ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS ADEQUATE, ARE THE MINIMUM LEGISLATIVE EFFORT TO BE EXPECTED FROM THIS SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

IN NEW YORK, HOUSING CONDITIONS FOR THE POOR, MOST OF THEM NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS, CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE. EFFORTS AT IMPROVEMENT ARE TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE AND OUR SLUMS AND GHETTOES STILL GROW AND WORSEN RATHER THAN SHRINK. TO CHANGE THIS PATTERN, MASSIVE EFFORT IS REQUIRED, ESPECIALLY ON THE LEGISLATIVE LEVEL.

(1) SENATOR JEROME WILSON - PRINT 2831 S. INTRO. 2738 COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, CHAIRMAN WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR, JR.

THIS BILL ALLOWS LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES TO FLOAT BONDS WITH THE BACKING OF STATE CREDIT (RESULTING IN LOWER INTEREST RATES AND THEREFORE LOWER COSTS AND RENTS). THIS BILL ALLOWS LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES TO FLOAT BONDS WITH THE BACKING OF STATE CREDIT (RESULTING IN LOWER INTEREST RATES AND THEREFORE LOWER COSTS AND RENTS). THIS BILL DEPENDS ON THE RATIFICATION IN A GENERAL ELECTION OF A SUBSIDY INCREASE OF $13.5 MILLION PER YEAR, CONTAINED IN THE BILL. IT SIMPLIFIES AND EASES FUNDING BY THE STATE, AND ELIMINATES THE NEED TO VOTE FOR BONDS AT EACH ELECTION. PASSAGE WOULD ALLOW THE BUILDING OF 17,500 NEW LOW INCOME HOUSING UNITS OVER A FOUR YEAR PERIOD.

(2) ASSEMBLYMAN JEROME KRETCHMER - PRINT 2596 - INTRO. 2539 COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, CHAIRMAN JEROME KRETCHMER

THIS BILL MAKES POSSIBLE A MORE EFFECTIVE RECEIVERSHIP LAW - FASTER ACTING (UNDER A MONTH), WITH MORE MONEY AVAILABLE IN A REVOLVING REPAIR FUND ($2MILLION INSTEAD OF $200,00), AND WITH RENT INCREASES ALLOWED ONLY IF (a) THEY RESULT IN MORE SPACE, EQUIPMENT OR SERVICES UP TO THE MAXIMUM RENT OR (b) 75% OF THE TENANTS AGREE TO A RAISED RENT WITH STILL MORE SPACE, EQUIPMENT OR SERVICES. IT FURTHER PROVIDES CITIES WITH THE POWER TO CONDEMN BUILDINGS AND THEN RUN THEM THROUGH THE LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITY, AND IT FIXES THE CAUSE OF SLUM CONDITIONS ON THE SLUMLORD.

(3) ASSEMBLYMAN JEROME MARKS - PRINT 3027 - INTRO. 2952 COMMITTEE ON CODES, CHAIRMAN, JOSEPH R. CORSO

PRESENTLY IN DISPOSSESS PROCEEDINGS THE LANDLORD MUST SERVE OR GIVE NOTICE OF A COURT HEARING TO THE TENANT. OFTEN THIS NOTICE IS NEVER GIVEN, WITH THE LANDLORD FALSELY SWEARING THAT IT WAS. THROUGH THIS "SEWER SERVICE", THE TENANTS MAY HAVE NO NOTICE UNTIL THE MARSHAL COMES TO GIVE HIM 24 HOURS NOTICE TO REMOVE. THIS BILL PROVIDES FOR THE COURT TO SEND NOTICE TO THE TENANT BY REGULAR AND REGISTERED MAIL AS WELL AS THE DISPOSSESS NOTICE, AND LENGTHENS THE TIME TO ANSWER AVAILABLE TO THE TENANT. THE SIMPLIFICATION OF FORMS AND ELIMINATION OF DECEPTIVE LANGUAGE IS ANOTHER PROBLEM NOT DEALT WITH BY THIS MEASURE.

(4) ASSEMBLYMAN ALBERT BLUMENTHAL -PRINT 4175 - INTRO. 234 COMMITTEE ON GENERAL LAWS, CHAIRMAN, STANLEY STEINGUT PROVIDES THAT IN ALL MULTIPLE DWELLINGS OF EIGHT OR MORE APARTMENTS A SELF-CLOSING LOCKED FRONT DOOR EQUIPPED WITH A BELL AND BUZZER SYSTEM BE REQUIRED AS OF JANUARY 1, 1967, AND AN INTERCOMMUNICATION SYSTEM BETWEEN THE FRONT DOOR AND EACH APARTMENT BE REQUIRED BY JANUARY 1, 1968.

(5) SENATOR JEROME WILSON -PRINT 2317 - INTRO. 2248 COMMITTEE ON CODES, CHAIRMAN EDWARD J. SPENO

THIS BILL AMENDS ARTICLE 7A OF THE REAL PROPERTY AND PROCEEDINGS LAW ("RENT STRIKE" LAW) TO ALLOW SOME OF THE RENT TO GO TOWARD LAWYER'S FEES AND EXPERT WITNESS FEE NEEDED TO WIN COURT APPROVAL OF A RENT STRIKE ORIGINALLY. T PRESENT, THIS COST OFTEN PREVENTS THE USE OF ARTICLE 7A BY THE POOR WHO NEED IT MOST. UNLESS THEY HAVE VOLUNTARY COUNSEL AND WITNESSES. ARTICLE 7A IS USELESS TO THEM.

(6) SENATOR JACK BRONSTON - PRINT 2269, 5061 - S. INTRO. 2200

COMMITTEE ON HOUSING - CHAIRMAN, WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR, JR.

THIS BILL AMENDS SECTION 302 - a OF THE MULTIPLE DWELLING LAW PROVIDING FOR NON-PAYMENT OF RENT IF HAZARDOUS CONDITIONS EXIST AS OFFICIAL VIOLATIONS FOR 3 MONTHS (INSTEAD OF 6). IT MAKES THESE PROVISIONS HOLD REGARDLESS OF HOW THE VIOLATIONS OCCURRED, AND REMOVES THE POSSIBILITY OF FINES OF UP TO $100 IF THE TENANT LOSES THE CASE.

(7) ASSEMBLYMAN PERCY SUTTON - PRINT 5042 - A. INTRO. 4880

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, CHAIRMAN, HARVEY J. LIFSET

PROVIDES THAT 2½% OF THE GOVERNOR's BUDGET BE ALLOCATED TO PUBLIC HOUSING PURPOSES. ALTHOUGH WE SUGGEST THAT A MINUMUM REQUIREMENT OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING BE STATED EXPLICITLY, AND THAT IT BE BUILT PREFERABLY AS "VEST POCKET" HOUSING IN VACANT LAND OR BADLY USED COMMERCIAL LAND, WITH AN EYE TOWARD INTEGRATION THE BILL IS STILL HELPFUL. 2½% OR $9,750,000 WOULD CONSTRUCT ABOUT 4,875 UNITS IN 1966

(8) ASSEMBLYMAN PERCY SUTTON - PRINT 2466 - A. INTRO. 2416

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, CHAIRMAN, HARVEY J. LIFSET

PROVIDES FOR THE CREATION OF A FAIR HOUSING RENTAL SERVICE WITHIN THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS REQUIRING ALL VACANT APARTMENTS TO BE REGISTERED WITH THE FHRS BY LOCATION, SIZE AND RENT AND THAT TENANTS BE REFERRED THERE ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST -SERVE NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS. AFTER 14 DAYS, IF NO ONE IS REFERRED BY FHRS, THE LANDLORD CAN RENT TO ANYONE HE LIKES. THE IDEA IS NEW AND DESERVES

PRESENT REMEDIES FOR DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING OPERATE ON TOO SMALL A SCALE ND ARE OFTEN FRUSTRATINGLY SLOW AND INADEQUATE.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 28, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today expressed approval of the President's civil rights message and the new legislative measures projected therein.

The exclusion of Negroes from Southern jury systems and discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of residential housing are two basic evils of long standing that deter the drive toward a society based on equality. The proposed legislation makes a forthright attack on these inequities. More stringent laws against groups that engage in conspiracies to deprive individuals of their civil rights and Federal jurisdiction for murder in civil rights cases were greatly needed weapons in the arsenal of justice.

Despite the scope and firmness of the measures recommended by the President, the provisions for their enforcement leave much to be desired.

Too great a responsibility is placed on individual suits or suits initiated by the Justice Department to achieve compliance with the proposed legislation. In our view, innovative methods for enforcement must be developed. Perhaps there is need for the creation of a new Federal Commission with personnel and power of subpoena, that would enable it to investigate, hold hearings and enforce compliance.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
Floyd McKissick, National Director

Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 4, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that its Mount Vernon chapter will hold a demonstration at 7:30 p.m. on Wednesday, May 4, 1966 at the Mt. Vernon City Hall. This action was called to protest the dreadful conditions experienced by welfare recipients and other disavantaged people, most of whom are Negroes, in the field of housing. The demonstration will continue every evening until Saturday, May 7th when it will culminate in a Regional action. All CORE chapters in the Northeast will be asked to participate.

Low-income housing in Mount Vernon consists largely of dilapidated frame structures, that receive little or no repair from their absentee owners. Poorly heated and rat infested buildings have created apalling slum conditions. The City authorities are either powerless or indifferent to the plight of its low income citizens.

Moreover, a brutal and cynical disregard for the welfare and well being of people seems to prevail in Mount Vernon. Families and furniture are seen on the sidewalks with a frequency reminiscent of the dark days of the depression of three decades ago.

In addition to housing problems, integration of the education system in Mt. Vernon is far behind most Northern cities. Approximately one month ago, its Board of Education presented a plan that was approved by Dr. Allen, State Commissioner of Education. The plan provides a small measure of integration but is a source of great controversy.

The employment picture is dismal. 70% of non-domestic minority workers are forced to commute to New York City and to other neighboring cities for employment. Mount Vernon has a population of 80,000, 20,000 of whom are Negroes.

CORE charges grave neglect on the part of the city government of Mount Vernon and contends that New York State and Federal agencies should launch an immediate full scale investigation to determine if the legal rights of citizens are being violated and to initiate and develop programs that would ameliorate the distress of slum living and would ultimately lead to the realization of the "Great Society."

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
Floyd McKissick, National Director

Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 5, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today expressed disappointment at certain concepts and procedures revealed in Mayor Lindsay's proposed civilian controlled police review board.

He pointed out that an independent police civilian review board should be established entirely outside the police department to be designated as independent.

Moreover, the panel selected by the Mayor to suggest candidates for membership on the board fails to include representatives from Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, from civil rights organizations or from church groups that work in these areas. CORE has always believed that the persons most concerned with a particular problem should have a voice in its solution. No ghetto organization nor poor persons most affected by these problems are represented on this panel and the involvement of its members with the people in the ghetto is highly inadequate. It is imperative that the selection committee be enlarged to include such representation.

The investigative procedures indicate that police units will be charged with investigation of police officers against whom complaints of misconduct have been made. This proposal does not provide for a independent investigative staff and so long as the investigations are continued by the police them-

(M O R E)

selves, we feel the results will always be open to serious question.

While we are not opposed to conciliation in principle, the conciliation process proposed is highly objectional because of the vulnerbility of civilian complainants to police pressure. This could invite unscropulous police officers to indulge in additional malpractice, to prevent complaints from being filed against them. Additionally, these efforts could be so drawn out as to create frustration and discouragement of complainants.

CORE contends that the three police officers to be appointed by the Police Department should have deep understanding and rapport with residents of the ghetto communities. Membership in organizations like the John Birch Society should preclude their acceptability for such assignments. This should be firm and mandatory.

Furthermore, CORE is highly critical of the fact that the civilian executive director will be paid by the Police Department. As an employee, agent and servant of the Department, it is difficult to assume objectivity and independence on his part.

CORE reiterates the fact that such a board should have its own investigative force completely apart from the Police Department. It should have power of supeona. It should have access to all police records and police installations and should be

(M O R E)

empowered to hold open hearings where the citizen complainant and the police respondent may be represented by counsel.

Until there is recognition that confidence in the police is dependent upon the police establishing good will in communities where feeling is strong and hostility widespread, no procedure will be adequate until it reaches the root causes of hostility between the police and minority communities.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 5, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today issued a call for volunteers to work in its Baltimore and Mount Vernon projects. Research teams, community organizers, social workers, teachers and students are needed now to undergo basic training for the developing programs. Trainees in street speaking and "block association" methods of community organization are in greatest demand.

Baltimore has been designated as CORE's target city, hence a major concentration of personnel is taking place there. A project to achieve open housing in Baltimore has already developed to the point of weekend picket lines with counter picketting by a heavy contingency of the Klan. CORE task force workers and community residents have organized the Maryland Freedom Union (MFU) which has already gained recognition as the bargaining agent for employees of the chain of Silverman's Department Stores. Nursing homes, hospitals, laundries, restuarants and other facilities not covered by minimum wage laws are targets for the continuing efforts of the union. 50 persons are needed to work with this group.

Additional volunteers are needed for the Mount Vernon housing programs. These projects will center around low-income housing with its ramifications of urban renewal, relocation and rent subsidies.

(MORE)

The organization of welfare recipients, with emphasis on eligibility and entitlements will also require a sizable force of volunteers to assist the field secretaries assigned to this task.

Volunteers are urged to write or call as soon as possible if they wish to participate in any of these programs.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 6, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, will speak at a rally at 8 p.m. on Sunday, May 8th at the Lafayette School Auditorium at Morristown, New Jersey. The rally will take place under the auspices of the Morris County chapter of CORE. Mrs. Bonnie Barrow is the chairman.

McKissick will discuss the principle of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the poverty program and point out how politically entrenched agencies subvert this aspect of the program.

Entertainment will be provided by the La Roque Bey Dancers and a local church choir.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 6, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director will go to Baltimore, Maryland - CORE's target city - on Sunday, May 8th. Lynch will confer with community leaders, church groups and organizations in that city in respect to new civil rights programs. He will inspect CORE's ongoing projects and will participate in a demonstration protesting discrimination in housing in Baltimore.

Activities of the Klan will be studied by Lynch with a view to petition for legal restraint if their activities in any way interfere with free exercise of constitutional rights by people involved in the civil rights movement.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 11, 1966

"Rubbish," exclaimed Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) as he denounced statements attributed to Leonard Kerpleman in an Associated Press dispatch from Baltimore on Friday, May 6th.

Kerpleman is reported to have written a letter to the Baltimore Evening Sun that he "opposed any further extension of civil rights for Negroes," giving as reasons for his antipathy the expression of "pride, complacency and satisfaction in the Watts riots" by Negro leaders.

This arrogant and idiotic expression reveals an abysmal insensitivity and lack of understanding of the causes of human behavior. Far from expressing complacency and satisfaction, Negro leaders viewed the riots with dismay.

The event actually called forth the most stringent efforts to explore and eliminate the root causes of such disturbances. Many of these causes had been cited time and time again by leaders of all civil rights organizations. It was an inevitable holocaust unless measures had been taken to relieve the vicious circle of poor education, joblessness and isolation within the Watts ghetto. Obviously, the same causes can produce the same results at any time, in any area.

(M O R E)

One might ask precisely what Mr. Kerpleman hoped to achieve toward the elimination of these root causes of hopelessness and despair by his dramatic "resignation" from the struggle. It is incumbent upon all leaders, black and white, to help find the constructive paths which alone will avert the bloodshed and horror we all deplore.

Moreover, the recognition of this problem as a problem of the total American society seems to have entirely escaped Mr. Kerpleman, despite his previous efforts in the civil rights movement. One wonders if he was trying to resign from the human race or, perhaps, like an old soldier suffering from battle fatigue, he sought to crawl away into some hidden well of loneliness.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 13, 1966

CORE DIRECTOR CHALLENGES ILLEGAL COURT INJUNCTION IN BALTIMORE

Following the arrest of five officials of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) yesterday for defying a circuit court injunction restricting the picketing of a Baltimore housing development, Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of CORE, charged that the injunction was unconstitutional and illegal.

The Baltimore chapter of CORE and the local citizenry had been picketing the Horizon House at Chase and Calvert Streets for nearly a year in an attempt to break housing barriers when Judge Charles D. Harris, at the request of owner Samuel Gorn, issued the injunction on May 6th restricting the picketing to Sundays between 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. The picket lines were orderly and without incident until robed terrorists from the Klu Klux Klan began counter-picketing last month.

Mr. McKissick stated, "The right to assemble peacefully to petition for redress of grievances is assured every citizen of our United States. Evidently the Negro citizens of Baltimore Maryland are to be denied this right. This severe restriction of Judge Harris' injunction is absolutedly and totally unconstitutional.

(MORE)

We are employing legal remedies in an effort to persuade the court to remove these unjust restrictions. Our Baltimore attorneys are going into federal court to seek a Habeus Corpus and I have issued an immediate call to action by all of our 200 CORE chapters and all citizens across the nation to develop plans for use in Baltimore if the injunction and contempt charges are not rescinded. I urge all citizens throughout the nation and especially the citizens of Baltimore to protest this flagrant denial of their constitutional rights by contacting the Baltimore City government, the Governor of Maryland and President Johnson and to use their good offices to correct these injustices.

The five demonstrators, led by Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE were arrested by Frank Peltz, Baltimore City Sheriff and four deputies on a complaint filed by Mr. Gorn and signed by Judge Harris. Lynch and field secretary Stu Wechsler both of New York City were hailed into court, charged with contempt and ordered to jail until such time as they shall purge themselves of the contempt charge. James Griffin, Chapter Chairman of Baltimore CORE and two others were released in their own cognizance. A spontaneous vigil of some 60 persons began at 9 p.m. at the Baltimore City Jail.

(MORE)

The protesters vowed to continue the vigil until their constitutional right to petition and picket peacefully is restored. Baltimore has been selected as the target city for CORE's major civil rights activities this year, in response to the urging of numerous local organizations, church groups and community groups.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 16, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today urged a full scale investigation by Governor John J. McKeithin of Louisiana and the Department of Justice into the circumstances under which charges of attempted murder have been placed on Bruce Baines, a CORE field secretary, Flecher Anderson and Leyton Griffin in Bogalusa, Louisiana. In a telegram to the Governor, McKissick pointed out that Baines, Anderson and Griffin are being held on $25,000 bail each despite the fact the practice in Bogalusa has been to impose bail of $2,500 in such cases. A person charged with the murder of O'Neal Moore and another invididual charged with the shooting of Captain Sims were instances cited by McKissick where bail was $2,500.

On Saturday, May 14th at 1:30 a.m., Baines, Anderson and Griffin were seated in a restaurant across the street from the Crown-Zellerbach Paper Company when they noticed a group of white men gathered around Anderson's car. Anderson went out to investigate and was promptly attacked and beaten by these men who desisted when Baines and Griffin came to his aid. Accompanied by Baines and Griffin, Anderson drove to the Bogalusa City Hospital but was refused treatment.

(MORE)

He did not get his wounds tended until 7 a.m. by a private physican.

Meanwhile, several shots had been fired through the window of the restaurant - the incident that later caused Baines, Anderson and Griffin to be charged with the attempted murder of two waitresses and a woman patron who had been in the restaurant at the time of the fusillade.

Who actually fired the shots and why are subjects that have not yet been resolved to the satisfaction of CORE, and of the Negro citizens in Bogalusa. CORE therefore urges citizens everywhere to protest by letters and telephone this latest attempt to sacrifice justice on the altar of racism and bigotry.

A telegram to Governor McKeithin of Louisiana reads as follows: URGE YOU UNDERTAKE IMMEDIATE FULL SCALE INVESTIGATION OF BEATING OF FLECHER ANDERSON AND SUBSEQUENT ARREST OF BRUCE BAINES, CORE'S FIELD SECRETARY, FLECHER ANDERSON AND LEYTON GRIFFIN ON SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1966 IN BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA. CHARGES OF ATTEMPTED MURDER AND EXCESSIVE BAIL POINT TO GRAVE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 18, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today requested intervention from Federal and State agencies in the police department inquest tomorrow of the wanton killing of a Negro expectant father by a white policeman last week.

The Negro, Leonard Deadwyler, was slain while driving his pregnant wife to the hospital by Patrolman J.M. Bova, who claimed that his gun went off accidentally after he had pulled Deadwyler to the curb for alleged speeding and tried to remove the keys from the ignition.

CORE notified the Justice Department, the Attorney General's Office and the President's Special Assistant, Harold McPherson to apprise them of the possibility of violence and reprisals by several thousand armed youths who are awaiting the outcome of the inquest "to see if justice is again thwarted where black people are concerned."

All three agencies declined intervention on the grounds that this was not a Federal case and no Federal law was broken. Mr. McPherson stated that his office would contact the Human Relations Commission in Los Angeles and ask them to look into the matter.

CORE Field Secretary, Lou Smith reported that the Southwest section of Los Angeles has been a smoldering hot-bed of fury and violence since Deadwyler's funeral last Monday. Several thousand youths have organized and are congregating nightly to jeer at the special police task force that patrols the Watts area armed with shotguns and helmets. Smith, himself, was brutally smashed in the chest by a policeman's shotgun butt last night while dispersing an angry crowd and was left laying in the street until local passersby helped him to his home.

In a telegram to California's Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles, CORE stated:

"The wanton shooting of Leonard Deadweiler and events of last night have re-ignited the flames of violence in Los Angeles. CORE demands that black citizens rights and lives be protected in Watts. We have telephoned the Justice Department and the White House to inform them of this explosive situation and to request immediate intervention. The verdict of the coroner's inquest on May 19th is being watched by thousands of angry youths in Watts and millions of concerned Negroes across the nation."

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged that the summary dismissal of Kenneth Simmons, Poverty Program Coordinator for the Western addition Target Area of San Francisco is an attempt of the San Francisco Central Agency to eliminate the gains of Target Area boards in respect to "maximum feasible participation of the poor."

Simmons, who was known as a dedicated and creative spokesman in the War on Poverty was discharged by Dr. Arthur Coleman, Chairman of the Economic Council of San Francisco for "incompetence, insubordination and breach of professional confidence."

Wilfred T. Ussery, National Chairman of CORE, participated in the formation and development of a group known as Citizens United Against Poverty that was largely responsible for achieving rights for each target area that implemented the principle of "maximum feasible participation of the poor." Precedures and programatic methods established here bring into clear prospective that involvement of the poor in their own programs can be sucessful. Moreover, innovative community action programs that meet the needs of the target areas were more easily developed.

CORE urges Sargent Shriver of the Office of Ecomonic Opportunity to undertake a full scale investigation of the firing of Kenneth Simmons and of the destructive methods and intimidations reportedly being used by the Central Agency in San Francisco to discredit and lessen local Target Area control of its programs.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 20, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today denounced procedures of the selective service system that make class standings a criterion for granting draft deferments. McKissick pointed out that the democratic process is denied when scholastic attainments, natural ability or the incident of wealth are factors that determine who would serve in the armed forces. The American system itself would be violated if advantages of education, special ability or social status were used as the measure of a person's service to his country. This draft system, if its present form persists, would create an elite category of young men that would be reminiscent of the fascist regime of Hitler's Germany.

CORE contends that the present selective service prodedures discriminate against the poor and the disadvantaged, obviously applying to a vast number of Negro Americans and other minorities. Inherent in this system is a punitive element that further punishes those who have already suffered denial and injustice from the hands of the major society.

CORE gives its support to the resolution of Representative William F. Ryan of Manhattan to make a House-Senate study of the subject and to suggest alternatives that would eliminate the inequities in the present system, and the resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin to create a bi-partisan commission to study the present plan to eliminate unfair standards.

CORE urges citizens to write and telephone their Congressmen, Senators and other legislators to initiate measures or support those already started to rid the country of this unfair system. CORE further commends the action of college students across the country for their realization of the complete unfairness of the plan. This dissent is creating a rising tide of protest that we hope will spread until injustice and discrimination are no longer a part of the American system.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 23, 1966

CORE WINS AT HORIZON HOUSE
TARGET CITY - BALTIMORE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Samuel D. Gorn, owner, operator of Horizon House at Chase and Calvert, Target City - Baltimore, Maryland, along with nine other members of the Baltimore Apartment House Association has signed an agreement to provide open occupancy in their apartment units in Baltimore. Two other members of the Association have thus far refrained from signing.

This agreement brings to an end ten months of demonstrations against Horizon House which had developed into a tension ridden action when a contingent of the Klan, hooded and leading police dogs started counter picketting the CORE demonstrations. After five weekends of activity, at the request of Gorn, a drastic injunction, limiting the number of pickets and restricting to Sunday only, the time for picketting, was issued by Circuit Court Judge, Charles D. Harris. Despite the restraining order, the CORE demonstrations continued and resulted in the arrest of twenty-five individuals including Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director.

In the meantime, the City of Baltimore had intervened on the side of CORE opposing the harsh and unconstitutional injunction of the court. Picketting was intensified, hundreds of persons had been alerted from the chapters of the Northeast region and massive demonstrations had been planned, when the agreement was reached.

(M O R E)

This marks the first time in the history of Baltimore that open occupancy has received favorable consideration by any group of influence and power. This breakthrough takes place after three proposals for fair housing laws had been defeated in the City Council of Baltimore.

Urban renewal programs that will not result in the displacement of its Negro citizens but will provide adequate integrated housing for all is one of the objectives of the CORE housing projects.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 23, 1966

MCKISSICK TO SPEAK AT CAREERIST CONFERENCE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, will be the keynote speaker at a state-wide conference of the New York State Careerist Society, Inc., to be held on June 18, 1966 at Carnegie Endowment Center, 345 East 46th Street. The theme of the conference will be "Affirmative Integration - Government's New Responsibility."

This group was organized in 1957. Its members are civil service employees, who concern themselves with the major civic and sociological issues of our time.

McKissick will discuss new methods and techniques to achieve integration. He will emphasize the role of community organization in developing political power that will ultimately lead to the development of forces that will cause government to recognize and accept this new responsibility.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 24, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged that the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, is engaged in a vast retreat in its fight against poverty.

Despite the bold idealistic provisions of the Economic Act of 1964, which provided for "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the policy making and implementation of the programs, recent directives from the Office of Economic Opportunity indicate drastic curtailment of such involvement.

Moreover, many community action programs that deal with bedrock inequities in the American system are being ignored or shelved. Programs in New York City that are considered absolutely minimal by officials of Haryou, Mobilization For Youth and other neighborhood agencies in New York are unable to get underway for lack of funding by O.E.O. The proposal for Community Action Education, an agency headed by James Farmer, former National Director of CORE and whose program is designed to deal with 1,000,000 functional illerates, still gathers dust on the desk of Sargent Shriver, and for no apparent reason. In San Francisco where the four Target Areas have achieved the right to initiate and develop their own programs and where the poor are in the majority on the local boards, a crack down to eliminate these gains resulted in the dismissal of Kenneth Simmons, creative and dedicated spokesman in the War on Poverty. It is reported that methods of intimidation and coersion are being used to eliminate gains of the Target Areas in order to acquire greater control of the anti-poverty programs in that city.

Recently, memoranda #23 and 24, under the signature of Theodore Berry of O.E.O., in charge of community action programs, detailed drastic salary descriptions and promulgated the application of the Hatch act to employees of anti-poverty agencies.

(MORE)

McKissick stated that these situations clearly point to a palliative process on the part of the Office of Economic Opportunity rather than a dynamic drive to end the syndrome of powerlessness of people who are caught in the web of poverty. He urged that Congress and the Executive branch of the Federal Government take a close look at the present trend to modify or discourage community action programs which, in effect, would minimize the participation of those for whom the program was intended.

It is inevitable that disadvantaged people must be involved in the decisions that affect their destinies if the social ills of the American system are to be replaced by more equitable processes of the emerging "Great Society.".

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 26, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) will visit the State of Mississippi on June 4th and 5th to speak at political rallies on behalf of Rev. Clinton Collier, a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives from the 4th Congressional District.

On June 4th, McKissick will attend rallies in the street or at the County Courthouse at the request of Collier's campaign manager, Gene Raymond, CORE State Director. Since his announced candidacy for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Rev. Collier, a former field secretary for CORE, has been brutally beaten, questionably arrested and generally harrassed by law enforcement officers and the local citizenry. Raymond states that McKissick's presence in support of Collier, who is also on the Regular Democratic ticket, will be of tremendous inspiration to the local Negroes.

On June 5th, McKissick moves to Merdian, Mississippi for evening rallies to support Collier and other Negro political hopefuls in the State. They include 1st District candidate "Doc" Drummond, Rufus Hayes in the 2nd District, Edwin King from the 3rd and Lawrence Guyot in the 5th District. McKissick will also advocate the election of Clifton Whitley, Negro aspirant for the Senate.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 7, 1966

Following a bedside conference with James Meredith at the John Gaston Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee, Floyd B. McKissick National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) announced that CORE, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) would recommence the march to Jackson, Mississippi started by Mr. Meredith before he was felled by a snipers shotgun blast yesterday.

McKissick, Dr. King of SCLC met with Mr. Meredith today and planned to continue his homecoming walk through Mississippi from the spot where the march was terminated some 20 miles inside the Mississippi state line. The two civil rights leaders will be joined by Stokley Carmichael of SNCC at the beginning of the March and about 20 local citizens.

McKissick urged all CORE chapters to converge on Memphis and join the march, and stated that volunteers from all walks of life would be welcome to unite in this pilgrimage to encourage Negro voting in Mississippi.

In New York City, CORE's National Office was besieged with calls from people of all races... students, professionals, housewives, clerics, etc....requesting information on details of the march.

The march headquarters was set up in the Centennial Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Blvd., Memhpis, Tennessee. All who wish to join the march will be shuttled from that point.

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NEWS RELEASE

OR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 8, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today rejected a request y Mayor R. B. Purdue of Ossining, New York to discharge the Ossining apter of CORE after the chapter had staged a picket demonstration in rotest of the discriminatory hiring practices of the local fire partment. The demonstration disrupted the Memorial Day ceremonies hich featured a parading display of the fire department in full egalia.

In a telegram to Mayor Purdue, Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate ational Director of CORE, stated, "The request in your telegram of une 1st that the National Office of CORE deny sponsorship and disband ts Ossining Chapter is rejected. We suggest instead that you as ayor should direct your efforts to the removal of the racist practices f your fire department which have led to the CORE protests. The ssining chapter of CORE is commended in its fight against segregation herever it occurs."

Accusing the CORE members of being "misguided agitators," Mayor urdue had declared, "We do not need bitterness and provocation, the nly products which Ossining CORE has brought to our village."

CORE chapter chairman, Breness Smith, said that the department as 600 firemen of which only tow are Negroes.

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MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/10/66)

At 8:00 a. m. , June 11, 1966, 500 Americans will leave Batesville, Mississippi continuing their march in protest of the shooting of James Meredith and the continued degradation of the American Negroes. At 7:00 a. m. , June 11, 1966, the Ku Klux Klan will begin a march from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, protesting the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. The Klan will parade down Route 40, arriving in Baltimore, Maryland, at 3:30 p. m. They will be marching down Baltimore's Pennsylvania Avenue in the heart of that city's largest Negro ghetto. An unconfirmed report has it that they will continue on to Washingto and the White House, there to picket to show their disapproval of the American Negro's struggle for his freedom. The old song asks "Which side are you on?" Sponsors of the Mississippi March strongly urge that their fellow Americans clearly demonstrate their answer by joining the Mississippi March or, if this is not possible, by further supporting them and the cause of freedom. Certainly the lines are clearly drawn.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
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Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/10/66)

Led by CORE National Director, Floyd McKissick, 300 protestors from all over the country left the small Mississippi town of Como this morning to continue their march from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi.

Continuing their trek down the route laid out by James Meredith before he was brutally shot down Monday, they are encountering difficulties from the State Highway Patrol. Their antipathy toward the marchers blatantly obvious, the police are obstructing more than protecting the Civil Rights protestors.

Exhibiting great discourtesy and general nastiness the patrolmen are increasing their harassment by not permitting cars, even those carrying food and water, to go near the march. Representatives of the press are also being pushed and shoved around and not allowed to get a full coverage of the events.

Jo Freeman

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
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Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6-10-66)

MEMORIAL FOR PHIPPS

Today the Freedom Marchers paused in their trek to Jackson to hold a Memorial Service in honor of Armistead Phipps, who died yesterday from the walk, the hot sun, and fifty-five years of a segregated Mississippi life. The two hundred fifty marchers, who come from as near as Mississippi and Alabama and as far as California and Canada, turned off the highway to the grounds of the North Panola High School, which Floyd McKissick of CORE called an apt symbol of what the march was aimed against. He added that all Phipps wanted was to march one day for his freedom and that one was his last day on earch.

Reverend Abernathy of SCLC, calling Mississippi "This scared segregated ground," said that Mr. Phipps died for America as much as the boys dying in Viet-Nam and that he deserved burial in the Arlington National Cemetery as much as they did.

Earlier the marchers had left Como, Mississippi, to marlch five miles to Sardis, where they stopped at 12:15 for lunch at St. Mathew's Missionary Baptist Church. Mr. McKissick complained to Charles Snodgrass, administrative assistant of the State Highway Patrol, that the State Police were verbally abusing the marchers. Snodgrass said that there would be no further cursing so long as the marchers remained non-violent. He was given an assurance by Mr. McKissick that the behavior of the marchers has been and will continue to be non-violent.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/10/66):

Participation by local people from towns along the line of the Meredith Freedom March to Jackson, Mississippi, is of vital importance in helping free the Negro from fear, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy declared tonight, June 10, in Batesville, county seat of Panola County, Mississippi.

Rev. Abernathy made the statement on the grounds of St. Paul's Church where the 300 marchers from all parts of the country will spend the night.

He congradulated the marchers for their calmness under provocation--once in the morning shortly after leaving Como, Mississippi, where they suffered verbal abuse from State Troopers as they sought to get in and out of cars which were to take them to rest rooms and a second time in the afternoon when they paused for five minutes for water in a peach orchard and were ordered off the private property.

Later in an interview with a BBC correspondent, Rev. Abernathy said another purpose of the March was "to arouse the conscience of the whole nation."

He said participation by white persons was of continuing vital importance in the civil rights movement but that the Negro had finally to free himself from fear.

"An America built on Black Supremacy," Rev. Abernathy declared, "would be as sick as an America built on White supremacy. America should be built on the fundamental principle of one nation under God with freedom and justice for all."

Floyd McKissick, national leader of Core, said the March would proceed to Jackson and that if the marchers waited for all the money, the endorsements, the food, and the tents necessary the movement would never have gotten off the ground.

"If we wait for everything," Mr. McKissick said, "we'll never get to Jackson."

The March, from Como to Batesville, a distance of 15 miles, began at 9:12 a.m. and ended at 5:40 in unusually cool weather.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Penetration in depth of off-the -highway Mississippi communities as well as towns along the line of march will be carried out today (June 11) by the Spectacular Task Force, a group of workers from SCLC, CORE, SNCC, and the MFDP.

The main body of the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March, which broke camp in Batesville, Miss., this morning, is now in its sixth day with volunteers and organization members arriving in increasing numbers from all parts of the U.S. .... twenty-five states, Washington, D.C., and Toronto, Canada were represented yesterday.

The selected group of workers, fanning out in automobiles, will encourage rural residents to exercise their right to register to vote and then to join the line of march as a witness to themselves and to the nation of their emancipation from pressure and fear.

Today's march will concentrate on Batesville itself, county seat of Panola county, in an effort to implement voter registration now. The march will then proceed towards Jackson.

Dr. Robert Greene of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Herbert Callender of the Congress of Racial Equality, and George Raymond of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are today's leaders of the Freedom March.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/11/66):

At two p. m., Sunday, June 12th, Armistead Phipps will be buried at the Anderson Avenue Church in Marks, Mississippi. Mr. Phipps was fifty-five years old when he died last Thursday, June 9th. He was a Mississippi Negro so poor his widow n needs fifteen dollars for his funeral expenses. Mr. Phipps was a very unimportant man, who by his way of dying demonstrated that all men, no matter their station, are inherently important, for he died marching for his freedom, proving that a lifetime of indignity, of deprivation, of the most savage racist social system in America were not enough to kill the human spirit.

Some of his fellow marchers are being driven back to attend the funeral of their brother. The rest, miles down the road to Jackson, will halt their march in silence at 2 p. m. All of them realize that Mr. Phipps was the man they came to help set free. All of them realize that Mr. Phipps was a very important man. All of them hope that America will come to realize this fact so that no more will he have to die on the road to Jackson, Mississippi.

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MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
June 11, 1966

AN APPEAL FROM THE MEREDITN MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH

The Meredith Mississippi Freedom Marchers, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by Mr. Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality, by Mr. Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and by members of virtually every civil rights group in our land, intends to bear massive witness to the power of non-violence, the power of Christian love. They wish toprotest that in America the haters, the the vicious men, the assassins still continue to endanger the lives of decent men.

This Sunday as we sit in God's house, the Marchers walk under God's sky for the freedom of all men. They bear witness in the best tradition of America. And they strongly urge that their fellow Americans join them in their struggle, if not by their personal participation, at least by financial support. More than all, they ask your prayers. Not for them, but for America.

# # # #

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/11/66)

At 4:00 p. m. , Sunday, June 12, 1966, a mass meeting will be held at the Pentacostal Temple of the Church of God at 229 So. Wellington in Memphis , Tennessee to demonstrate support for the purposes of the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. The featured speakers will be Glouster Kern, the Legal Secretary of the NAACP from Washington D. C. , and Cecil Moore, the President of the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP, perhaps the most militant, the most activist chapter in America.

Mr. Kern and Mr. Moore hope this meeting will effectively stir the local community to even further support the marchers in their attempt to bear witness for freedom in America. They feel that the shooting of James Meredith proved that America, despite the Movement's long struggle, is not yet free. They further feel that the presence of 500 marchers in Mississippi proves that the cause of freedom cannot be stopped by a shotgun blast.

# # # #

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9303
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/11/66)

Fifteen Negroes of both sexes were registered -- one 106 years of age -- and 48 more were lined up outside the Panola County Registrar's Office when the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March left Batesville, Miss. early this afternoon.

L. Lee Fondren, 106, born on a plantation and now living with his children and grandchildren outside Batesville, was lifted up above the crowd of 250 marchers after he stepped out into the square. He was resoundingly cheered.

Mr. Fondren was registered by Ike Shankle, Registrar and Circuit Clerk, who had earlier recorded Sam Flower, 78, Batesville, the first to register.

Dr. Robert Greene, Director, Citizenship Education Program, SCLC, stated: "If they remove Negroes from their jobs or plantations because they registered to vote, we will turn this march around and come back."

# #

PRESS BRIEF

1. Today, June 11, at 6:30 a. m. , marchers left their beds to regroup in Batesville, Mississippi, where the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March halted last night.

2. At 8:00 a. m. the long March will begin toward Jackson, led by Dr. Robert Green of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. Herbert Callender of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Mr. George Raymond of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

3. Today will be the first day's operation of the Spectacular Task Force, a group of workers from SCLC, CORE, SNCC, and the MFDP, who will be attempting a radically new technique of organization. As the March progresses, the Task Force will move ahead of the line of march to organize Negroes in the local communities in an effort to implement a part of the demands made by the March. Specifically, they will attempt first to mobilize the people into a united whole, then to register them to vote, and, finally, to persuade them to join the marchers in their witness for freedom.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: (6/14/66)

This morning, June 14, 1966, some 350 marchers are moving through Yalobusha county with hopes of reaching Grenada, Miss., 9 miles to the south, by this afternoon. Yalobusha county is perhaps the most threatening in Mississippi. It has long been noted as a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activity. Some of them must have been quite busy with their paint brushes, for artistic touches defaced the scenery everywhere. "KKK" was scrawled in broad white letters on the tops of roadside table, trashcans, cement bridges, and even store fronts.

The march is presently being led by Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who will be joined by his family today.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI MARCH

878 Mississippi Boulevard
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

June 15, 1966

The Meredith Mississippi March today issued a call for volunteers to take part in the walk to Jackson, Mississippi. Despite the high enthusiasm of the March, there was an understandable lack of preparatory planning. The spontaneous nature of the effort has created a need for professional assistance in certain areas.

Stenographers, Public Relations people and Writers are greatly needed. A **procedure** has been developed whereby these individuals can March and also function in their professional capacities.

The dynamics of this march is different from other marches. Meredith started it alone, hence, organization must develop as it progresses. The Headquarters is at the Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee. Here people come to register, grab a napsack and drive out to the starting point of the day's trek.

Every one is invited and the procedure for participating is a very simple one. Come to the Church, register, agree to conform to the basic philosophy of non-violence of the March, and one is ready to participate. Those who are not able to join the March may send their contributions to Meredith Mississippi March, Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee.

AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF THE MEREDITH MSSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH

(For Radio Stations, Nationally)

The Meredith MISSISSIPPI Freedom March is growing in strength day by day. Factory workers and Clergymen, Housewives, and Students, poor people and businessmen are coming into Memphis from every corner of the United States. The conscience of America is being moved.

This movement must continue to grow. It is our hope that all Americans who are committed to this struggle for human dignity will come to Memphis and join the March. But we should remember that this March is more than a stroll in the sun. It is a unique happening throuhgout the day, arranging teams leave the line in a continuous effort to mobilize local people for voter registration and participation in the March. This kind of witness produces freedom and dignity as well as sunburn and blisters.

However, this dramatic action is not without its problems. As more and more people arrive in Memphis, the need for resources becomes more critical. To solve this problem, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Floyd B. McKissick, and Stokely Carmichael are appealing to the citizens of America for their support, time, and energy. We are in need of people who can sacrifice a few hours for typing forms, answering phones, and transporting Marchers. We are in need of cars, bedding, and office supplies. And finally, we are in need of funds to support both the March and on-going voter registration activity in Mississippi.

It is our hope that all those who are committed to this struggle for human rights will come to our aid. Checks and money orders should be made out and sent to the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March, c/o Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee. Food and supplies can be brought or sent directly to the Church. People who can offer their resources, their time, and their cars should call 942-9308 or come to the March Headquarters, 878 Mississippi Boulevard. It is only with your continuing help that total equality can be achieved.

THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI MARCH
878 Mississippi Boulevard
942-0445
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

June 15, 1966

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

For Immediate Release (6/15/66) VICTORY IN GRENADA!

The Meredith Mississippi Freedom March is radically different from previous civil rights marches in this country. Yesterday that difference pa paid off. A dynamic and creative combination of mass demonstrations, mass meetings, and intensive grass-roots community organizing produced a change in the lives of Grenada, Mississippi citizens.

As the March approached this small Southern town of 12,000 scores, of local Negro people, walking across the fields, from the dusty country lanes, and from the streets of town, rushed to join the march. By the time the exuberant crowd reached the center of town, it had tripled in size. This impressive turnout was largely due to the effectiveness of the organizing teams that had been working the area ahead of the March. The police guard also tripled in size, as the crowd gathered in the central plaza for an afternoon rally. A spectacular group of speakers, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Floyd McKissick, Dr. Robert Green, Bishop Tucker, and Mr. George Raymond addressed the crowd. The content of the speeches was a series of demands, including a call for Negro voter registrars, night registration, neighborhood and county-wide registration centers, and early evening and Saturday registration times. As King left the rally to begin negotiations with county officials, large numbers of local Negro citizens surged forward to shake his hand. John Doar and an unidentified Negro lawyer, both from the Justice Department, also attended the negotiations. As the meeting ended, a feeling of elation filled the air. Before the sun set in this small Mississippi county seat, every demand had been met. Furthermore, over 175 people had registered to vote, with many more still waiting in line.

But this history-making day produced no ephemeral victories. Rather it marked a new beginning. From the fruits of this activity will come local, permanent community organizations that will go on to produce even greater gains in this struggle for freedom and representation.

CONT.

Later in the evening, a mass Freedom rally was held at the Bellflower Baptist Church. Dr. King and Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference addressed the crowd. Following the meeting, they met with other March leaders and planned the remainder of the route to Jackson. The Marchers are expected to arrive in the capital on June 26, when there will be a large rally. Other non-violent activities are being planned for the following day. After the stragedy session, both Dr. King and Mr. McKissick remained in Grenada, staying in the homes of local Negro citizens.

From the excitement of the events throughout the day, one felt that the burden of oppression--centuries long--was lifting. However, this time of triumph was not without its contrasts. The cold, silent glares of Grenada's white citizenry were felt by everyone. Every business in town was closed for the duration of the marchers stay. Police harassment increased, with one lady suffering a bruised arm as a patrolman reached in her car, grabbed her, and told her to move on. Also, during the evening rally, a group of 70 people from Chicago, waiting for buses that had been delayed, were isolated in the First New Hope Missionary Church. The power lines to the church had been cut off, and the people sat in darkness while unidentified cars circled outside. A task force was quickly sent from the other church, and transported the 70 relieved Chicagoans to safety. But despite the intimidation of white Mississippi, this small, dusty town has had its Confederate foundations soundly shaken. Grenade County will see no return to the fear-imposed serenity of the past.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

For Immediate Release (6/16/66) ON TO GREENWOOD

Today, June 16, 1966, the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March departed from its campsite at Rebecca Reed School. The 350 marchers hope to arrive in Greenwood, Mississippi some 18 miles, by the end of the day. They are being led by Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality and Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coodinating Committee.

Rev. Walter Fauntroy, director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, joined the march yesterday. Today he will move on to Jackson, where plans are being made to set up a march headquarters with the facilities of the Delta Ministry.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rev. Andrew Young both left the march from Memphis this morning. The two leaders plan to return in a few days.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Boulevard
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/16/66) CARMICHAEL ARRESTED IN Greenwood!

This afternoon, Stokely Carmichael and Bob Smith, both staff members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, along with Bruce Baines of the Congress of Racial Equality, were arrested on the outskirts of Greenwood, Mississippi. The three young men were attempting to pitch tents on public property, when they were told to stop. They refused and were taken to jail. March leaders are presently trying to contact John Doar of the Justice Department.

Earlier in the day, the professional tent man employed by the march, had expressed a fear of keeping the marchers in tents tonight. March leaders felt that it would be wrong to pull out of the tents, and made demands for Federal protection.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., presently in Chicago, made the following statement, "This incident that happened today is indicative that Mississippi is still a state filled with terror, brutality, and hatred toward the Negro in Mississippi. It is necessary for all people of good will to get together to expose the tragedy of Mississippi. We are determined to make this march to Jackson and we call on all persons to join this march"

The marchers have stopped and decided not to proceed until they are accorded the same treatment from the authoratives that is extended to the white people of Mississippi.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH

878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (6/17/66) THE MARCH IN THE DELTA!

The Meredith Mississippi Freedom March continued today, as a contingent of marchers were trucked back to a point 7 miles north of Greenwood, Mississippi. Many of the marchers remained in town, where they had camped the night before, to talk with people in an intensive voter registration organizing effort.

The atmosphere in the Mississippi Delta Country is becoming more tense as the unique organizing aspects of the march become more effective. The power structure of Mississippi is being shaken. Last night Govenor Johnson unintentionally complimented the freedom marchers when he mentioned that the events of the last few days could no longer be called a march, but a voter registration campaign. As a result, the Mississippi Governor has reduced the number of highway patrolmen guarding the march to eight men in four cars, one-fifth of the previous number.

This decision could have disastrous consequences, especially when one considers the violence and hostility that exist in this part of the state. Yesterday, blatant epithes of "nigger" and "nigger-lover" were hurled repeatedly at the marchers. Newsmen discovered a cardboard box containing a water moccaison packed with their equipment. Yesterday afternoon, a white Mississippian, flushed and shaking with rage, leveled a gun at a SNCC worker driving a truck on the edge of his property. He would have fired, had not a patrolman told him to put the gun away. The driver of the truck was completely with the legal right-of-way. Furthermore, last night, it was reported that three cars, filled with white men, armed with rifles, managed to come within one block of the marcher's campsite before they were stopped. As events of this nature occur with increasing frequency, a tragic confrontation seems more likely.

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This is not a time for Governor Johnson to be thinking in terms of political expediency.

However, as Greenwood's white citizenry manipulated by their own fear and ignorance--displayed their bigotry, the marchers demonstrated the power of human solidarity. When Stokely Carmichael and two others tried pitching a tent on public property earlier in the day, they were promptly carted off to jail. Later, as the tents were being erected within the presence of 700 determined and united people, Greenwood's sheriff gave the tent crew his reluctant and belated permission. On the previous day, the Freedom Marchers, united in their struggle for human dignity, left the small Mississippi town of Grenada with almost 700 newly registered voters. Today, they hope to do even more in Greenwood. It is this kind of catalytic action that will bring freedom to all Mississippians, white and black. For, as long as people are oppressed, even their oppressors, bound by their own hatred, are not free. It is incumbent on all Americans to join in this march for freedom, by coming to Mississippi or by giving of their resources.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Blvd
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RLEASE (6/17/66):

Today, June 17, 1966, George Smith, staff member of the Congress of Racial Equality, announced a memorial service for the three civil rights workers slain last year in Neshoba County, Mississippi. The services for Goodman, Chaney, and Schwerner will be held Monday evening, June 20, 1966, at the Mt. Nebo Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Miss. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and Mr. Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE are scheduled to speak.

The following morning, Tuesday, people will march from the MFDP office to the county court house. From there, they will proceed to the county jail and then conclude the march by returning to the MFDP office. At that time, there will be a motorcade to the Mount Zion Church, which was once burned down by terrorists. The church is 12 miles east of highway 16.

On Sunday, June 19, in Meridian, Mississippi, there will be another memorial service for the three young men. It will begin with a motorcade from the old COFO office, 25o5 1/2 Fifth St., and proceed to the cemetery where James Chaney is buried. Speeches will be given at the graveside by Rev. Killingsworth and Mrs. Annie Devine.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH

878 Mississippi Blvd.
942-0445 or 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE : JUNE 22, 1966

March leaders announced that there will be a one day delay in the projected Philadelphia demonstration because of the need to secure certain affadavits necessary to the filing of an injunction in federal court against the officials of the city of Philadelphia, Mississippi. The injunction will order these officials to perform their duty and to protect the marchers when they return on Friday at high noon. It will as well request that the federal government extend any necessary protection to insure the lives of the marchers are not endangered.

This action is being taken because of last Tuesday's outbreaks of violence during which two Negroes were severely beaten, a nurse aiding an epileptic during his seizure was cursed and threatened, a television cameraman as beaten, firecrackers, an M80, were thrown into the crowd during a rally, and a fusilage of shots was fired into the headquarters of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. During all these events, the police looked on, refusing to take any action against the white lawbreakers. On Thursday, June 23, Herbert Callender, director of organizations for CORE, will lead a special task force of approximately nine civil rights' organizers to Philadelphia to work in the community so as to have full local support for the demonstration on the following day.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
1059 WEST PASCAGOULA STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
601 354 4942, 3
DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

JUNE 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING DECRIED THE SCENE OF YESTERDAY'S VIOLENCE IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, AS THE "WORST I HAVE SEEN ANYWHERE."

THE VIOLENCE BEGAN DURING A MARCH WHICH FOLLOWED A RALLY COMMEMORATING THE DEATHS OF GOODMAN, SCHWERNER, AND CHANEY, CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS WHO WERE MURDERED IN PHILADELPHIA TWO YEARS AGO. AS THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) DELIVERED THE CLOSING PRAYERS OF THE RALLY, CHERRY BOMBS EXPLODED AMONG THE CROWD.

AT LEAST TWO NEGRO MEN WERE BADLY BEATEN DURING THE MELEY WHEN WHITE TOWNSPEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA, MISS., DREW SWITCHBLADES AND BILLY CLUBS ON THE MARCHERS WHILE THE POLICE LOOKED ON.

ONE NEGRO MAN HAD AN EPILEPTIC SEIZURE AND LAY ON THE STREET, ATTENDED BY A NURSE, MISS DOROTHY M. WILLIAMS OF NEW YORK AND HARCOURT KLINEFELTOR, SCLC PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN, WHO WERE CURSED AND THREATENED BY THE CROWD UNTIL A TRUCK DRIVEN BY TWO NEGRO POLICEMEN PICKED UP THE STRICKEN MAN.

A CAMERAMAN FROM ABC WAS ALSO BEATEN AND HIS EQUIPMENT DAMAGED. THE REV. HOLLINGSWORTH OF PHILADELPHIA WAS ARRESTED ON SEVERAL MINOR DRIVING CHARGES AND RELEASED ON $400.00 BOND AFTER KING, ABERNATHY AND OTHERS WENT TO JAIL AND POSTED HIS BOND.

IT IS REPORTED THAT DR. KING, FLOYD B. MCKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL, DIRECTOR OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), PLAN TO DETOUR THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH, WHICH COUNTED 1,000 STRONG ON SUNDAY, TO BRING IT THROUGH PHILADELPHIA. SUNDAY, AS THE MARCH CAME NEAR BELZONI, MISSISSIPPI, HUNDREDS OF THE NEGRO TOWNSPEOPLE STREAMED THROUGH CROWDS OF SWITCHBLADE AND BILLY WIELDING WHITES ONTO THE HIGHWAY AND JOINED THE MARCH.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
1059 WEST PASCOGOULA STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
601 354 4942, 3
DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

JUNE 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

WHEN THE MARCH BEGAN, GOVERNOR PAUL JOHNSON ASSURED THE COUNTRY THAT THE-GOOD-PEOPLE-OF-MISSISSIPPI WOULD IGNORE THE FREEDOM MARCHERS PROTESTING HIS STATE'S LONG REIGN OF TERROR. THE POLICE WOULD, OF COURSE, MAINTAIN ORDER. LAST NIGHT IN PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, HIS CLAIMS WERE BORNE OUT.

LAST NIGHT, AS POLICE LOOKED ON, THE-GOOD-PEOPLE-OF-MISSISSIPPI THREW CHERRY BOMBS INTO THE CROWD AS THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), DELIVERED THE CLOSING PRAYERS OF A MEMORIAL RALLY FOR CHANEY, GOODMAN, AND SCHWERNER, CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MURDERED IN PHILADELPHIA TWO YEARS AGO.

LAST NIGHT, AS POLICE LOOKED ON, THE-GOOD-PEOPLE-OF-MISSISSIPPI CURSED AND THREATENED DOROTHY M. WILLIAMS OF NEW YORK, A NURSE, AND HARCOURT KLINEFELTOR, SCLC PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN, AS THEY TRIED TO GIVE AID TO A NEGRO MAN STRICKEN BY AN EPILEPTIC SEIZURE. THE MAN WAS FINALLY TAKEN AWAY IN A TRUCK DRIVEN BY TWO NEGRO POLICEMEN.

LAST NIGHT, AS POLICE LOOKED ON, THE-GOOD-PEOPLE-OF-MISSISSIPPI BADLY BEAT TWO NEGRO MEN AND THREATENED OTHER MARCHERS WITH SWITCH-BLADES AND BILLY CLUBS. THEY THEN BEAT A TELEVISION CAMERAMAN AND DAMAGED HIS EQUIPMENT.

(cont.)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
Floyd McKissick, National Director

Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

JUNE 23, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ten Negro men with the Meredith Mississippi March were arrested in Canton, Mississippi today when they attempted to pitch field tents on the grounds of the McNeil Elementary School, an all Negro school that has been traditionally utilized by local Negroes for community affairs.

Led by Josea Williams, the March co-ordinator and an aide of Dr. Martin Luther King, the ten advance task force workers were arrested while setting up lodging for the marchers in Canton, which is the focal point of the present phase of the March. As the trucks carrying the tents were being towed away by the authorities, one of the men, Glenn Wallace, jumped amidst the troopers and was brutally beaten to the ground. The troopers then whisked the bloodied Wallace away to an undisclosed destination. Officials of the March have not been able to ascertain his whereabouts.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

MR. JACKIE HAYES
Public Relations Associate
CO-7-6270

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
1059 WEST PASCAGOULA STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
601 - 354 - 4942, 3
DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

JUNE 23, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AT 11:45 a.m., JUNE 23, 1966, HOSEA WILLIAMS, OVER ALL DIRECTOR OF THE FREEDOM MARCH AND NINE OTHERS WERE ARRESTED IN CANTON, MISSISSIPPI. MR. WILLIAMS AND THE OTHERS WERE ATTEMPTING TO ERECT A TENT ON THE GROUNDS OF THE MCNEIL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, A LOCAL NEGRO SCHOOL TO RECEIVE INCOMING MARCHERS. THERE WERE TWENTY OFFICERS PARTICIPATING IN THE INCIDENT, TWO WITH GUNS DRAWN. ONE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS, PROTESTING THE POLICE HARRASSMENT, WAS CLUBBED BLEEDING TO THE GROUND. THE TRUCK CARRYING THE TENTS AND THE TENTS WERE SEIZED, AND POLICE STATED THAT THE MARCH MUST PAY FOR THEIR STORAGE.

AT 2:00 PM., MR. WILLIAMS AND ALL THE OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS, EXCEPT THE INJURED MAN, WERE RELEASED, CHARGED WITH TRESPASSING. THE INJURED MAN IS STILL JAILED, CHARGED WITH ASSAULT AND BATTERY.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
1059 WEST PASCOGOULA STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
601 354 4942, 3
DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
JUNE 23, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VIOLENCE HAS ERUPTED AGAIN IN MISSISSIPPI. IN CANTON, THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCHERS ARE UNDER THE SEIGE OF A HEAVY BOMBARDMENT OF TEAR GAS OF THE GROUNDS OF THE MCNEIL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WHERE THE TASK FORCE WHICH HAD ATTEMPTED TO PITCH CAMP FOR THE NIGHT WAS PLACED UNDER ARREST EARLIER TODAY.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, HEAD OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) IS REPORTED IN SERIOUS CONDITION. HE WAS STANDING ON TOP OF THE TRUCK WITH DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), FLOYD B. MCKISSICK NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), AND BOB SMITH, A FIELD SECRETARY OF SNCC WHEN THE ATTACK BEGAN.

DR. KING HAD JUST FINISHED SPEAKING AND THE MARCHERS HAD BEGUN SINGING FREEDOM SONGS WHEN APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED STATE POLICEMEN ENCIRCLED THE CAMP AND BEGAN THROWING TEAR GAS BOMBS. THEY THEN STRUCK DOWN THE POLE WHICH HELD ONE OF THE HUGE TENTS IN WHICH THE MARCHERS SLEEP, INJURING SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO WERE TRAPPED INSIDE PREPARING FOR THE NIGHT. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT NEARLY 1,1000 MARCHERS WERE AT THE SITE.

MOMENTS AFTER THE NEWS REACHED JACKSON, AT LEAST FIFTY PEOPLE, A CONTINGENT FROM JACKSON AND A NUMBER

(cont.)

OF CHICAGOANS RUSHED TO CANTON TO REENFORCE THE BELEAGURED MARCHERS.

DOCTORS AND NURSES ARE URGENTLY REQUESTED.

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
1059 WEST PASCAGOULA STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
601 354-4942, 3
DON SMITH, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR, MARTIN LUTHER KING, FLOYD B. MCKISSICK AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL TODAY ISSUED A CALL FOR THE CLERGY AND CITIZENS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE TO JOIN IN THE FINAL STRETCH OF THE WALK TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

DESPITE THE INITIAL LACK OF PREPARATION AND THE ENSUING ORGANIZATIONAL COMPLICITIES, THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH HAS ALREADY ACHIEVED RESULTS THAT FAR EXCEED ALL EXPECTATIONS. A CURSORY TABULATION HAS REVEALED THAT CLOSE TO FOUR THOUSAND NEGROES HAVE REGISTERED TO VOTE AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE DRIVE ENGENDERED BY THE MARCH. IN ADDITION, REPORTS FROM THROUGHOUT THE STATE GIVE EVIDENCE OF A TREMENDOUS SURGE ON THE PART OF NEGROES TO REGISTER TO VOTE.

EVERYONE IS INVITED TO JOIN THE PILGRIMAGE TO JACKSON. MEREDITH STARTED HIS JOURNEY ALONE. RACISM AND VIOLENCE IN THE FORM OF GUN SHOTS TURNED HIM BACK. TO US HAS FALLEN THE TASK OF UNDERTAKING THE UNFINISHED PART OF HIS MISSION: TO WALK, TO TALK, TO TEACH AND WORK UNTIL TOTAL EQUALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

EVERYONE IS INVITED. THE PROCEDURE IS A SIMPLE ONE. COME TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, REGISTER, AGREE TO CONFORM TO THE BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE OF THE MARCH AND ONE IS READY. THOSE WHO ARE NOT ABLE TO UNDERTAKE THE JOURNEY MAY SEND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH, PRATT MEMORIAL METHODIST CHURCH, 1059 PASCAGOULA STREET, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

-30-

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038
(212) 267-6270 April 1, 1966

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF FLOYD B. McKISSICK NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Floyd B. McKissick was born in Asheville, North Carolina on March 9, 1922. He attended local elementary and high schools there. His undergraduate work was undertaken at Morehouse College and North Carolina College. McKissick is a World War II veteran having served in Europe where he rose to the rank of technical sergeant. Following his military service, McKissick attended the University of North Carolina law school, the first Negro ever admitted to that institution. He graduated in 1950 and was admitted to the bar the following year.

Always a dynamic civil rights activist, McKissick has served as North Carolina Youth Director of the NAACP, and has been a long-term participant in negotiations, picketing, sit-ins and other civil rights demonstrations. During the historic 1963 "March on Washington", McKissick represented CORE in place of James Farmer who was in jail in Plaquemines, Louisiana. Countless demonstrators arrested during the "Freedom Ride" campaign of the early 1960's and subsequently have been defended by McKissick. A successful lawyer with an extremel lucrative practice in Durhan, North Carolina, McKissick gave it up in order to accept the office of National Director of CORE. Prior to his acceptance of this position, McKissick served as National Chairman of the organization for three years.

He was married to the former Evelyn Williams on Sept. 1, 1942. They have four children: Mrs. Joycelyn Montiero, 22; Andree, 18; Floyd, Jr. 13; and Charmain, 11.

McKissick constantly states that "Phase two of the civil rights

movement means total equality." To achieve this, three elements are necessary --

> "An improved self-image for Negroes and other minority groups
>
> Development of economic power
>
> Development of political power"

HEAR

America's GREATEST Entertainers!

at the

Pre-March Freedom Rally

Come to Tougaloo Campus

Sat., June 25, 8:00 P.M.

to welcome the Meredith Marchers to Jackson

See!! **Sammy Davis** Hear!!

James Brown

Nina Simone

Eartha Kitt

Marlon Brando

Burt Lancaster

and others

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
Headquarters

1057 West Pascagoula Street
Jackson, Mississippi
Phone: 354-4941

Dear Pastor and Members:

The MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH is to climax here at Jackson on Sunday, June 26th with a massive FREEDOM RALLY.

We are expecting thousands of people from across the state and around the country to be here and help us in our struggle for freedom and human dignity.

We need your help to entertain and host these courageous people. Will you help us by having your members fill out volunteer service forms for assistance in preparing food, housing people and other things that Jacksonians will need to do? Would you also take a special offering to help with the expenses of the preparations here.

Please send the offering and the completed volunteer forms by a representative of your church to meet with us at 4:00 p.m. at the Pratt Memorial Methodist Church, 1057 West Pascagoula Street.

Thank you for your cooperation.

R. M. Richmond

The Reverend R. M. Richmond, Solicitor

MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM MARCH
878 Mississippi Boulevard
Memphis, Tennessee
942-0445 942-9308
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The Meredith Mississippi Freedom March is growing in strength day by day. Factory workers and clergymen, housewives and students, poor people and businessmen are coming into Memphis from every corner of the United States. The conscience of America is being moved.

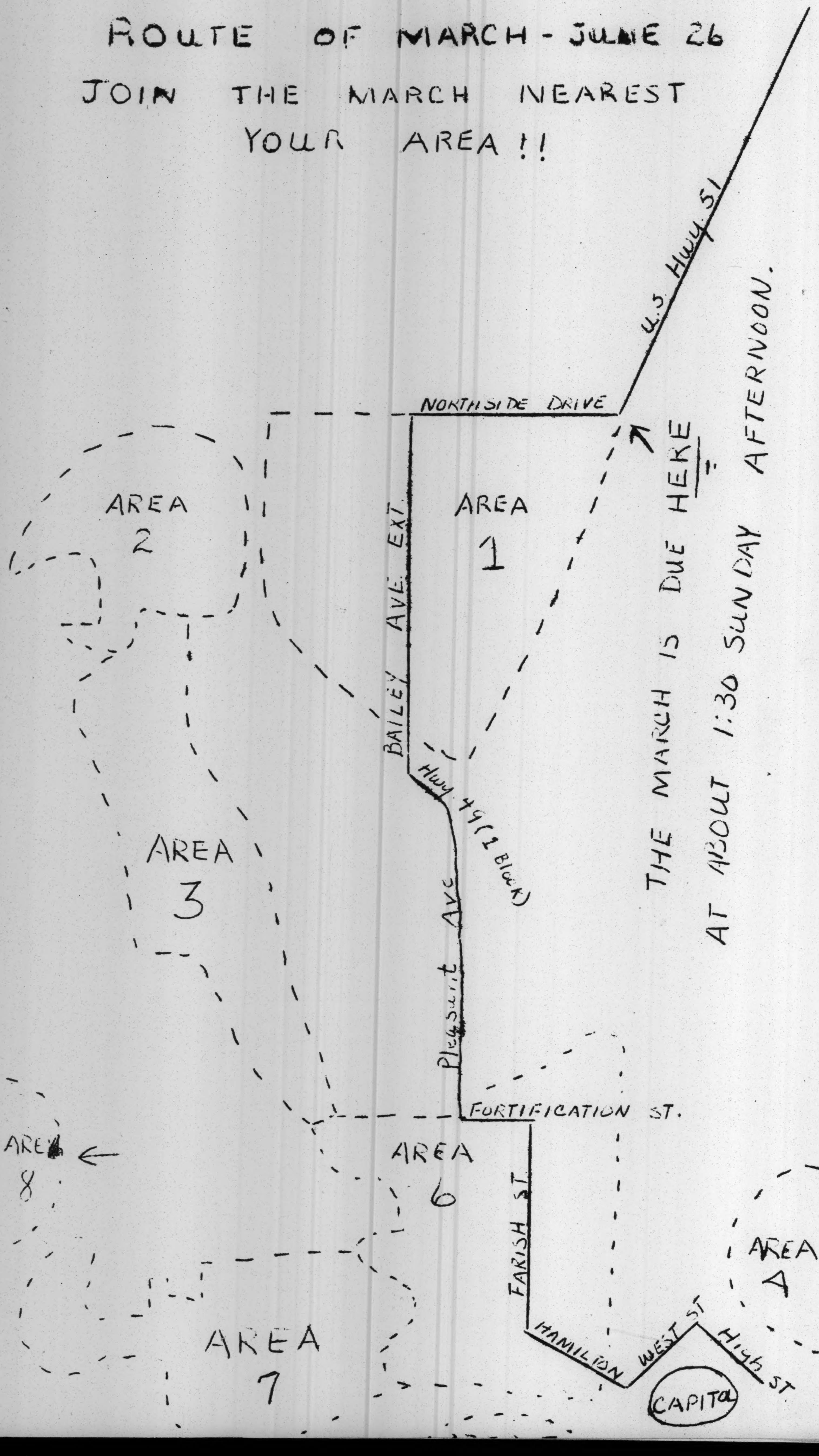
However, this dramatic action on the part of citizens engaged in this struggle for human dignity is not without its problems. As more and more people arrive in Memphis, the need for resources becomes more critical. To solve this problem, the Freedom March staff is making an appeal to the citizens of Memphis for their support, time, and energy.

We are in need of food and housing for arriving and departing marchers. We are in need of people who can sacrifice a few hours for typing forms, answering phones, and transporting marchers. Finally, we are in need of funds to support both the march and on-going voter registration activity in Mississippi.

It is our hope that all those who are committed to the struggle for human rights will come to our aid. Checks and money orders should be made out and sent to the Meredith Mississippi Freedom March, c/o Centenary Methodist Church, 878 Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee. Food and supplies can be brought directly to the church. People who can offer their time, their homes, and their cars should call: 942-9308 or come directly to the March Headquarters, 878 Mississippi Boulevard. It is only with your continuing help that total equality can be achieved.

ROUTE OF MARCH - JUNE 26

JOIN THE MARCH NEAREST YOUR AREA!!


U.S. Hwy. 51
NORTHSIDE DRIVE
THE MARCH IS DUE HERE
AT ABOUT 1:30 SUNDAY AFTERNOON.
AREA 1
AREA 2
BAILEY AVE. EXT.
Hwy. 49 (1 Block)
AREA 3
Pleasant Ave
FORTIFICATION ST.
AREA 8
AREA 6
FARISH ST.
AREA 4
AREA 7
HAMILTON
WEST ST
High ST.
CAPITOL

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
Floyd McKissick, National Director

JUNE 29, 1966

Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Dr. Martin Luther King has accepted an invitation to speak at the National CORE Convention to be held in Baltimore, Md. from July 1st thru July 4th. Dr. King, President of the Southern Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Nobel Peace Prize winner, will join McKissick to address a mass rally in the Prince Hall Masonic Temple at 1301 Eutaw Place at 8:30 P.M., Sunday, July 3rd.

The CORE Convention kick-off ceremonies begin Friday at 4 P.M. when McKissick and keynote speaker, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will set the Convention theme - "A Working Convention: To Organize For Economic and Political Power"-to the plenary assembly.

Other speakers scheduled to appear during the 4-day proceedings are James Farmer, former National Director of CORE; Julian Bond, State Representative from Georgia; Minister Lonnie X from the Washington, D.C. Muslim Mosque; and Dr. Richard Cloward, major proponent of the Guaranteed Minimum Income Idea.

The Convention is termed a working Convention, relating to all the phases of the New Direction-Community Organization projects of CORE that focus on economic and political power in the ghetto communities of Baltimore, CORE's Target City for 1966. Besides providing a laboratory for CORE delegates from the 200 CORE Chapters throughout the Nation, the Convention will also evaluate CORE's successes and aspirations in Baltimore as a guide for future target cities.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Mr. Jackie Hayes
New York, N.Y. CO-7-6270

The Reign of Terror still exists in the South!

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Calls YOU to join him in the

James Meredith Mississippi March

now in progress from Memphis to Jackson, Miss.

NOW IS THE TIME TO MAKE YOUR WITNESS FOR A LIFTING OF THE VEILS OF INTIMIDATION, VIOLENCE, DEPRIVATION, AND FEAR.

We Demand:

* FEDERAL REGISTRARS IN EVERY MISSISSIPPI COUNTY *

* A CHANCE TO WORK FOR A DECENT WAGE *

* HOUSING FOR EVERY FAMILY *

* AID TO FARMERS *

The Assembly Point for the March is:

CENTENARY METHODIST CHURCH
878 MISSISSIPPI BOULEVARD
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

TRANSPORTATION WILL BE PROVIDED FROM THE ASSEMBLY POINT TO THE MARCH IN PROGRESS.

THE SCHEDULE OF MARCH

Tuesday	21	**Louise**	to	**Lake City**
Wednesday	22	**Lake City**	to	**Yazoo City**
Thursday	23	**Yazoo City**	to	**Berryville**
Friday	24	**Berryville**	to	**Canton**
Saturday	25	**Canton**	to	**Tougaloo College**
Sunday	26	**Tougaloo**	to	**Jackson**

MANIFESTO OF THE MEREDITH MISSISSIPPI MARCH

SIGNED: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., MR. FLOYD MCKISSICK, MR. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, [redacted]

THIS MARCH WILL BE A MASSIVE PUBLIC INDICTMENT AND PROTEST OF THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI TO "FULFILL THESE RIGHTS." WE ARE ALL AWARE THAT MISSISSIPPI IS SYMBOLIC OF EVERY EVIL THAT AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE LONG ENDURED. JAMES MEREDITH RETURNED TO MISSISSIPPI TO CONFRONT THE PROBLEMS OF FEAR AND POLITICAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT THAT HAVE PLAGUED BLACK AMERICANS OF THIS STATE. MISSISSIPPI'S REPLY TO MEREDITH'S WITNESS WAS A BLAST FROM A 16 GAUGE SHOTGUN. DECENT AMERICANS WILL NOT ALLOW THIS MARCH FOR FREEDON AND JUSTICE TO END HERE.

WE ARE DETERMINED THAT JAMES MEREDITH'S PILGRIMAGE AND WOUNDS WILL NOT HAVE BEEN IN VAIN. HENCE, WE DEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE RIGHTS:

WE CALL UPON THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO:

1. SEND VOTING EXAMINERS INTO ALL 600 DEEP SOUTH COUNTIES TO REGISTER DISENFRANCHISED NEGROES. ONLY THUS WILL BALLOTS INSTEAD OF BUCKSHOT BECOME THE VOICE OF THE SOUTH. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT END THERE. WE FURTHER DECLARE IT TO BE INCUMBENT UPON HIM TO ESTABLISH MACHINERY TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE BALLOTS ARE COUNTED HONESTLY IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE FRAUD. IT IS FURTHER NECESSARY THAT REGISTRARS BE MOBILE IN ORDER TO REACH CITIZENS ON THE PLANTATIONS OFTEN UNABLE TO REGISTER.

2. THE PRESIDENT MUST ORDER THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, THE FBI, AND U. S. MARSHALS TO ACTIVELY ENFORCE EXISTING FEDERAL LAW TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS.

3. THE PRESIDENT MUST STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1966, PRESS FOR ITS ENACTMENT AND THOROUGH ENFORCEMENT. IT SHOULD BE AMENDED TO PROVIDE FOR AUTOMATIC APPLICATION OF ITS JURY PROVISIONS IN THE STATE COURTS OF THE SOUTH AND TO PLACE NEGROES ON JURIES IN PROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBER. MOREOVER, NEGROES WHO ARE ILLITERATE BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN DENIED AN EDUCATION IN MOST SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES MUST NOT BE FURTHER DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHT TO SERVE ON JURIES. THE BILL MUST BE AMENDED TO EXTEND TITLE VII OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SO THAT NEGRO POLICEMEN AND STATE PATROLMEN BE EMPLOYED TO PROTECT ALL AMERICANS INSTEAD OF STANDING BY WHILE A SNIPER STRIKES DOWN JAMES MEREDITH.

4. AN ADEQUATE BUDGET MUST BE PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT AND ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS IN ORDER TO BRING BLACK PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN CITY GHETTOES AND SOUTHERN RURAL DISTRICTS INTO THE MAKING OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

BUT MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL---THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WHO IS CHARGED WITH THE DUTY OF ENFORCING THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES, MUST ENFORCE THOSE LAWS JUSTLY AND IMPARTIALLY FOR ALL MEN.

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
Floyd McKissick, National Director

Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

July 8, 1966

Immediate Release

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) this afternoon released a telegram from Senator Jacob K. Javits in full support of your determination that we must do so much better in actual results.... than we have done as to amount to a decisive change of direction.

At a time, Mr. McKissick said, "when members of the Administration and of the press are deliberately distorting and misinterpreting our goals, it is encouraging indeed to receive the Senator's wire.

The full text of Javits' telegram as released by CORE follows:

"Recent weeks the nation has been profoundly disturbed and civil rights advocates like myself are concerned by the effect on the civil rights movement of the youth of the term "Black Power". Unfortunately this phrase has been interpreted by segments of the press and by some individuals as meaning "Black Supremacy" in given areas obtained by the use of violent means that the exclusion of white citizens from the political process. It is my understanding that it is claimed by civil rights leaders using this phrase that it implies the legitimate use of political power by Negroes heretofor disinfranchised by unjust laws and contemplates the continuing cooperation of whites who have for decades been working for a similar goal; further that this phrase is used to encourage Negroes to assert their constitutionally guaranteed rights without fear and within the established constitutional framework. On the other hand other civil rights leaders see in the use of the phrase "Black Power" the very implication of violent means and exclusivism which has so alarmed certain sections of the United States public opinion. No one realizes better than I the frustrations and disappointments which have beset the civil rights movement in its actual results of

-MORE-

equal opportunity after so many years of struggle. I therefore send this wire in full support of your determination that we must do so much better in actual results in jobs, housing, and education than we have done as to amount to a decisive change of direction. And I believe that we can all be much help by the renewed conviction and determination which will arise from a clear definition of the new dimensions which the civil rights struggle must assume in this country. Since the interpertation of this phrase has caused so much concern I urge you to make clear your understanding of the phrase and would appreciate your advising me promptly of your interpertation, so that this information may be a guide to me and to others so long engaged in the struggle for equal opportunity".

In reply, CORE sent the following message to Senator Javits:

"Your telegram of "full support" of our determination is deeply welcomed. At a time when the Administration and the public information media are making precipitous and strenuous efforts to distort and mis-interpert our goals and philosophy, it is encouraging that you took the time to request a clear definition of our meaning of the Black Power Drive. Black Power seeks to unite the black voice in racial pride and in the tradition of our multiracial nation. This is not black supremacy. Black Power does not mean exclusion of whites from any segment of the Negro revolution- it welcomes them- not on the historical paternalistic terms but only on their full recognition of the role the Negro must play in this struggle towards Total Equality. A fuller position will be sent to you by special delivery mail.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 13, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that Section 403-B of Title IV, of the Housing Division of the 1966 Civil Rights Act, makes exceptions that, in effect, deny basic rights to Black Americans that are inherent in citizenship.

One of these rights is the ancient right to acquire property for one's family. The exception of four family dwellings or less eliminates eighty per cent (80%) of all the housing occupied by Black Americans within the smaller cities and practically one hundred per cent (100%) of those dwelling in the suburbs.

McKissick further condemned the section for bestowing the right to discriminate on fraternal organizations. It is reprehensible that race, religion or national origin should be used as criteria for the denial. He also found fault with the rights given to owners of four family dwellings, who retain the prerogative to discriminate while disposing of their property. If one is abandoning the property he currently occupies and selling it to someone else, no reason exists for the retention of the right to discriminate, except to prevent Black Americans from acquiring property in the area.

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NEWS RELEASE

July 15, 1966

Immediate Release

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that its Bronx chapter with other community organizations are having their annual Block Party on Saturday, July 16, 1966 from 1:00 to 8:00 p.m.., at Boston Road and 168th Street Bronx, New York. Refreshments will be served and live entertainment enjoyed.

The purpose of the block party is to give the children as well as the adults an opportunity to play, dance and have fun.

Immediately following the block party a rally will be held where, Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of CORE, Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director and Herbert Callender, Director of Organization will address the group.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
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Floyd McKissick, National Director

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NEWS RELEASE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today denounced the failure of the World Court to rule in favor of the black majority of South-West Africa in respect to the allegations of contraventions of the mandate of the League of Nations by South Africa. The suit was filed by Ethiopia and Liberia on behalf of West Africa.

He further stated that the vague and confused procedural ruling by the court was clear evidence of its reluctance to make decisions that would have far reaching international political significance.

Anthony Lewis, analyst for the New York Times describes the decision in these terms: "In 1962 Ethiopia and Liberia did have standing to bring the suit. Today the ruling was that they had standing only to bring it-- not to obtain a decision".

Black Americans of the United States are aware that in any drive for equality there must be Black Power in Africa also. They are deeply concerned that their brothers in Africa, who still suffer the yoke of white oppression, establish governments where the principle of self-determination will prevail and where they and they alone will make the decisions to mold their own destinies.

MORE

CORE urges that the United States government go on record to denounce the domination by racists governments of the black majority in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South-West Africa and South Africa.

We urge that the United States use all the resources at its command, inside and outside of the United Nations, to make its proclaimed support of non-racists government a meaningful, political position. We further urge that the United States initiate in the Assembly or in the Security Council of the United Nations sanctions that will prevent South Africa from its continued implementations of apatheid in South-West Africa and will also restrict American business firms from trading with this racist government.

CORE is planning an intensive campaign against apartheid as practiced in South Africa and wide-spread direct action programs will be developed by its chapters to combat this obnoxious doctrine.

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NEWS RELEASE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today expressed deep concern at the disturbances erupting in Cleveland, Ohio, Jacksonville, Florida, and New York City. These uprisings bring into sharp focus the failure of the governments of these cities, the respective States and the Federal government, to come to grips with the basic problems of unemployment, bad housing, segregated schools, and the pervasive ghetto pathology that exists in these disadvantaged communities.

Despite the constant exhortations of the Civil Rights groups and the recommendations of agencies and sociologists, no truly comprehensive programs, and no vast expenditures of money have been allocated to end the social ills that plague this affluent society.

MORE

CORE urges that revolutionary approaches be made by the Federal government with the use of its vast resources to end the syndrome of frustrations and hopelessness that is a component of ghetto life. Vast job development programs, end of segregated educational systems, better housing and a greater share in the planning and policy making aspect of city life are needed to eliminate the root causes of poverty, unrest and turmoil.

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NEWS RELEASE

July 19, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today detailed some of the reasons for the trip to Cambodia of its National Director, Floyd B. McKissick.

CORE's advocacy of the "Black Power" concept has received widespread commentaries by the communications media. In its definition of "black people," CORE included "all non-white people of the world"; hence, it follows that the concerns and welfare of these people would likewise be of interest to CORE.

This is a fact-finding mission. Cambodia has expressed a desire to maintain its neutrality and has invited the State Department of the United States to inspect its borders. Allegations of deployment and concentration of Viet Cong troops in Cambodia had been made. Since this has not been done, it became incumbent on concerned citizens to do so.

Moreover, CORE believes that all the people of the world, regardless of color or religion, desire

(cont.)

peace, truth and self-determination.

McKissick will seek to determine the effect of the Vietnam war on the principle of self-determination of the people of these nations, and to ascertain how it affects their search for favorable world status and for internal security.

Wars cannot bring lasting peace and the escalation of the present Vietnam conflict should and must end. McKissick will observe the effect of this war on other South east nations in relation to the United States and to each other.

Of great concern to CORE is the fact that a disproportionate number of black soldiers (presently estimated at twenty five percent (25%), out of a population of ten per cent (10%), are giving their lives, fighting in another country for rights that they do not enjoy at home. The estimated cost of this war, (fifteen billion dollars, $15,000,000,000) per year--because of priority given to the war, rather than to the anti-poverty effort--deprives the poor American, great numbers of whom are black, from living full and meaningful lives.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 22,1966

Subject: Demonstration on Friday, July 22, 1966 at 4 P.M. in front of The American Mission to the United Nations United Nations Plaza. To protest the World Court Decision and America's continued involvement in South Africa.

We demonstrate today because of our abhorrence of the World Court's decision. The failure of the Court to deal effectively and forthrightly with one of the most explosive issues of our time, has been a tremendous blow to forces dedicated to the annihilation of the vile system of aparthied.

BUT NOT LONG:

Because the struggle in Africa is in a larger sense, part of the universal struggle of all non-white people to obtain equality. We in America, who are committed to the doctrine of "Black Power" demonstrate in support of our brothers in Africa, so that on that continent too, Black Power will become a reality.

In light of the continued excuses of American diplomats that "we are waiting for the Court's decision" before deciding what action to take in South Africa WE DEMAND:

1. The American Government take immediate steps to end all economic, military and political intercourse with South Africa.
2. The United States actively pursue, in the United Nations, the imposition of multilaterial sanctions against South Africa.
3. An end to Black deaths in Viet Nam, while America woos the white racist Government of Enric Vorwoerd, which suppresses the asperations of twelve million black people.
4. That black soldiers be withdrawn from Viet Nam and used to fight for black majority Government in South Africa and Rhodesia.
5. An end to the continued hypocrisy of American Government officials who verbally condemn South Africa while physically and materially supporting them.

WE URGE that all **AFRICAN** and ASIAN Nations affiliated with the World Court withdraw immediately in protest of the Court's betrayal.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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NEWS RELEASE

Under New leadership

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 27, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today announced the reorganization, under new leadership, of the recently suspended Mt. Vernon chapter.

A group of citizens, with Mrs. Mary E. Williams as Chairman, has applied for affiliation as a chapter of CORE. In accordance with constitutional provisions, the group will be known as Mt. Vernon CORE and will continue its orientation under the direction of Herbert Callendar, Director of Organization.

Affiliation will take place at the end of a probationary period upon approval of the National Action Council - CORE's Board of Directors.

Offices will remain at 59 W. Third Street, Mt. Vernon

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CONGRESS OF
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RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038
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Department of Public Relations
Don Smith, Director
267-6270 267-6272

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 27, 1966

Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), leaves today on a four-day campaign tour through southern Louisiana. Mr. Lynch, who recently led a twenty one mile voter registration march from Bogaloosa to Franklinton, will speak at rallies, attend meetings, and go out into the fields to urge people to vote for twelve Negroes whose candidacies CORE has been supporting.

The four day tour will begin Wednesday evening, July 27th, in Plaquemine City (Iberville Parish) where Mr. Lynch will speak at meetings on behalf of two school board candidates.

On Thursday, he will campaign in the area known to its residents as "one of the most violently segregationist in the whole South," East and West Feliciana, where there are now more Negroes than whites registered to vote. CORE expects that the five candidates it is supporting there have a good chance of winning if the election is properly supervised.

In Minden (Webster Parish), Mr. Lynch will campaign throughout the Negro community with Mr. J.D. Hampton, candidate for Mayor.

Lake Providence and Tallulah, another area where registered Negroes outnumber whites, will also be visited by Mr. Lynch in support of local candidates.

- MORE-

All of the candidates for whom CORE is working are running in the Democratic primary, to be held on Saturday, August 13th.

"Black Power", Mr. Lynch said, creates loud controversy in the North and in the segregationist South. Black Power in politics will be receiving its first test on August 13th".

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NEWS RELEASE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 29,1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that Title IV of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966, as amended by Charles Mathias, Republican representative from Maryland, instead of promoting fair housing, actually in in the process of legislating discrimination based on race.

In its editorial of July 29, 1966 the New York Times made the following criticism of the bill. "The House of Representatives is now engaged in the unseemly spectacle of deciding who shall be allowed to discriminate against Negroes and who shall be required to treat them fairly".

CORE contends that measures that legislate racial bias under the guise of fair housing create a climate for continued discrimination in other areas of American life. In this instance, the legislators seem inclined to bestow fair housing on Black Americans within the confines of the cities, but the same time drastically restricting their right to buy or rent homes in the suburbs. This hypocritical fascade would indeed create two kinds of laws, one law for cities and another law for suburban areas.

CORE is opposed to any form of discrimination based on race or religion in any aspect of American life. What right has any legislature to limit rights that are inherent in citizenship? Whence the power to distribute inalienable rights like a father distributing candy to a wayward child?

-MORE-

CORE realizes that the syndrome of powerlessness of minority people will only end, when together, they achieve sufficient economic and political power to force complete recognition of them as Americans with every right, privilege and obligation that are components of the American system.

CORE urges the present Congress to disavow measures that would, in any way limit or retard the development of the United States toward the implementation of the American concept of equality and justice for all.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 1, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today deplored the reluctance on the part of the New York State administration to use bold and innovative approaches in the drive to combat the social and economic evils of the ghetto-slums of the City of New York. A case in point is its failure to give serious consideration to building the planned World Trade Center in Harlem.

Opposition to the proposal that the State establish some of its offices in Harlem reflects a grave lack of sensitivity to the rising demands that the black ghettos achieve a greater involvement in all aspects of the life of the city. Manhattan Borough President, Constance Baker Motley, Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, Harlem business men and many political and civic leaders have advocated the building of the proposed World Trade Center in Harlem. Controller Arthur Levitt has joined these proponents in expressing the need for building the facility in the Harlem area in order to aid its development, at the same time indicating that his judgment had to be based on "comparative costs."

CORE contends that transportation to the Harlem area, from any point in the State, is excellent, land costs are infinitely less than downtown and the gains in economic benefits for the people of Harlem and the City of New York are incalculable.

Moreover, CORE emphasizes the fact that the sociological

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benefits to be gained by the establishment of significant units of State and City departments in Harlem would far our-weigh any monetary consideration. It could, indeed, mark the beginning of a truly equitable distribution of facilities, personnel and programs within the world's greatest city.

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NEWS RELEASE

August 2, 1966

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, today charged that the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, has undertaken, a dismal retreat in its fight against poverty. Recent decisions of the Agency bring into clear perspective the application of the outmolded principles of political expediency, rather than bold imaginative considerations for the needs of the people the program was designed to serve.

Lynch pointed out that in San Francisco, a city where the poor controlled the program, and where there existed elements that could bring about significant social change, funds for the entire city have been withheld because the San Francisco Agency opposed provisions of Memoranda 23 and 24. (Memo. 23 detailed drastic salary limitations on employees and Memo. 24 promulgated the application of the Hatch Act to employees of Anti-poverty Agencies.) He cited the cynical and punitive action by the Agency in respect to New York City where $10,000,000 had been pledged for the city's Head Start Program and subsequently withheld. Mayor Lindsay is reported to have said that Sargent Shriver defaulted because he was "afraid" of Congressional opposition to giving money to churches. Hence the much needed expansion of the program for the pre-school training of poor children was arbitrarily abandoned. Another instance of failure to give first consideration to the bedrock needs of the poor was the action of the Agency in respect to the proposal for Community Action Education, an Agency headed by James Farmer, former National Director of CORE, who with the assistance of many of the leading educators in the United States, developed

-MORE-

a program to overcome the crippling, reading and writing handicaps of 1,000,000 functional illiterates. After ten months on the desk of Sargent Shriver, with every condition fulfilled and its urgency constantly proclaimed, no response came from the Agency. Mr. Farmer has withdrawn his program.

Lynch criticized the drastic curtailment of Community Action programs--projects that sought to implement the bold idealistic provisions of the Economic Act of 1966 by attemptimg to provide some instances of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the policy making and implementation of the programs that affect their lives.

Lynch declared that these events brought into sharp focus the narcotizing, palliative and lame measures that have become the modus operandi of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He urged Congress and the Executive branch of the government to make an empirical evaluation of this Agency with a view to projecting activities that would really seek to serve the needs of the poor.

It is axiomatic that disadvantaged people must be involved in the decisions that affect their destinies if the social ills of the American system are to be replaced by the more equitable processes of the "Great Society".

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 2, 1966

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today opposed the amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950 introduced by Edwin E. Willis, Representative from Louisiana.

The bill known as the "Organizational Conspiracies Act of 1966" deals with activities of clandestine organizations which adversely affect the welfare of citizens of the United States by use of destructive pressures that subvert constitutional processes. The measure has been referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

CORE contends that the bill provides police powers that are susceptible to misapplication and over-application. The scope of its language is so broad that it could be used against organizations like fraternities and Civil Rights groups. The term "clandestine", as defined in the bill, could include any group which conducts a private meeting. In addition, CORE believes it to be of dubious constitutionality, since it is probably "void for vagueness" under the due process clause of the 14th Amendment.

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NEWS RELEASE

August 4, 1966

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today angrily dennounced the exclusion of 60% of available housing from the housing section of the current Civil Rights Bill.

"Failure to pass a strong housing section covering all available housing shows Congress to be guilty of supine gutlessness" Lynch said. "It would appear Congress of the United States is saying to the Black population that in 1966 you can only have 40% of what is provided to the white population".

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), has repeatedly expressed its extreme dissatisfaction with the present Civil Rights Bill.

The cowardly actions of the Congress re-enforces the wide-spread feeling of the Black community, that they can expect little meaningful action from the legislative officials, and strengthens the drive for "Black Power" as the only meaningful way to affect change.

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August 11, 1966

NEWS RELEASE

The following telegram was sent today to Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirkson, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Attorney General Nicholas B. Katzenbach:

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) strongly urges the passage of a meaningful civil rights bill and not the watered-down version now before the Senate. Firstly, we urge complete revision of Title 4 to make all housing open to Black Americans and all other minorities on non-discriminatory basis. Secondly, we urge complete deletion of the Cramer anti-riot amendment as being racist and designed to inhibit the work of civil rights activists. Thirdly, if there is any intent on the part of Congress to eliminate racism in the Nation, the Attorney General must have the authority to initiate desegration suits without waiting for complaints from the areas affected.

CORE maintains that the 1966 House Bill now before the Senate legalizes apartheid and sanctions racial discrimination by real estate brokers and homeowners.

We resent the fact that Black men are asked to fight and die for the white man's democracy while the Congress and Senate debate whether black men may live where they choose.

Failure to pass and enforce these minimum positions would show to the 22 million blacks, the utter contempt in which the House and Senate hold them. National morality should not be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

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NEWS RELEASE

AUGUST 25, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FLOYD B. McKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY DENOUNCED THE PLAN OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, McNAMARA FOR DRAFTING BLACK AMERICAN YOUTH IN ORDER TO "SALVAGE" THEM FOR SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES.

McKISSICK POINTS OUT THAT THIS PLAN IS A CYNICAL METHOD TO PUNISH BLACK YOUTH FOR THE SOCIAL ILLS IMPOSED ON THEM BY THE MAJOR SOCIETY. IT IS TRAINING FOR DEATH.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT ANY REMEDIAL TRAINING OF BLACK YOUTH, AND OTHER DISADVANTAGED YOUNG MEN IN THIS SOCIETY, SHOULD HAVE AS ITS END THE ACQUIRING OF MOTIVATION AND SKILLS THAT WOULD ENABLE THEM TO MORE FULLY PARTICIPATE IN AMERICAN LIFE; THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS TO MAKE THEM MORE PRODUCTIVE IN THE LABOR MARKET.

THE McNAMARA PLAN IS GENOCIDAL. SUCH TRAINING WOULD FURTHER INCREASE THE IMBALANCE OF BLACK AMERICANS IN THE WAR IN VIET NAM. PERCENTAGES OF BLACK YOUTH IN THIS WAR AND PERCENTAGES OF CASUALTIES FROM THIS GROUP FAR EXCEED THEIR POPULATION RATIO TO WHITE AMERICANS.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 9, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Wilfred Ussery, National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today announced a meeting of the National Action Council- CORE's Board of Director's- on September 10th and September 11, 1966 at the Harlem Y.M.C.A. 180 West 135th Street, New York,New York.

The meeting will deal with new programs to implement the principle of Black Power, organizational developments, structural adjustments and policy making on matters of moment.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 13,1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that a reign of terror is taking place at the Bogalusa Junior High and Elementary Schools where white youngsters attacked Negro fellow students by showering them with soft drinks, snakes and an unidentified chemical. The Klu Klux Klan lead by Saxon Farmer instigated the disturbance. Bob Hicks, vice-president of the Voters League was arrested at his home and charged with disturbing the peace. Jeff Horton, a CORE worker from Berkeley, California, was beaten and arrested.

CORE is deeply concerned for the welfare and safety of the children, some of whom are as young as six.

Mr. McKissick today sent a telegram to Mr. Nicholas Katzenbach, head of the Department of Justice, urging protection for the Negro children who are being assaulted and intimidated.

Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE has left for Bogalusa in response to requests of the beleaguered Negro citizens.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 15, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today denounced the plan proposed by Welfare Director Marcus Daly and adopted by the New Jersey Monmouth County Welfare Board to turn over for possible prosecution the names of unwed mothers seeking County aid for illegitimate children.

Under the Monmouth plan, unwed mothers would be liable for jail sentences of up to six months for fornication and up to three years for adultery with $50.00 fine for the first and $1,000.00 for the latter offense.

In this connection, William R. Baird, Director of the Parent Aid Society, has been arrested in New Jersey under ordinance 2A170 which makes it a crime to show or demonstrate contraceptive devices. CORE charges that this ordinance is archaic and its use against Baird is both punitive and a disservice to the citizens of this State.

CORE contends that this social problem can be solved by the establishment of a guaranteed annual income for all persons on welfare. Moreover, CORE advocates National eligibility provisions without local residential restrictions. A cynical measure like the Monmouth Plan would then have little opportunity for enactment.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 16, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that the Board of Education of the city of New York was applying punitive measures that would result in the punishment of children and disruption of the educational process in the dispute in East Harlem between community parent groups and the Board in respect to the new intermediate school 201.

The location of the school and the cynical disregard for the wishes and needs of this Harlem community brings in sharp focus the rejection by the Board of community participation in the planning and development of programs that would fulfill the educational needs of this area. CORE contends that the relationship between the Board of Education and the community parents should take on innovative aspects in order to avoid mistakes of the past where programs and curricula were developed that had little relevance to community requirements. Meaningful improvement of the school system will only take place when community opinions and the technology of the educators are both applied to the diverse and difficult educational problems.

Reports indicate that students, who would normally have been attending P.S. 201, have been temporarily assigned to a condemned school that now has no supplies or equipment. CORE believes that the Board should have sent these students to a first rate school where they could benefit by an immediate approach to the learning process under the best available conditions.

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NEWS RELEASE

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September 20, 1966

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that the failure of the Senate to pass the 1966 Civil Rights Bill is indicative of the climate of racism prevailing in this country at this time.

Despite the weakness of this measure with its obnoxious Section 403-B which eliminated 80% of all the housing occupied by Black Americans in smaller cities and 60% of dwellings in the suburbs, there were sufficient positive elements in this Bill to make it imperative that Congress pass the measure.

Failure to muster sufficient votes for closure and failure of the President to supply strong and dynamic leadership brings into clear perspective the trend of the Congress as well as the Administration to sell Black Americans down the river of political expediency.

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David Cook
OR4-6120
OR7-0308
OR3-0464

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NEWS RELEASE

September 21, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today deplored the impasse existing between community parent groups and the Board of Education of the City of New York in respect to the new Intermediate school 201.

It is obvious that innovative patterns of participation by parents in the educational process of their children are necessary in order to establish the most beneficial kind of programs and carricula for their children. However, in the search for more effective involvement, the welfare and needs of the children must be given first consideration. Quality education, then cannot be sacrificed on any account.

The current dispute has taken on aspects that are adversely affecting this axiomatic principle. The Board of Education, the principal, the teaching staff and the community parent groups are locked in conflict that do harm only to the children.

McKissick pointed out that he had visited the scene of the action at the request of the parents, and strongly felt that the Board, the teachers and the parents must find some way to resolve these problems immediately.

CORE reaffirms its position that meaningful improvement of the school systems will only take place when community opinion and the technology of the education are both applied to the diverse and difficult educational problems. Community participation, then, in the planning and development of programs is essential.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today announced that its National Director, Floyd B. McKissick will be attending the swearing in ceremonies of the new locality Mayor of Suffolk County Joseph F. Goode Jr., Friday September 23, 1966 at 10:00 p.m. at the fabulous Naragansa Inn located in Linderhurst, Long Island, 244 East Montauk. Also being sworned in as Deputy locality Mayor of Suffolk County is the renown ed Lionel Hampton. Immediately following the ceremonies there will be dinning and dancing.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 22, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today denounced the vote of the members of the Committee of Education and Labor that stripped Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of his power as Chairman. McKissick charged that this vote indicated a climate of racism that still exists in the United States.

Congressional reform has long been needed. Men like Senator Eastland have long abused ~~his~~ their powers to prevent important Civil Rights legislation from reaching the floor. Wilber Mills of Arkansas and John McMillion of South Carolina have all been guilty of delaying and subverting the legislative process.

CORE contends that the singling out of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell is a denial and rejection of the needs and wishes of Negro communities throughout the country. It will set the Civil Rights Movement backward and create divisions between black Americans and the major society.

CORE maintains that people of good will throughout the country should rise up and by voice and by telegrams and letter disavow ~~this~~ the nefarious action of this group.

If the United States is to continue its role in world leadership, non-whites in this country must be treated in accordance with the orginial concept of the American dream-equality for all.

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NEWS RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 26, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"THE CONGRESS HAS A MINIMAL OBLIGATION TO APPROPRIATE FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY AT LEAST WHAT IT SPENDS IN ONE MONTH IN VIETNAM," STATED FLOYD B. McKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE, IN SUPPORT OF THE POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON, SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE ON SEPTEMBER 27.

"ATTEMPTS TO WAGE A WAR ON POVERTY WITHOUT PROVIDING FOR THE ADEQUATE FUNDING AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF POVERTY ORGANIZATIONS ARE ATTEMPTS TO CURE THIS NATION'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ILLS WITH ASPIRIN."

CORE MEMBERS WILL BE AMONG THE MANY REPRESENTATIVES OF POVERTY ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITY ACTION GROUPS WHO WILL GO TO WASHINGTON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1966 TO PRESS FOR A HIGHER APPROPRIATION THAN IS PRESENTLY BUDGETED, MORE MONEY FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS, ADEQUATE FUNDING OF DEMONSTRATION, RESEARCH AND TRAINING PROGRAMS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF POVERTY PROGRAM EMPLOYEES.

"POLITICIANS MUST BE PREPARED TO ASSUME THE "RISK" OF CREATING CENTERS OF NEW POWER IN OUR CITIES IF THERE IS TO BE SUPPORT FOR INNOVATIVE DOMESTIC LEGISLATION. THE POOR SHOULD BE GIVEN THE SAME OPPORTUNITY TO EXPERIMENT AS HAS BEEN GIVEN TO CITY HALL OR THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL AGENCIES. IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THE POOR, IF LEFT ALONE TO CREATE THEIR OWN PROGRAMS AND, IF NECESSARY, MAKE THEIR OWN MISTAKES, WILL COME A LOT CLOSER TO SOLVING THEIR PROBLEMS THAN HAVE THOSE AGENCIES THAT HAVE TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR GENERATIONS.

THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL IS, AT BEST, INADEQUATE. PERMANENT SOLUTIONS TO THE DEEP SEATED PROBLEMS OF THE WHITE AND BLACK POVERTY GHETTOES IN THIS COUNTRY WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO INCLUDE A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME, MAJOR JOB CREATION PROGRAMS AND A FREEDOM BUDGET OF, AT LEAST, 10 BILLIONS ANNUALLY. HOWEVER, ANY ATTEMPT TO REDUCE PRESENT APPROPRIATIONS AND WEAKEN THE PRESENT ANTI-POVERTY BILL CAN ONLY BE SEEN AS AN INDICATION THAT CONGRESS HAS NO INTENTION, NOW OR IN THE FUTURE, OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR.

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NEWS RELEASE

September 29, 1966

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today mourned the passing of Lillian Smith and said that the civil rights community -- black and white together -- has been improverished by the death of Lillian Smith, a pioneer in civil rights, a founder of CORE and long a member of the National Board.

In her famed book, "Killers of The Dream , she described, in heart rending prose, the destruction that race hatred had wrought on the purity and innocence of childhood. Whites and Blacks alike, from childhood on, had been stripped of part of their humanity -- deprived of part of their capacity to trust and to love their fellow man.

And Lillian Smith devoted her life, her talents and her magnificant energies to purging our nation's soul of that evil. In the past half year, she felt she saw signs of a resurgence of that malignant cancerous growth. She acted as she saw fit to cry out against that evil.

CORE laments her death. And today, in her memory, we redeciate ourselves to the restoration of that dream, to all children of this country-- white and black -- as part of their sacred birthright. Her dream remains ours in this day of grief.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE October 3, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today expressed deep concern at the uprisings in San Francisco and other parts of the country. He critized city governments, State Administrations and the Federal government for their failure to come to grips with the root causes of these disturbances -- staggering unemployment, substandard segregated housing, inferior de-facto school segregation and the pervasive pathology of the slums.

McKissick pointed out that the ideals of the "Great Society" would reach fruition only by the kinds of freedom and power available to each individual. Constraints of discrimination and bigotry, of poverty and ghetto living, of alienation and powerlessness are still the untenable realities of life for the masses of Black Americans.

The institutionalization of segregation and discrimination in our society has created a condition where "tokenism" has become characteristic of the treatment accorded Negro citizens by our government. Recognition must be given to the fact that grave structural deficiencies exist and must be attacked by bold creative re-thinking and re-shaping of many of the institutions of our nation. Power of the individual to vote and shape his political life must be extended to include power to shape the physical, social and aesthetic parameters of his life.

The War on Poverty presents an outstanding example of "tokenism". Completely inadequate, it has served to palliate or narcotize the dreadful affects of poverty. One of the reasons that prevents a more realistic approach to the problem is the

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involvement of the United States in Vietnam. Statictics show that more than two billion dollars are spent each month in the war effort. It breaks down to five hundred million dollars a week or seventy- five million dollars each day. The daily appropiations for the war exceeds by fifty-five million dollars the yearly allotment to combat poverty in the State of California. If the Poverty Bill before the Senate becomes law it will provide thirty-five million dollars for the State of California; the House Measure provides only twenty-five million dollars a year even though seventy- five million are needed for the maintainance of existing programs in that State.

The plan emanating from the White House to undertake" an immediate survey" of unemployment of Black Americans in San Francisco is a hypocritical stance because of the involvement of the United States in the War in Vietnam has constantly been given as an excuse by the Administration for not providing jobs for Black citizens.

CORE contends that a more sensible scale of values must be adopted by the power complex that now control the destiny of American life. Business and governmental agencies must develop broad programs to end the economic blight, cultural deprivation and hopelessness in our Nation. Innovative measures must be advanced to combat the social ills that permit the curious paradox of poverty in the midst of the most affluent society the world has ever known.

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We call on the President and the Congress to initiate the realistic programs needed to really begin the War on Poverty. Efforts made thus far have been but a first skirmish to discover the strength of the enemy. CORE estimates that a meaningful attack on this social blight will cost twenty billion dollars yearly. We further urge all people of good will to write and telegram their legislators on all levels and by word of mouth press for the initiation and development of programs that will be able to abolish ghettos and begin the creation of an open, just and free society that could become the model for mankind.

October 12, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that Sargent Shriver, and the political complex of the State of Mississippi, have engaged in a dismal retreat in the War on Poverty. The formation of a new twelve man group, Action for Progress in Mississippi, to supercede the Child Guidance Group in Mississippi denies to the poor in Mississippi any opportunity to participate in the planning and policy making phase of the poverty programs.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi, the umbrella agency that heretofore administered the programs, did conform to the Anti-Poverty Act in respect to "maximum feasible participation of the poor". It consisted of a wide spectrum of community people and, despite errors that happen to any emerging administrative unit, it was effective, representative and sought to include other elements of the State in its organization.

The new agency, "Action for Progress in Mississippi", violates the principle of "maximum feasible participation of the poor". No poor persons are on this Board. Thus, the new organization conformes to the out-molded paternalistic agencies of the old South.

People of good will are urged to protest to their Congressmen and to the Executive Branch of the government in order to correct this latest attempt at denial and rejection of the disadvantaged people of Mississippi.

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NEWS RELEASE

October 14, 1966

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today stated that he saw nothing in the advertisement issued by the seven Negro leaders tp provoke any reaction from CORE, as it seems an unnecessary restatement of old principles. Of real importance, are the programs and projects in which CORE is engaged, which will implement CORE's concept of Black Power.

Therefore, we are expanding our community leadership program in Baltimore, strengthening cooperatives, involving 375 farmers in Louisiana, further developing "Operation Bootstrap"- CORE's job development agency in Los Angeles. We are also glad to announce that six students from the Columbia University School of Social Work have been assigned to CORE for the purpose of working in the area of community organization.

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NEWS RELEASE

October 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that Sargent Shriver and the political complex of the State of Mississippi, have engaged in a cynical retreat in the War on Poverty. The formation of a new twelve man group, Action for Progress in Mississippi, to supersede the Child Guidance Group in Mississippi, denies to the poor in Mississippi any opportunity to participate in the planning and policy making phase of the poverty program.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi, the umbrella agency that heretofore administered the programs, did conform to the Anti-Poverty Act in respect to "maximum feasible participation of the poor". It consisted of a wide spectrum of community people and, despite intense opposition and errors that happen to any emerging administrative unit, was effective, representative and sought to include other elements of the State in the developing organization.

The new agency, "Action for Progress in Mississippi", violates the principle of "maximum feasible participation of the poor".

No poor persons are on this Board. Thus, the new organization conforms to the out-molded paternalistic patterns of the old South.

People of good will are urged to protest to their Congressmen and to the Executive Branch of the government in order to correct this latest attempt at denial and rejection of the disadvantaged people of Mississippi.

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NEWS RELEASE

October 20, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), at a meeting of the Board of Education in the auditorium of the Malverne Junior High School in Malverne,Long Island on Wednesday, October 19, 1966, drastically criticized the Board for its failure to implement directives of Commissioner James E. Allen for the integration of the Malverne School District No.12.

Mr. Lynch said, "education in Malverne School District No. 12 is dead. It has been murdered by the three men now on the School Board who masquerade as School Board members, and now act as the pallbearers of good education in this district, while their lackey, their lap dog, this black Benedict Arnold in a Roman collar, officiate at the last rites.

What does this judas of his race, this black quisling of Lakeview, know about the area he is suppose to represent, let alone education. Or are his shameless betrayal of all that the residents of Lakeview have fought for these more than seven years, his joining forces with the openly declared enemies of Black people more motivated by the selfish desire to build a church on Woodfield Road with his thirty pieces of silver. And where is the $100.00 or more collected door to door by children in Lakeview, on his authority?

But the death of Education in this district, and the need of these pallbearers of good education to dig up from the gutters of Lakeview, a black lap dog to be their yes man, is in the final analysis the responsibility of the white population of Malverne and Lynbrook who are more interested in maintaining their bigotry than whether their children get a good education. I hope they can look at themselves in the mirror in the mornings, I wonder what thoughts go through their minds when they go to church on Sundays, I wonder how they feel when they return from worship on the Sabbath."

As an aftermath to last nights meeting, the following telegram signed by Mr. Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE, Mrs Eustace Corbin, President of Lakeview Branch NAACP and Reverend Benny Whitten, Chairman of United Committee for Action Now, was sent to State Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr:

We, the undersigned, representing the near unanimous opinion of the Lakeview section of Malverne School District 12 , vigorously demand the immediate removal of the present School Board on the grounds that its members are operating outside the law by instituting a so-called free choice plan. Your authority, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court has been flouted, your order ignored and the Black parents of the district, yourself and the law have been held up to ridicule and contempt. We further demand that all State funds to this school district be withheld until your order is fully complied with. Because the present School Board is more interested in maintaining bigotry than in providing the best possible education for children, good education in this district is impossible. Racial dissension is rife, fear and hate rampant and only your immediate intervention can bring sanity to this district and salvage education in Malverne. Your failure to act decisively will be interpreted as agreement with the Board's activities and an abrogation of your own authority.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 Park Row
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Floyd McKissick, National Director

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Don Smith, Director
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NEWS RELEASE

October 24, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today accused District Attorney Aaron Koota, the courts of New York City and the Police Department of ignoring the law and denying the rights of Black people.

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director, representatives of Brooklyn CORE and residents of the Brooklyn community went to the office of Kings County District Attorney Aaron Koota to keep a 10 A.M. appointment to protest the illegal confinement of Steve Williams, 16, Charles Smith, 18, Reginald Callendar, 15 and Robert Williams, 17. Mr. Koota refused to see the group which included the mother of William Callendar. The four youngsters were arrested in July on an alleged felonious assault charge. All but Callendar, who is 15, are still being detained in jail. There has been no formal charge or indictment. CORE demands the release of all the persons arrested because they are being denied their constitutional rights and are being held illegally.

Because of District Attorney Koota's refusal to see the representatives, members of the Brooklyn community groups and the Congress of Racial Equality have started a demonstration at the District Attorney's office at 228 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, New York.

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NEWS RELEASE

November 3, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), former Chairman of the Long Island chapter, today strongly urged the re-election of Congressman Lester L. Wolff, Democratic Representative from the 3rd Congressional District on Long Island.

" In 1964", Lynch said, "former Representative Derounian worked enthusiastically for his good friends Mr. Coldwater and Mr. Miller. In 1966 he is back again running on a platform of reaction and fear. This time Derounian is trying to capitalize on the so-called white backlash by threatening city-to-suburb busing in a district where this issue is irrelevant. He has deliberately distorted and misrepresented the statements of U.S. Commissioner Howe, N.Y. Commissioner Allen and Congressman Wolff in an attempt to confuse and frighten the public.

"Citizens of the 3rd Congressional District are not the fearful bigots Derounian presumes them to be", Lynch continued, "I strongly urge the voters to reject this outright racist appeal and to return Lester Wolff to Congress. At a time when this nation and the world are facing a growing racial crisis, we need men of wisdom and restraint in Congress, not demogogues who fan the fires of racial fear in their own self-interest."

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Nov.3,1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) TODAY STATED THAT A MEETING WAS HELD WITH THE CREDITORS OF THE ORGANIZATION IN AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP CREDIT RATIOS, ESTABLISH SETTLEMENTS AND IMPROVE THE FINANCIAL STANDING OF CORE.

A SUCCESSFUL MEETING DEVELOPED WHERE DECISIONS WERE MADE TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH SOLUTIONS TO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS.

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BLACK POWER PHILOSOPHY

ONCE IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TI DEFINE THE MANY ASPECTS OF

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NEWS RELEASE

November 7, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today denounced the arrest of 86 youths seized by the police at the home of Elli Jaffe at 251 West 92nd Street on Saturday, November 5th ,1966.

The fact that the entire group of students arrested were released for lack of evidence strongly indicates a pattern of harrassment and injustice.

CORE contends that police officers should not subject youth to arrest and detention of this kind unless there is clear and unmistakeable evidence of law violation.

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NEWS RELEASE

November 9, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that the failure of the electorate to support the Civilian Police Review Board of New York City is indicative of the existence of a reactionary climate in this country that has undercurrents of racism and overtones of fascism.

This Board, although inadequate, provided some means of alleviating the hostility that exists between the minority communities and the police. It would eventually have engendered a renaissance of new confidence in law enforcement agencies by the poor and by those who might be called bohemian or non-conformists.

CORE condemns the contrived campaign that appealed to fear and the tactics of terror, used by the opponents of the Board, to encompass its destruction.

People of good will are urged to join with CORE and initiate a new movement to provide New York City with an agency where citizens may make complaints against police mal-practice and discourtesy without fear of reprisal or superficial investigation and dismissal. Law enforcement has as its end the maintenance of an orderly society. Hence, checks and balances of Civilian Review are necessary for the attainment of advanced and inspired police service.

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NEWS RELEASE

November 17, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, will appear on "Face the Nation" on Sunday, November 20th, 12:30 P. M. on CBS Television.

Mr. McKissick will discuss the CORE ideology and current national issues.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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281-9650

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 2, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), announced that CORE's "Target City Project-Baltimore" today filed a suit against the Social Security Administration following an unsuccessful attempt to have an investigation completed on a general complaint of discriminatory practices, filed September 19, 1966 with Secretary John Gartner, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Walter S. Brooks, Target City Project Director, stated that the three year struggle with the Social Security Administration has led to the conclusion that the suit filed today in the United States District Court for the District of Maryland, is an absolute necessity because discriminatory practices of this agency in promotion and hiring of Black citizens are wide spread throughout the nation. Since 1963, the Congress of Racial Equality has endeavored to negotiate with the administration officials in an attempt to resolve these issues.

Over sixty days ago, CORE brought charges against the administration on behalf of the affected employees. This was done as a proper function of a Civil Rights organization under Civil Service Commission regulations. Following the filing of the charges, CORE was informed that the Secretary had instructed the Social Security Administration to conduct an investigation and furnish a speedy reply.

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Thus far, CORE has received no communication from the agency despite the fact that the period of sixty days has expired. Obviously, CORE was entitled to an answer during this period, or at the minimum, some contact to advise us how the investigation was proceeding. Because of these circumstances, our organization has no recourse but to resort to legal action to force a resolution of the issues involved.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

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NEWS RELEASE

December 5, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Walter S. Brooks, Target City Project Director, today announced the opening of facilities at 829 North Gay Street, Baltimore, Maryland, for the Target City Youth Program.

The Youth Program, with Milton L. Holmes as Coordinator, developed as a result of the efforts of CORE to project programs that would fulfill the needs of disadvantaged youth of Baltimore.

Mr. McKissick, pointed out that significant contributions toward the establishment of the new agency were made by Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin, Senators Joseph Tydings and Daniel B. Brewster and others in the political field. The business sector, led by Humble Oil, has also agreed to participate in some aspect of the training program. Moreover, the understanding and cooperation of the citizens and the communication media of Baltimore were key factors in its implementation.

All these influences projected to the Department of Labor resulted in a grant that made possible the new facilities and the initiation of new programs.

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The Target City concept, as it functions in Baltimore, has been adopted by CORE as a major method in the quest for equality. It consists of sizeable forces from the National Office going into a city and developing many projects and programs to respond to the needs of each community. The success of Target City- Baltimore has caused groups in many cities to invite the Congress of Racial Equality to come in and declare their area a second Target City. Several locations are under study; among them are Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Ohio, Oakland, California and Newark, New Jersey.

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Don Smith, Director
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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 8, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, today appeared before the United States Senate Committee on Urban Affairs under the chairmanship of Senator Ribicoff, and stated that:

"The central cities of this country are disaster areas -- the debris is mounting, the walking wounded everywhere. For weeks you have been listening to the catalogue of this crisis, much as the legislators of the 18th century in the plague cities, studied the lists of the dead. It is true ...death is everywhere: the death of the body, the death of hope.

"I am no longer certain that we can turn the tide -- God knows we must try.

"There is no time...there is no time to talk of half-measures, no time to prosecute wars, no time to lash back at the angry poor, no time to moralize about an integrated utopia -- there is no time. The seminars must end, the conferences conclude, our wisdom must now be shaped into specific weapons of change. It is in this spirit -- a spirit of crisis and a spirit of fragile hope that I come before you today.

"I will talk about many things -- of entire institutions of our society that are crumbling in the central city. I will talk about the black American -- the mass of black Americans; paralyzed in poverty; unmotivated, suspicious of the white man's promise, bloodied on the streets of Los Angeles and on the streets of Saigon. I will talk of racism through the entire American fabric -- a racism that cannot be changed by law alone.

"And I will talk about black power -- black power, its meaning and its consequence.

"..............The urban crisis must come into this room. The anguish of poor people -- black people fenced into the squalid ghettos must actually govern your deliberations. The

(more)

themes repeat endlessly -- the ghettos are here, polluted by racism and cynicism -- and the people are here, shattered, humiliated and vengeful. Nothing short of an immense national commitment spending the nation's resources on life as easily as we spend them on death-inbattle -- nothing short of this can take us out of this dishonorable time of our history.

"We in CORE will do what we can -- and it will not always suit you. Today I have urged you to re-define your commitment and I have presented dozens of programs that can, if enacted and administered with integrity, reverse the river of violence and hopelessness. And beyond all of this -- I would hope that you heard me say even more --

1. For God's sake and this terrible war in Viet Nam, bring black men home to re-build their own lives, their own communities. And take the incredible costs of killing and use them to save the lives of the poor.

2. Understand that there is no longer time for the utopian dream -- integration will only come when strong black men and women with pride are fully functioning in our society.

3. Throw out the rule-book of education. Create a National Board of Education dedicated to the task of stopping the maiming of black children's minds -- and give them a heritage instead of a bayonet. And stop the systematic production of racist-minded white children.

4. Create jobs -- real jobs, honorable work. Change the course of rivers, build highways, landscape our nation-- and let us do the job. In the entire history of the immigrant American, the Northern Negro is the first to be denied the right to build his own land.

(more)

5. And build homes that men and women can live in -- not just in the fringes of the city, but in the heart of the ghetto -- and let those who are the veterans of the slums be the beneficiary of these homes.

6. And remember that black people are the victims of public media -- the victims of stereotypes and canned violence.

7. And stop the backlashes, the hysteria -- because we intend to do what we must do with or without you. Twenty-two million American black people are indeed emerging into a massive political consciousness -- we will be reckoned with -- there is no form of slavery, however subtle, that we will ever countenance again."

# # # #

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NEWS RELEASE

December 12, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, will be a guest speaker of the Manhattan Central Medical Society, at Harlem Hospital K. Building, 136th Street near 5th Avenue at 9:00 p.m. . Mr. McKissick will speak on "Negrp Health & Welfare".

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 15, 1966

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today announced that Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, will appear on the David Susskind Show on Sunday, December 18th, at 9:00 p.m., Channel 5, WNEW-TV and again on the January 8th Susskind Show.

You are requested to watch this show as McKissick will cut through some of the nonsense and put the movement in perspective.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 22, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality(CORE), today expressed deep concern at the failure of the Board of Education to respond to the urgings of parents, and Civil Rights organizations to initiate and develop new methods to bring quality education to the ghetto areas.

Mckissick deplored the arrests of the "People's Board of Education" that was forced to take over the function of the appointed Board in order to project to New York City the needs and aspirations of the children and parents of the city. Careful scrutiny of the measures proposed would demonstrate creative methods that would solve many of the grave problems. McKissick complimented the "People's Board" on the work they accomplished.

Moreover, he has called for a thorough investigation of the entire system of education of New York city with emphasis on greater Federal involvement to end the pattern of inadequacy in the educational process of the city. McKissick again called for a National Board of Education so that this problem may be approached on a National scale with the availability of adequate resources to affect solutions.

He stressed the need for new, specialized training for teachers who would be assigned to disadvantaged areas, a pupil teacher ratio of no more than 15, new text books to show the contribution of minority people to world civilization and to the American heritage and an examination of the present systems of class allocation and grading for scholastic performance.

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NEWS RELEASE

December 27, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) at a meeting of the Manhattan Central Medical Society warned that "in the presence of brutality," a man is a man and it makes no difference how many degrees you have or how much your income is."

Dr. Charles Brown, President of the society had invited Mr. McKissick to speak at its regular monthly meeting, held at Harlem Hospital on Thursday, December 22, 1966. McKissick analysed the status of the Black middle class in relation to the broader community and to the disadvantaged masses that live in the urban ghettos. He pointed out that the absence of unity that comes from a sense of community was responsible for the lack of power of all Black citizens. Acceptance of the status quo by the "talented tenth" and failure to improve the lot of all Black Americans were largely responsible for the ability of racist minded citizens to thwart the drive for full citizenship.

McKissick used Washington D. C. as an example of the disenfranchisement accorded Black people who are not yet organized. He called for a new assessment and for a true involvement of the Black proffesional in the quest of Black men and Black women for equality.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135 Street
New York, N. Y. 10030
281-9650

December 30, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Congress of Racial Equality today joined other black leaders and groups in denouncing the Congressional effort to deny Congressman Adam Clayton Powell the Chairmanship of his Committee and his seat in Congress.

"The backlash has now come to the halls of Congress", CORE says, "and the effort directed at Powell is, in effect, a warning to all black people in America that 'you be good darkies' or else!

"The contention that Congress is upholding the law is a patent fraud; the 14th Amendment of the Constitution has been consistantly ignored, no effort has been made to curb the notoriously racist activities of Rivers, Willis and their claque; to say nothing of enforcing the Civil Rights laws already passed by Congress.

"Congress should empower a select committee of members and eminent laymen to institute a sweeping investigation of Congress itself and make recommendations for drastic changes."

# # #

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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NEWS RELEASE

~~tion: Marie Simmons~~

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 9, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), in response to the action of the Democratic caucus today, blasted the stripping of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of his committee chairmanship.

Mr. McKissick said," It is a tragic day in this country when the caucus met and stripped Powell of his chairmanship. It was not the stripping of Powell, but the stripping of the Black community's voice in Congress, a voice that took fifty years to develop. This is an example of political castration of Black people. Adam Clayton Powell could not be controlled; he is a man with power who commands respect. The caucus attempted to deal with two Adams, Adam the man and Adam the symbol of the aspirations of Black Power. They cannot and should not be separated."

Although Mr. McKissick did not make and predictions, he stated that the Black community, segment by segment, has had major setbacks over the past year. The little amount of progress toward alleviating the causes of frustration and alienation and the lack of respect shown the Negro community, are breeding the type of attitude the government would not desire. Certainly the reaction in the community, as should be expected, is one of anger and bitterness.

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A series of actions over the past year clearly have indicated that the strategries used in the past are not sufficient to acquire political influence and respect. Mr. McKissick stated that there were forces both in the Democratic and Republican Party who participated in this effort.

The action today requires an intense analysis of the political scene, mapping strategy, looking at both Democratic and Republican parties in realization that we have very little influence in either party. Recognizing that racism hangs over us like a cloud, it is obvious that we will have to look to ourselves for our own support.

Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Director of CORE is now in Washington to represent CORE and to keep abreast of all developments.

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Attention: Marie Simmons

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 9, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality(CORE), today announced that the National Chairman of CORE, Wilfred T. Ussery, has been selected to chair an all Black conference to be held in San Francisco, California on January 28th and 29th of this year. The function of the conference is to bring Black people together "to discuss and evaluate their situation in America where no one sees an end to the right-wing swing of the pendulum represented by the last California and national elections.

It is anticipated that a great number of the participants will be residents from the Bay Area of California. However, Black people from across the country are also expected to attend. Among the many varied organizations participating in this conference are the Urban League, SNCC, Independent Democrats, Afro-American Student Association of San Francisco State College, legislators and politicians in the Bay Area as well as activists from both ghettos and college campuses.

Topics to be discussed include political participation, an evaluation on the new left philosophy, housing and education, employment and the role of Civil Rights organizations in the socio-political swing to the right.

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Mr. McKissick stated that CORE strongly endorses the goals of the conference and will personally participate in it.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Attention: Don Smith, Director
of Public Relations

January 16, 1967

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A CALL FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW NATIONAL POLITICAL UNITY

by

FLOYD B. McKISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

CONVENER

"Wake up, Black Men; sleep no more:
Racist tyrants crash at your door."

More than a century after the Emancipation Proclamation Black Americans still experience the evils of a racist society -- economic deprivation, inferior education, sub-standard housing and an unemployment rate almost three times higher than white workers. Political disfranchisement, economic exploitation, fear and frustration continue to plague Black citizens throughout the country.

Discrimination in every aspect of American life perpetuates our misery and prolongs the blight of second-class citizenship. The moral concepts of human equality and brotherhood have been compromised and subverted by the white power complex of government and business. Thus the masses of Black Americans are still paralyzed by poverty; frustrated by unkept promises, bloodied in the streets of America, sacrificed in the jungles of Vietnam and strangled by a pattern of racism that runs through the entire fabric of American life.

Black men, women and children watched as a racist Georgia legislature twice denied Julian Bond the right to represent them. Again more than twenty million black men, women and children watched a racist United States Congress deny Adam Clayton Powell the right to represent them. No longer can black people be regarded by this society as passionless, as insufferable and as subhuman, for they

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

can see that the time is now to assert themselves as men. These racial injustices prevail because of the absence of adequate political power on the part of Black Americans to bring about an end to these inequities.

It is imperative that new methods and tactics be used to end this pattern of powerlessness.

In a racist society such as this, only through the use of power generated by the unified action of Black people on behalf of Black people and Black causes can justice, equality and human dignity be attained.

No political machinery now in existence is available to us through' which our just hopes and aspirations can be achieved.

Hence, it cannot be denied that the attainment of our social economic political and human rights will come only through our own joint efforts, dedicatedly inspired and relentlessly pursued.

Therefore, we hereby call together all Black Americans without regard to their party affiliation, political leanings or social status to assemble in convention in the City of New York on February 18 and 19, 1967 to participate in the creation of a Black national political structure.

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New Address
200 West 135th Street
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Tel. 281-9650

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today denounced the failure of R.H. Macy to comply with Executive Order #11246 and Ordinance 194 of the city of New Rochelle in respect to discrimination in the employment of Black Americans in the skilled trades in the construction of their new facility at Harrison and Main Street in New Rochelle. Not a single electrician, plumber, steamfitter or rodman reinforcer employed in this project is Black.

A report by Edward J. Doherty, Chairman of the Employment Committee of the Human Rights Commission of New Rochelle, states that although qualified applicants for the skilled trades have been provided by Civil Rights groups, neither these nor any other Black applicants have been employed. The report further recommends that the city of New Rochelle suspend work on the site until the discrimination has been ended.

The New Rochelle chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, the local branch of the NAACP and other community groups have been engaged in picketting the site; six arrests have thus far taken place.

The National office of the Congress of Racial Equality has alerted its eighteen Metropolitan chapters to the possibility that widespread demonstrations could develop as a result of this pattern of discrimination. The general contractor for the project is the firm of Conforte and Eisele.

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Attention: Don Smith

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

February 1, 1967

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today voiced deep concern at the arrests of 12 persons at the site of a new facility being built for R. H. Macy at Harrison and Main Street in that city.

The cause of the demonstration was the failure of R. H. Macy to comply with Executive Order 11246 and New Rochelle Ordinance 194 in the hiring of Black skilled workers in the construction of their new facility. Not a single Black electrican, plumber, steamfitter or rodman reinforcer is working on the site according to a report by Edward J. Doherty, chairman of the Employment Committee of the Human Rights Commission of New Rochelle.

Demonstrations have been continuing for several weeks by the New Rochelle Chapter of CORE,NAACP and local community groups.

Among those arrested was Mal Williams, Chairman of New Rochelle CORE. A demonstration is planned for Saturday, February 4, 1967, at R. H. Macy 34th Street, 34th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE February 2, 1967

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), today charged that the State Department has engaged in a compromise with apartheid in the scheduled stop-over of the aircraft carrier, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at Capetown, South Africa.

After serving nine months in Vietnam, the carrier is on its way back to the United States. It is reported to have a contingent of close to 400 Black men in a personnel of 4,000 men.

CORE contends that this planned stop-over brings into strong focus the cynical rejection of the rights of Black Americans. People of good will are urged to join with CORE in protesting this latest slap in the face, by the State Department, of Black men who have been fighting in far off Southeast Asia under the guise of bringing democracy to Vietnam.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
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February 4, 1967

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced the postponement of the scheduled February 18 convention for a Black political unity.

Due to the hospitalization of Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, the executive functions of CORE have fallen on the shoulders of Lynch. This, and the decision of the Planning Committee to organize a series of regional conferences prior to the National Convention, made it imperative that the convention be held at a later date.

The first regional conference has taken place in San Francisco, California this past weekend. More than 1,000 Black Americans participated.

Plans are being developed for conferences to be held in the South, Midwest and East prior to the National Convention in New York City. The date of the National Convention will be determined by the convalescence of Mr. McKissick and the speed with which the regional conferences can be expedited.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
200 West 135th Street, New York, N.Y. 10030
(212) 281-9650

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

February 8, 1967

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), on behalf of Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, today refused an invitation by the State Commission For Human Rights to appear at the New Rochelle City Hall to participate in an investigation of charges of racial discrimination in skilled crafts in the construction industry in the city.

In a telegram to Bernard Katzen, Vice Chairman of the State Commission, Lynch said,

"CORE rejects your invitation to attend hearings into charges of racial discrimination at the New Rochelle Mall construction. We consider further hearings by the State Commission deliberate stallings tactics and not designed to find and root out discrimination in unions. We point to the fact that this project has been in existence for nearly a year and, further, that the New Rochelle Commission For Human Rights has investigated and made its findings known. We cannot be a party to farcical meetings designed to white-wash and repay labor for support in recent gubernatorial election".

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged that the vote to exclude Congressman Adam Clayton Powell from taking his seat in Congress is a slap in the face of every Black American.

Passage of the exclusion resolution brings into sharp focus the double standard that exists in that legislative body. It is further proof of the widespread racism still prevailing in this country.

Instead of initiating long needed reforms, the singling out of Powell as a Congressional scapegoat is a denial and rejection of the needs and wishes of the black citizens of this country. It is a virtual abrogation of the right to representation in Congress of the residents of the 18th Congressional district.

McKissick stressed the importance of efforts toward the formation of a black political apparatus to combat political racism and overcome the powerlessness of the black masses. He stated that no third party was contemplated but a political structure that would work for the benefit of black people, supporting or opposing candidates and issues in accordance with the needs, welfare and aspirations of this disadvantaged minority.

CORE contends that even favorable world opinion will be lost if the United States persists in its policy of racial double-dealing, thereby violating the American dream of equality for all.-30-

CORE Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
CO. 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: MARVIN RICH & HERBERT BRONSTEIN

ARTISTS FOR CORE EXHIBITION AND SALE

ARTISTS FOR CORE, the third annual exhibition and sale of paintings and sculptures donated by prominent artists, will be open to the public May 6 through May 12 in the galleries of the American Federation of Arts, 41 E. 65th Street. Among the first artists to contribute their work to the show are Milton Avery, Jim Dine, David Hare, Grace Hartigan, Hans Hofmann, Robert Indiana, Jacob Lawrence, Marisol, Robert Motherwell, Fairfield Porter and Raphael Soyer. Proceeds of the sale will go to CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality

A gala preview of ARTISTS FOR CORE will be held on May 5 at 9 p.m. Tickets, at $30 a couple, are available from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38; information from CO. 7-6270 Ext. 8. There is no admission charge during the remainder of the exhibition and sale.

Co-chairmen of the ARTISTS FOR CORE art committee are Lloyd Goodrich and Ray Parker; co-chairmen of the sponsors committee, Mrs. John Gunther, Mrs. August Heckscher and Mrs. Robert E. Kintner.

CORE is a national organization with affiliated local groups to fight all forms of racial discrimination through nonviolent direct action. Freedom Rides and sit-ins initiated by CORE have desegregated thousands of restaurants and other public places. The current emphasis is on voter registration. CORE is financed by dues from its more than 70,000 members, and by contributions.

The ARTISTS FOR CORE show is a demonstration of support by the art community for activities of CORE. Over $40,000 after expenses was cleared in the 1963 exhibition and sale.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038
(212) CO 7-6270
ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FARMER JOINS SELMA MARCH, CORE GROUPS ACROSS U.S. IN SUPPORTING MARCHES

CORE National Director James Farmer flew to Selma, Alabama, to join southern CORE staff members in the March 9 massive march led by Martin Luther King, and including several hundred white ministers and prominent persons from all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, CORE chapters in major cities from east to west joined with other civil rights groups in mass marches and sit-ins at federal buildings urging immediate U. S. action to enforce voting rights and to secure the right to demonstrate peacefully in Alabama.

URGE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Immediately following his return from Selma, Farmer, at a press conference in New York called for a March on Washington unless the federal government "takes the proper steps to safeguard Negro rights in the South."

He added: "I consider our nation is facing a grave constitutional crisis and the responsibility rests firmly with the federal government which has not lived up to its responsibilities."

He also announced nation-wide mass demonstrations for March 14, just a week after the Sunday when club-swinging state and city policemen in Selma broke up the initial attempt to march to Montgomery, injuring 70 participants - 17 of them so gravely that they required hospitalization.

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